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"	33	Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum—Plate 1			between pages	290 & 291
"	34	" " " " " " " " " " " " " "			to face page	296
"					between pages	298 & 299



# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 8, text line 9, for *kīṭya*[rtham= read *kīṭya*[rtham=
- „ 10, f n 4, for *Basavarāja ragale* read *Basavarājādēvara Ragale*.
- „ 11, l 8 from bottom, for *Kavilāsapura* read *Kavilāsapura*
- „ 12, text line 17 for *ahārājādhirāja* read *mahārājādhirāja*
- „ 15, line 10, for *Dvārāvati* read *Dvārāvati*
- „ 21, text line 47, for *योगीश्वर* read *योगीश्वर*°
- „ 22, text line 86, for *ब्राह्मणपीठ* read *ब्राह्मणपीठ*°
- „ 23, last line, for the final form of it read the final form of *t*
- „ 24, text line 6, for *शिवमेखक* read *शिवमेखक*°
- „ 26, line 22, for “ in the four-hundredth year ” read “ in the four and hundredth year ”
- „ 29, line 4 from bottom, for *Gōndala sāhasa* read *Gōndala sāhasa*
- „ 29, line 3 from bottom, for *Ranga mṛigēndra* read *Ranaranga mṛigēndra*
- „ 32, text line 3, for *Kōllavi ganda* read *Kollaviganda*
- „ 33, text line 42, for *Gunaka vijavitundu* read *Gunaka-Vijayitundu*
- „ 34, text line 48, for *paritalla* read *parisulla*
- „ 35, f n 2, for “ *C f Mr V Mīśra (J B O R S , Vol XVI, pp 178 ff ) and Mr S Rajaguru (Ind Hist Quart , Vol VII, pp 165 ff )* ” read “ *C f Mr V Mīśra (Ind Hist Quart , Vol VII, pp 665 ff ) and Mr S Rajaguru (J B O R S , Vol XVI, pp 178 ff )* ”
- „ 35, f n 4 for Vol LXIII read Vol LXXIII
- „ 38, text line 2, for *-manai (nē)r=* read *-manai (nē)r=*
- „ 43, line 12 from bottom, for *Mandaladēva* read *Mandanadēva*
- „ 43, line 5 from bottom, for *Pānāchchi* read *Pānāchchi*
- „ 45, text line 12, for *यज्ञद*° read *यज्ञद*°
- „ 48, text line 25, for *लघुभाता*° read *लघुभाता*°
- „ 48, text line 29, for *शिव पुनरत* read *शिव पुनरत*
- „ 48, text line 31, for *विस्तीर्णको* read *विस्तीर्णको*
- „ 49, text line 33, for *नट्टापाटकयामि* read *नट्टापाटकयामि*
- „ 49, text line 35, for *हता(कात्त)लिक* read *हता(कात्त)लिक*
- „ 49, text line 37, for *स्युटकि* read *स्युटकि*
- „ 50, line 15, for ‘ frequen ly ’ read ‘ frequently ’
- „ 51, line 5, for *Vālabha* read *Vālabhya*
- „ 54, text line 19, for *अलाकसाधारण*° read *अलाकसाधारण*°
- „ 54, text line 26, for *विज्ञानिकसाधन* read *विज्ञानिकसाधन*
- „ 71, f n 1, for *vasasatāza* read *vasasatāya*
- „ 77, line 2 from bottom, for “ *Puragupta's mother* ” read “ *Puragupta's wife* ”  
[The correct name of this queen is Chandradēvī (see *An Rep A S I* , 1934-35, p 63)
- „ 81, text line 4, for *Gōvinda svāminah* read *Gōvindasvāminah*
- „ 89, line 18 from bottom, for “ interpretatated ” read “ interpreted ”.
- „ 92, line 2 from bottom, for *Pamattavāra* read *Pramattavāra*
- „ 93, line 3, for *visēnīmādāya* read *visēnīmādāya*
- „ 95, text lines 15 16, for *हिरण्यकशिपु* read *हिरण्यकशिपु*

- Page 95, text line 26, for दीर्घमास्यं read दीर्घसास्यं  
 „ 102, line 15, for Neduñj idayan read Neduñj idayan  
 „ 104, line 18, for Parisumangalam read Paraisumangalam  
 „ 118, text line 11, for =ēl adhūāsasya read =ēl ādhūāsasya  
 „ 120, f n 1, l 1, for Mahāamsa read Maharamsa  
 „ 122, f n 1, ll 2 3, for Arantingī read Arantīngī  
 „ 142, text line 8, for तमोज्ञात read तमाज्ञात  
 „ 137, line 13, for Mittepad read Muttipād  
 „ 138, f n 5, for Baroda plates of Dhruva II (*Ind Ant* Vol XIV, p 197) read Bagumrā plates of Dhruva II (*Ind Int*, Vol XII, p 179)  
 „ 141, text line 22, for ॐ क ऋतुवर्तितमङ्गलम् ॥ read ॐ क ऋतुवर्तितमङ्गलम् ॥  
 „ 146, f n 2, for Sapta bhāṅgī naya read Sap'a bhāṅgī naya  
 „ 148 f n 5, for Bahayas read Bahayas  
 „ 154, line 3, for Vam-isthāyila read Vam-isthāyila  
 „ 155, line 19, for Aihole read Aihole  
 „ 158, line 5, for Bhōjadēva read Bhōjadēva  
 „ 160, line 3 from bottom, for Rīmū read Rīmū  
 „ 161, line 8 from bottom, for ' Kāmalārāja, son of Kōkalla II ' read " Kāmalārāja son of Kālmārāja "  
 „ 164, text line 15, for =Kīśyapa read =Kīśyapa  
 „ 165, text lines 26 27, for prabhāṭas=tīvad= read prabhāṭas=tīvad=  
 „ 167, line 13, for Kurukādi Kilīn read Kurukādi Kilīn  
 „ 167, f n 3, l 2, for pērtlandom read pērtlandom  
 „ 169, text line 6, for Pallava Muttarayan- read Pallava Muttarayan-  
 „ 170, line 14, for Pippināchēhērī read Pippināchēhērī  
 „ 170, line 4 from bottom, for Tiru Anantīśvarattu read Tiru Anantīśvarattu  
 „ 174, line 11, for " i is distinguished from i " etc, read " ī is distinguished from i " etc  
 „ 175, line 9, for Vāranasiyūmān read Vāranāsiyūmān  
 „ 176, f n 3, l 7, for pīnd=ādānāgī read pīnd ādānāgī  
 „ 177, f n 10, for " to have ruled only for short time " read " to have ruled only for a short time "  
 „ 178, text line 15, for gīrodam read gārodam  
 „ 178, f n 1, for dattih read dattih  
 „ 179, in the heading of A, for Samvat 257 read Samvat 254  
 „ 181, line 9 from bottom, for Hastavapri āhāra read Hastavapri āhāra  
 „ 182, line 1, for Khuddakā read Khuduka  
 „ 182, line 3, for Bhadāsaka read Bhadāsaka  
 „ 184, text line 35, for ॐ विष्णवे ॐ read ॐ विष्णवे ॐ  
 „ 184, text line 42, for ॐ वसुदेवाय ॥ read ॐ वसुदेवाय ॥  
 „ 187, f n 7, ll 5 6, for Mānā Chārana read Mānābharana  
 „ 190, text line 18, for ullittāraik=ko ru read ullittāraik=konru  
 „ 191, text line 28, for Jinattara[yar] read Chinattara[yar]  
 „ 191, text line 29, for ॐ mugat tūku read ॐ mugat tūku  
 „ 193, line 1, for " Pallavarāyan of Mēnmalaip Palāyanūr " read " Pallavarāyan of Palāyanūr in Mēnmalaip Palāyanūr nādu "  
 „ 193, line 18, for Vīrana[m̐bi] read Vīrana[m̐bi]  
 „ 195, f n 7, for C I I, Vol I, read C I I, Vol II  
 „ 198, text line 8, for yathābhūta sampratīvē(bē)dhē read yathābhūta sampratīvēdhē

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 204, No 34, line 8, for Hoyasalas read Hoysalas
- „ 209, line 12 from bottom, for ghañchaka read Ghañchaka
- „ 209, line 11 from bottom, for chatta read Chatta
- „ 209, line 10 from bottom, for Lusanikā read Lūsānikā
- „ 209, lines 6 and 7 from bottom, for Dhōrnika read Dhōrnika.
- „ 212, line 4, for “ and r and c (ll 4 and 11) ” read “ and r and ch (ll 4 and 12) ”
- „ 218, text line 23, for ‘चौरोडरयिक’ read ‘चौरोडरयिक’
- „ 218, text line 31, for ‘राधवह’ read ‘राधवह’
- „ 219, text line 53, for वनायन्ति read वनायन्ति
- „ 225, lines 15 16, for *Ashtāṅgaḥṛidaya* read *Ashtāṅgaḥṛidaya*
- „ 226, line 4, for “ they have to be placed before A D 1062 ” etc read “ they have to be placed after A D 1062 ” etc
- „ 227, line 2, for Nanarese read Kanarese
- „ 228, line 22 from bottom, for Gangaikondachōlapuram read Gangaikondachōlapuram
- „ 228, line 5 from bottom, for Ālpākkam read Ālppākkam
- „ 234, text line 14, for Kulaiya divākara read Kuvaiya Divākara
- „ 235, text line 15, for =tingalmērāttār= read =tingalmērāttār=
- „ 235, text line 19, for Virāśōlanukku read Virāśōlanukku
- „ 237, text line 29, for =Tiruvṅgadamālai= read =Tiruvṅgadamalai=
- „ 238, text line 30, for en kalāṇṇy read en kalāṇṇy
- „ 243, line 11 from bottom, for “ Manmagandayan, Kondayan, Āchehīdaran ” read “ Manmagandayan, Kāniayan, Kondayan, Āchehīdaran ”
- „ 244, line 15 from bottom, for Kshatriyasikhāmanī valanādu read kshatriyasikhāmanī-valanādu
- „ 245, line 1, for Valavarāditta-Mūvēndavēlār read Valavarāditta Mūvēndavēlār
- „ 245, lines 17-18, for *mudal ślavu* read *mudal ślavu*
- „ 258, f n 3, for Mahmud read Mahmūd
- „ 263, text lines 12 13, for हनयष्टा(८११)सुनोय विष्णु read हनयष्टा(८११)सुनोयविष्णु and omit notes 3 and 4, and in the translation of verse 5 on p 266, for (*Let people hear*) the three *gunas* and the prowess of (*that god*), who possesses a *yashtyāsana* made of gold, viz, Kapardin, etc substitute (*Let these be heard, viz*) the birth in *hēmayashṭyāsana*, the qualities and the prowess of that (*god*) Kapardin”, etc [I am indebted to Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit, M A, for this correction and the next]
- „ 264, text lines 49 50, for सदादन(न)न्याम(त्रि)ता read सदादन(न)न्याम(त्रि)ता, and in the translation of verse 15, for “ and whose devotion (*to god*) resorted to none but himself ” etc substitute “ and whose devotion resorted to none but Skanda ” etc
- „ 264, f n 2, for व्रतौ व्रतौ सुखौ etc, read व्रतौ सुखौ व्रतौ etc
- „ 268, line 5, for “Timmāna-Bhatta who was the son of Kāmēśvara Bhattāraka ” read “Timmāna-Bhatta who was the son of Kondu Bhattāraka and grandson of Kāmēśvara Bhattāraka ”
- „ 268, line 16 from bottom, for *Kalṇ garāya* read *Kalṇgarāya*
- „ 268, line 11 from bottom, for Odhra read Odra
- „ 268, line 8 from bottom, for “ the Narasāpatam plates of Vajrahasta II ” read the Narasāpatam plates of Vajrahasta III ”
- „ 268, line 6 from bottom, for *Pān dyaṛāya*- read *Pāndyaṛāya*
- „ 269, line 9, for Madhurāntaka-Potappi Chōla read Madhurāntaka Pottappi-Chōla

- Page 271, text line 6, *for śastrulavārīḥ read śāstrulavārīḥ*  
 „ 272, text line 38, *for dhāra purvam read dhīrā pūrvam*  
 „ 274, text line 32, *for निजमहीना(भा)र read निजमहीना(भा)र*  
 „ 276, text line 79, *delete the figure 2 above घण्टासन*  
 „ 278, line 17, *for Hādāvati read Hādāvati*  
 „ 279, line 9, *for Śāraṅgapura read Śāraṅgapura.*  
 „ 283, text line 14, *for एकविंशति read एकविंशति*  
 „ 286, text line 39, *for सफलपत्र read सफलपत्र*  
 „ 287, text line 42, *for स घ र read स घट*  
 „ 292, line 3 from bottom, *for Īndāvīrut read Īndāvīrut*

# EPIGRAPHICA INDICA.

## VOLUME XXI

### NO 1 --MATHURA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II G E 61

By PROF D R BHANDARKAR, M A , PH D (HON ), CALCUTTA

This inscription, which has not been previously edited, is engraved on a pillar originally attached to a well situated in the Chandul Mandul Bagichi near Rangēśvara Mahādēva temple at Muttra. It was discovered there by one Bholanath, a dealer in antiquities, in July 1928 and removed to his place. Later, it was taken possession of by the local Police authorities and was lying in their custody in the *Māl* godown, Muttra. Thereafter it was secured by the Director General of Archaeology in India and transferred to the Muttra Museum on the 5th of July 1929 as a deposit from the Archaeological Department. It is now lying in the Muttra Museum bearing the No 1931. In January 1931 Dr Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, visited the Museum and took some impressions of the inscription. He was so good as to send me two excellent estampages one plain, in one whole piece, and the other inked, in two parts. It is on these estampages that my transcript of this epigraph is based.

The writing occupies five of the faces with which the pillar is adorned and is spread over a surface, about 2' 3" broad by 1' 6½" high. The record, on the whole, is not badly preserved. It may seem that some portion at the end is gone, as the last line contains only the first half of a verse in the Āryā metre. But, as will be shown subsequently, the second half of this Āryā verse could not be engraved, as there was no space available for it between the top and the base of the pillar. The case, however, is different in regard to the third of the five sides of the pillar on which the record is engraved. Almost the whole of this part of the inscription is abraded and completely destroyed. This indeed is a grievous loss, because part of the most important matter contained in this interesting record is thus irrevocably lost to the historian, as we shall see in the sequel. The language is Sanskrit. And the inscription is in prose throughout, except for an Āryā verse at the close, only half of which could be engraved. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are —(1) the doubling, throughout, of *v* (ll 5 and 10), of *y* (ll 8, 12, 14, 15) and of *t* (ll 3, 8), except in the word *kīrti*, in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and (2) the use of the *ṛihvāmūliya* in l 12.

The characters belong to the early Gupta period when they were practically identical with those of the Kushāna records. This is particularly the case with our inscription which is found at Mathurā from where a number of Kushāna epigraphs have already come to light. In fact, it would have been well nigh impossible to say that ours was a Gupta and not a Kushāna record, had it not contained the name of a Gupta king. The letters *lh*, *gh*, *j*, *p*, *m*, and *v* of our inscription have almost invariably flat and angular bases, so also sometimes even the tops of *g*



and ६. But these characteristics are noticeable in the script not only of the Kushāna but also of the early Kshatrapa or Nahapāna period. Then we have to note the equalisation of the upper verticals, the constant use of the nail head or wedge, the loop in the left limb of *γ*, the peculiarly developed left member of *bh*, the slightly convex cross bar of *h* and the base line of *n* or *ṇ* bending lower down on either side. These peculiarities our epigraph has in common not only with the Kushāna records but also with the Junigadh inscription of Rudradāman. The only point in which this last differs from the others is that while in the former the medial *ā* and *ī* are indicated invariably by horizontal side strokes, in the latter they are sometimes shown by the vertical slanting strokes placed on the tops of the letters. But there seem to be no palaeographic peculiarities of any kind which demarcate the early Gupta from the Kushāna script. It is possible to argue that what is called the eastern variety of Gupta letters, such as is indicated by the peculiar forms of *m*, *s* and *h*, already makes its appearance in the early Gupta records even at Mathurā. Thus Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* No. 4, which was found at this place and pertains to Chandragupta II himself, has the letter *m* engraved throughout in the eastern variety. The same type of *m* is traceable in a Jaina inscription also found at Mathurā<sup>1</sup> but of the time of Kumāragupta I. And further, if we consider the Mēharauli pillar inscription of Chandra,<sup>2</sup> we notice not only *m* but also *s* and *h* of the eastern variety. Scholars are now agreed that this Chandra is either Chandragupta I or Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Where the original site of the pillar was is not definitively known. Possibly it was somewhere near Hardwār<sup>3</sup>. It may be to the north of Mathurā, but certainly not to the east of it. We have thus to take note of the record which refers at the latest to Chandragupta II and which presents the peculiar eastern variety of *m*, *s* and *h*, although it was not put up anywhere in the eastern part of the Gupta dominions. It may thus be argued that the eastern forms of these three letters are noticeable in epigraphs from the western part of the Gupta kingdom and also as early as the time of Chandragupta II, and that, as they are not found in any Kushāna record, the existence of this eastern variety at Mathurā and Mēharauli (or Hardwār) is enough to differentiate clearly the Gupta from the Kushāna script. This line of reasoning has no doubt an air of plausibility about it, but cannot stand any critical examination. Buhler has already shown that specimens of the eastern variety appear also in an Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II (Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* No. 6, IVA), but this he has rightly explained by the fact that it was incised during an expedition of that Gupta sovereign to Mālwa at the command of his minister who was a native of Pātaliputra. The existence of the eastern type of Gupta characters in the Mēharauli pillar inscription may be explained exactly similarly by saying that it was engraved by the officers of Chandragupta II as they were returning from an expedition of world conquest adverted to therein. Secondly, it is a mistake to suppose that these specimens of the eastern variety are not noticeable in the Kushāna records also. Nay, in Mathurā itself an inscription<sup>4</sup> has been discovered dated the 14th year of Kanishka's reign, which contains the typically eastern Gupta forms of the three letters *m*, *s* and *h*. This also indicates that there is no hard and fast distinction between the Kushāna and the Gupta scripts. There is another piece of evidence to show that these eastern forms of the letters sprung into existence in the pre Gupta period. Thus we know of an inscription found at Gadhā (Jasdan) in Kāthiāwād of the time of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrasēna. It is dated 127 (or 126), and, as it is referred to the Śaka era, we obtain A.D. 205 (or 204) as its English equivalent. If we carefully examine the facsimile of this record,

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 39 & Pl.

<sup>2</sup> *Gupta Inscr.*, No. 32, Pl. XXI A.

<sup>3</sup> *An. Bhān. Res. Inst.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f.

published above (Vol XVI Plate facing p 237), we find that the letters *m* and *h* are incised sometimes in the so-called western and sometimes also in the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. It is thus clear, that these eastern forms of the letters were in existence as early as A D 205, the date of the Jastan inscription, that is, certainly more than a century prior to the rise of the Gupta power. They cannot thus possibly be called Gupta characters at all. And it would be the height of absurdity to dub them as the eastern variety of the Gupta letters especially when the Jastan record is not only of the pre Gupta period but is far far removed to the south west of Pataliputra.

There are, however, some minor palæographic peculiarities in our inscription which call for notice here. The ending *m* in *Siddham*, with which the inscription begins, looks, however, like the eastern variety of the Gupta *m*, though in all other cases it is represented by the other—earlier—form of the letter. That it is the ending *m* is indicated by its tiny shape. The *h* in *mahārāja* in l 1 is represented by a character which looks like *u*. Possibly its right limb remained unincised inadvertently. Though *n* is engraved in all other cases with the base line bending slightly lower down on either side, the *n* in *gurv āyatanē* in l 10 has a distinct loop on the left as in the later form of that character. This, however, is not unknown to the Kushāna records. The way in which components of the conjunct *mbō* are joined in *sambōdhānam* (l 12) is worth seeing. The rare *n* in *viśenkaṁ* (l 13) and the Kushāna form of *a* and *ā* in ll 5 and 8 are also worthy of note. Similarly, the character for the numeral 60 in l 4 does not resemble any of the Gupta period shown by Buhler in cols IX X of his *Tafel IX*, but comes very close to that in col V of the Kshatrapa period ranging between the 2nd and the 3rd century A D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Chandragupta, son of Samudragupta. The titles coupled with each name are worth noting. They are *bhattāraka*, *mahārāja* and *rājādhirāja*. The first of these, namely, *bhattāraka* is associated pretty frequently with the names of the Gupta sovereigns. But the other title which they almost invariably assume is *mahārājādhirāja* instead of what we have in the present record, i.e., *mahārāja rājādhirāja*, an exact replica of *mahārāja rājātirāja* which the Kushāna kings bore. It is quite natural in Mathurā which formed one of the most important districts of the Kushāna kingdom and where numbers of Kushāna epigraphs have been unearthed. This is but another indication of Mathurā and the surrounding region being wrested from the Kushānas for the first time by Chandragupta II.

The date of the inscription is 61, which, of course, has to be referred to the Gupta era. It is rather unfortunate that the important words in lines 3 5 which contain the details of the date have been effaced. The first part of it tells us to what regnal year of Chandragupta this date corresponds. It is a serious loss that this part has not been preserved. The second part tells us to what *lāla* or era the year 61 belonged. It seems to be certain that *Gupta-kāla* is meant. But nothing would have been better if the word *Gupta* had been preserved. Then again the name of the month also has been destroyed. Fortunately for us the word *prathamē* has been preserved immediately after the specification of the month. This shows that in the year 61 there was an intercalary month. On the evidence of Jana works Dr K B Pathak has proved that expired or current Gupta years can be converted into corresponding (expired or current) Śaka years by adding 241<sup>1</sup>. Thus if we add 241 to 61 Gupta year of our inscription, we obtain 302 Śaka=380 A D. We do not yet know whether this Gupta year is current or expired. We leave it undecided for the time being. Now, if we refer to page 42 of Table X of the *Indian Chronology* by Swamikannu Pillai, we find that there was an additional month only in A D 380 and none in 378 or in 381 82 and that in A D 380 Āshādhā was this

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant*, 1917, p 293

intercalary month. The lacuna before *prathamā* can thus be easily filled up with *Āshādha-māsā*. We thus find that the month of our date cannot but be *Āshādha*. We also find that the date of our record was a current Gupta year. Because this intercalary month came only in A.D. 380 current, the Gupta 61 must therefore be also a current year.

The earliest date we had so far for Chandragupta II is G.E. 82, supplied by an Udayagiri cave inscription of his feudatory chieftain of the Sanakāyika family.<sup>1</sup> But the date furnished by our epigraph is 61, which is thus twenty one years earlier. It also sheds some light on the length of his reign. The latest known date for this Gupta sovereign is 93. Therefore Chandragupta II must have had a reign of at least 32 years.

After the specification of the date, the inscription introduces us to a teacher who was a *Māhātmya* or devotee of Śiva and was called Uditāchārya. His pedigree is given. But unfortunately the name of his teacher is not clearly preserved. It is however pretty certain that it was Upamita. The latter, again, was a pupil of Kapila, and Kapila, a pupil of Parāśara. We have thus a list of *Māhātmya* teachers extending over four generations. In fact, Uditāchārya has been mentioned as *chaturtha* or fourth in succession from Parāśara. This is intelligible and quite all right, as it is in an unbroken order. But Uditāchārya has been also specifically mentioned as *daśama* or tenth in descent from Kuśika. As no names of the intervening teachers have been given and Uditāchārya is specified as tenth in succession from Kuśika, the only possible inference is that Kuśika, though he did not originate any new doctrine or sect, must have been at least the founder of a line of teachers. We will take up this point later on for further discussion, but what we have here to note is that while the living teacher Uditāchārya is called merely an *Ārya*, all the others, namely, Upamita, Kapila, Parāśara and Kuśika, have received the supreme designation of *Bhagavat*, which is generally associated with personages who are supposed to have attained to the rank of the divinity.

The object of the inscription is to record that Uditāchārya, who was the *Māhātmya* teacher living, established two images, called Kapilāśvara and Upamitāśvara, in the *Guruv āyatana*. The second part of these two names, *īśvara*, shows that it was the Lingas that were installed. The first parts of these, *īc*, Upamita and Kapila, are the names of the teacher and the teacher's teacher of Uditāchārya. It therefore seems that the latter established two Lingas, one in the name of Upamita and the other in the name of Kapila. We have numerous instances of persons setting up idols of Vishnu or Śiva either in their own or in their father's or mother's name. It is therefore no wonder that Uditāchārya put up two Lingas in the names of his teacher and teacher's teacher. What is, however, noteworthy here is that he installed the Lingas in a place called *Guruv āyatana* which can only mean "the Teachers' Shrine". As none of the *gurus* of the line to which Uditāchārya pertained was then alive, the *Guruv āyatana* can only denote the place where the memorials of the *gurus* were established. And we know from this inscription what sort of memorials were set up by Uditāchārya in the names of his *gurus*. They were Lingas called individually after them. The inference is reasonable that *Guruv āyatana* was a place where Lingas were installed in the names of the teachers who preceded Uditāchārya.

This *Guruv āyatana* reminds us of the *dēvalūla* mentioned in the *Pratimā nātaka* of Bhāsa which was really "a royal gallery of portrait statues". Bharata, who is a son of Daśaratha but who does not know of his father's death, comes to this place, mistaking it for a shrine of four deities. He meets the *dēvalūlaka* who was in charge of this edifice, and learns from him that it was not a place of worship but a Statue house, the last statue erected there being that of Daśaratha,—whereupon he concludes that his father is dead.<sup>2</sup> The case is, however, somewhat different with the *dēvalūlas* mentioned in the Kushāna inscriptions. One *dēvalūla* certainly enshrined

<sup>1</sup> Gupta Inscriptions, p. 25

<sup>2</sup> *Pratimā nātaka* (Triv. Sl. Series, No. 13), pp. 44 ff.

the statue of the Kushāna sovereign who was the grand-father (*pitāmaha*) of Huvishka.<sup>1</sup> Whether this *dēvakula* "was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription of Vima it is impossible to say." If they are not the same, then they are of course different. In that case, at Māt near Mathurā where these Kushāna inscriptions were found, we had not a gallery of royal portraits, as supposed by some<sup>2</sup>, but rather a cluster of *dēvakulas* commemorating the different Kushāna rulers. The case is not unlike what we see in the capital towns of the States of Rājputānā. To take the Jodhpur State, for instance. Six miles north of it is a place called Mandor which is bedecked with a number of structures raised to the memory of the various kings of the Rāthōd family of that place. Some of these look exactly like temples and are also known locally as *dēvlām*<sup>3</sup> (= *dēvakulas*). The custom prevalent among the Rājputās namely, to erect a commemorative structure to every departed king seems to have been in vogue also in the Kushāna period. The case depicted in the *Pratimā nātaka* is, however, different, because it introduces us not to an assemblage of shrine structures, each separate from the others, and each raised to the memory of a ruler that has passed away, but rather to a statue-house which contained the portraits of the dead kings. The *Guruv āyatana* adverted to in our record resembles this *pratimā-grha* more than the different memorial structures huddled together in a place, which seem to have been customary in Rājputānā from the Kushāna times. *Guruv āyatana* is thus a shrine which comprised the Lingas set up in the name and to the memory of the *gurus* of that lineage to which Uditāchārya belonged. It may be contended that the resemblance here is not complete unless we could show that these Lingas were or contained the portraits of the departed *gurus*. It has to be admitted that there is some force in this contention. For, in l. 10, immediately after *Guruv-āyatanē* we have the two letters *guru*, which were originally followed by at least five letters but which have unfortunately been effaced. It may reasonably be asked why *guru*<sup>o</sup> is again engraved at all after *Guruv āyatanē* and whether the letters destroyed cannot be restored so as to answer to this presumption. The reply is that the lacuna can without much difficulty be filled up, and I do not think we shall be very wide of the mark if we restore it to *guru pratimā yutau*. The Lingas established not only were named after the *gurus* Upamita and Kapila but also bore their portraits. How this could be possible we shall see shortly.

There is just another point to be considered. We have seen that the inscription specifically mentions Uditāchārya as *daśama* or tenth in descent from Kuśika and fourth from Parāśara. While the teachers intervening between Parāśara and Uditāchārya are mentioned and are only two, those between Kuśika and Parāśara are not mentioned at all though they were no less than five. In fact, there was no need of mentioning Kuśika at all unless we suppose that he was the most important personage of the line to which Uditāchārya belonged. We are therefore compelled to infer that Kuśika, though he may not have propounded any new religious system, must have at least originated a line of teachers to which pertained Parāśara, Kapila, Upamita and Uditā. Who could this Kuśika be? There can be but one reply to this question. Years ago I had occasion to point out who Lakulī was. Lakulī was a great puzzle to scholars and archaeologists. I first drew their attention to a passage which is common to both the *Vāyu-* and the *Linga Purāna*<sup>4</sup>. On the strength of this passage I showed (1) that Lakulī was the last incarnation of Mahēśvara, (2) that this incarnation took place at Kāyārōhana or Kāyāvātāra which was identical with Kārvān, in the Dabhōī tāluk, Baroda *prānt*, Baroda State, and (3) that he had four ascetic pupils, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The same information is contained in a

<sup>1</sup> *J R A S*, 1924, pp 402-3.

<sup>2</sup> *J B O R S*, 1919 p 89

<sup>3</sup> *PRAS*, *WC*, 1906 7, p 31, para 21.

<sup>4</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol XLII, pp 154 ff

stone slab inscription, which originally belonged to a temple at Sōmanātha in Kāthiāwād but is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra in Portugal. The inscription is thus known as the Cintra *prasaṣṭi* or the reign of the Chaulukya ruler Śārangadhva, and was last critically edited by G. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. This inscription corroborates practically all that has been said by the Purāṇas about Lakulī. The order and names of his pupils are however slightly different in this epigraphic record, being, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha and Maitrēya. But this much is certain that in both Kuśika remains unaltered in name and also stands first in the order. The Cintra *prasaṣṭi* however tells us one thing more, namely, that these four disciples of Lakulī were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāśupatas.<sup>1</sup> There can thus hardly be a doubt that the Kuśika of our record must be regarded as the first pupil of Lakulī and that the four *Āchāryas* mentioned here were of course his descendants. In the Cintra *prasaṣṭi* three *Āchāryas* are mentioned, namely, Kūrttilāśrī, Vilmīkīrāṇi and Tripurāntīla, the last of whom was a contemporary of Śārangadhva during whose reign it was incised. Verse 19 of this inscription distinctly tells us that these teachers belonged to the line (*gṛha*) of Gārgya. While the Cintra *prasaṣṭi* thus gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprung up in the line of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakulī, our present record throws light upon the line of teachers that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakulī. It appears that while the descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Sōmanātha in Kāthiāwād, those of Kuśika were settled at Mathurā.

If the teachers mentioned in our inscription belonged to the Lakulīśa sect it clears up the two or three points of our inscription which were thought to be obscure. The first is how the *Langas*, if they were installed as memorials to Upamitā and Kāpila, could also contain their portraits. The second point is why all the dead teachers of this line, namely, Kuśika, Pīrśara, Upamitā and Kāpila, have been styled *bhagavat*. The third is why the living teacher Uditāchārya has been called *ārya*. These are the points which were thought to be obscure in the above discussion and were left for elucidation at the end of these our prefatory remarks. Let us now take up the first point. How could the *Langas* put up in memory of Upamitā and Kāpila also comprise their portraits? I have alluded at to the paper on Lakulīśa which I wrote for the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, twenty five years ago. Not long after, I contributed another on the same subject to the *Archæol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1906-7, p. 179 ff. This latter contained copious illustrations of the figure of Lakulī whether on the door jambs and friezes of shrines, on the outside walls of temples, or in separate sculptures. I have shown that wherever Lakulī appears he figures as a human being, invariably with two hands, but with his characteristic signs, namely, a *lakuta* or staff in his left hand and a citron in his right. There are however two representations of him which are singular, and they are both found at Kīrvān, the place where this last incarnation of Śiva came off and also passed away. Here we have two *Langas* with the portraits of Lakulī sculptured in front. One of these is in the temple of Nāṭhēśvar and the other, in that of Rājrājēśvar, both at Kīrvān. It will thus be seen that the Śiva *Liṅga* has been combined with the representation of Lakulī into one image. It may be asked. What could be the meaning of this? Now, the Purāṇas and the inscriptions are unanimous in saying that Lakulī was the originator of certain austerities and religious practices called the Pāśupata- or Māhēśvara-*yōga* which his pupils disseminated. And it is well known that when a *yōgī* passes away, he does not die like an ordinary mortal with his last breath going out of his earthy nostrils, but rather by a *yōga* feat which enables him to pass it through the *brahma randhra*, that is, by breaking his human skull. It is only in this manner that he is absorbed into *Brahman*, if he is a Vedantist, or into Śiva if he is a Pāśupata or Māhēśvara. But as Lakulī was a worshipper of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 281, vv. 16-17.

Śiva, we have to suppose that the two sculptures from Kārvān represent obviously the absorption of Lakulī into the divinity of Śiva. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to suppose that even in the case of Upamitśvara and Kapilśvara, we had not mere Śiva Lingas set up here but rather these Lingas with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved into them, as is the case with Lakulī in the two images of Kārvān. Upamita and Kapila, being descendants of Kuśika, must have been experts in the Pīśupata *yōga*. We have therefore to presume that they too must have passed away like the *yōgins* by driving away their *prāṇa vāyu* through the *brahma randhra*. They must have thereby merged themselves into the godhead of Śiva. This alone can explain why all these departed ascetics of the Lakulī sect have received the divine title of *bhagavat*. The teacher, Uditāchārya, who is still living and who is not yet absorbed into Śiva, is not, and in fact, cannot, be honoured with this supreme title. He has therefore been merely styled *ārya*. Here it may be asked whether even this title has at all any significance of its own. In this connection my attention has been drawn by my friend, Mr Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, to a verse in the 'Cintra' *prasaśi*.<sup>1</sup> It is with reference to Tripurāntaka, the ascetic-teacher of the Gīrgya line, who has been referred to above. He was a contemporary of the Chaulukya king Śārangadēva, during whose time the inscription was engraved. The verse runs thus

*Iha sālchād=Umālūmtah śrīmān Ganda Brihaspatiḥ* ।

*Āryaṁ=īnam uirmāya śleṣhtham chakrī mahattaram* ॥

"(Verse 34) Here the illustrious Ganda Brihaspati, visibly the husband of Umā, having made him an Ārya, appointed him sixth Mahattara."

What the verse says is that Ganda-Brihaspati, who was apparently the State Officer in charge of the religious monuments, made Tripurāntaka an *ārya* and then appointed him sixth *Mahattara*. Buhler himself is not sure whether *Ārya* and *Mahattara* referred to officers, or were mere titles. The second alternative was considered by him as more probable. Personally, however, I think that *Mahattara* denotes an office and frequently occurs in the list of official designations set forth in inscriptions, especially those engraved on copper plates. As regards *ārya* it is worthy of note that H. Maehardra's *Abhidhānachintāmanī* gives it as a synonym of *prabhu*, "a master, an owner".<sup>2</sup> This fits excellently not only in the Cintra *prasaśi* but also in our record. For in the first case we know that Tripurāntaka built five temples of which he legitimately could be an *Ārya* or owner. In the second case we have seen that Uditāchārya raised two memorial structures to his *gurus* in the 'Teachers' Shrine', of which he must doubtless have been an *ārya* or owner.

There now remains only one point to be considered—the date of Lakulī. Uditāchārya, we know, was tenth in descent from Kuśika, pupil of Lakulī. Uditāchārya thus belonged to the eleventh generation from Lakulī. Uditāchārya's date, that is, the date of our inscription, is G E 61=A D 380-81. If we now allot 25 years to each generation, we have to assign Lakulī to A D 105-130. This agrees pretty closely with the view I expressed twenty five years ago<sup>3</sup> that Lakulī has to be placed as early as the first century A D. My conclusion was then based merely on the mention, in the *Vāyu-Purāna*, of Lakulī as the last incarnation of Śiva. Evidence of this type will always remain of a somewhat conjectural nature. Epigraphic evidence, on the other hand, is more accurate. We may therefore take it now as well nigh proved that Lakulī flourished in the first quarter of the second century A D, about half a century later than the time so long ascribed to him.

Along with the estampages on which the accompanying transcript of this epigraph is based the Government Epigraphist was kind enough to send me three photos of that part of the pillar

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol I, pp 271 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Martya Janda, paryāya* I (v 23)

<sup>3</sup> *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol XXII, p 167. J. F. Fleet agrees in this view (*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p 424)

which has been engraved. The inscribed portion is really the shaft which is octagonal, but four of its faces on which the record is incised being well dressed and the remaining four left rough. The top and the base of the pillar have each four sides, only one of which is well dressed. While the fine dressed surface of the top is sculptured with a trident, that of the base is carved with a standing figure, with two hands, the right of which is let down catching a staff or club and the other held akimbo but also bearing some unidentifiable object. The hair on the head is matted with some curls falling on both the shoulders. The statue bears, apparently, two garments, the upper or *uttariya* being made fast to the body by a band passing round between the chest and the belly and with one end flowing loose spirally at the proper left as in the case of some Gupta images in the Udayagiri caves. Although the lower part of the body is apparently clothed with a *dhoti*, the privates are clearly shown like the breast nipples appearing through the upper garment. The last but not the least important point that we have to notice is the third eye in the forehead. All these characteristics point to the conclusion that we have here the figure of Lakuliśa. The images of Lakuliśa have no doubt been found in numbers, but they all belong to the mediæval period. None has so far been found which is earlier than the seventh century. Again, Lakuliśa of the mediæval period is invariably in a sitting posture. It has two hands, one bearing a club or *lakuta* and the other a *mātulunga* fruit. Another special feature of Lakuliśa is the *membrum virile* which is shown upraised.<sup>1</sup> But if he is represented in a standing posture, it is impossible to show it uplifted. It seems sufficient if his privates are exposed to view. When this feature is considered along with the fact that in the present case he wields a *lakuta* and bears matted hair on the head and a third eye in the forehead, there can be no reasonable doubt as to this being a standing figure of Lakuliśa. This image<sup>2</sup> is all the more important as it cannot but belong to the fourth century A D.

We have already seen that only four faces of the shaft and one each of the top and the base have been fine dressed. This clearly shows that our sculpture is not a pillar but a pilaster which was originally stuck up into the wall of some edifice. And we shall not be far from right if we maintain that it was one of many which decorated the exterior of the 'Teachers' Shrine' mentioned in the inscription. The pilaster was already in existence when the inscription was engraved. This may be seen from the fact that the lines of the record run irregularly and that the second half of the Āryā verse with which it should have ended could not be engraved as no space was available for it on the shaft. This is possible only when the pilaster is *in situ* and the engraver has to suit himself somehow to the exigencies of the case.

### TEXT

- 1 Siddham [I] Bhattāraka mahārāja [rājādhi]rāja-śrī Samudragupta-sa-
- 2 tputrasya bhattāraka-ma[hārāja] [rājādhi]rāja śrī Chandragupta-
- 3 sya vija-rajya samvatsa[rē]<sup>3</sup> [Gupta] kāl ānuvarttamāna sam-
- 4 vatsarē ōka shashthē 60 1 '[pra]thamē sukla divasē pam-
- 5 chamyām [I] asyām pūrvvā[yām] [bha]ga[vat Ku]śikād=daśaruṇa bhagava-
- 6 t Parāśarāch=chatur[th]ē[na] [bhagavat Ka]p[il]a vimala śi-
- 7 shya śishyēna bhagavad[ Upamita] vimala śishyēna
- 8 āryy Ōd[ī]tāchāryyē[na] [sva] pu[ny ā]pyāyana-nimittam
- 9 gurūnām cha kirva[rtham=Upamitēśva]ra Kapilēśvarau

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeol Surv Ind, An Rep*, 1906 7, p 186

- [For the photograph see *A S R*, 1930 31, Epgl Sect.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The lacuna may be filled up with *Aśaḍha māse*

<sup>3</sup> Read *vijaya-rājya*°.



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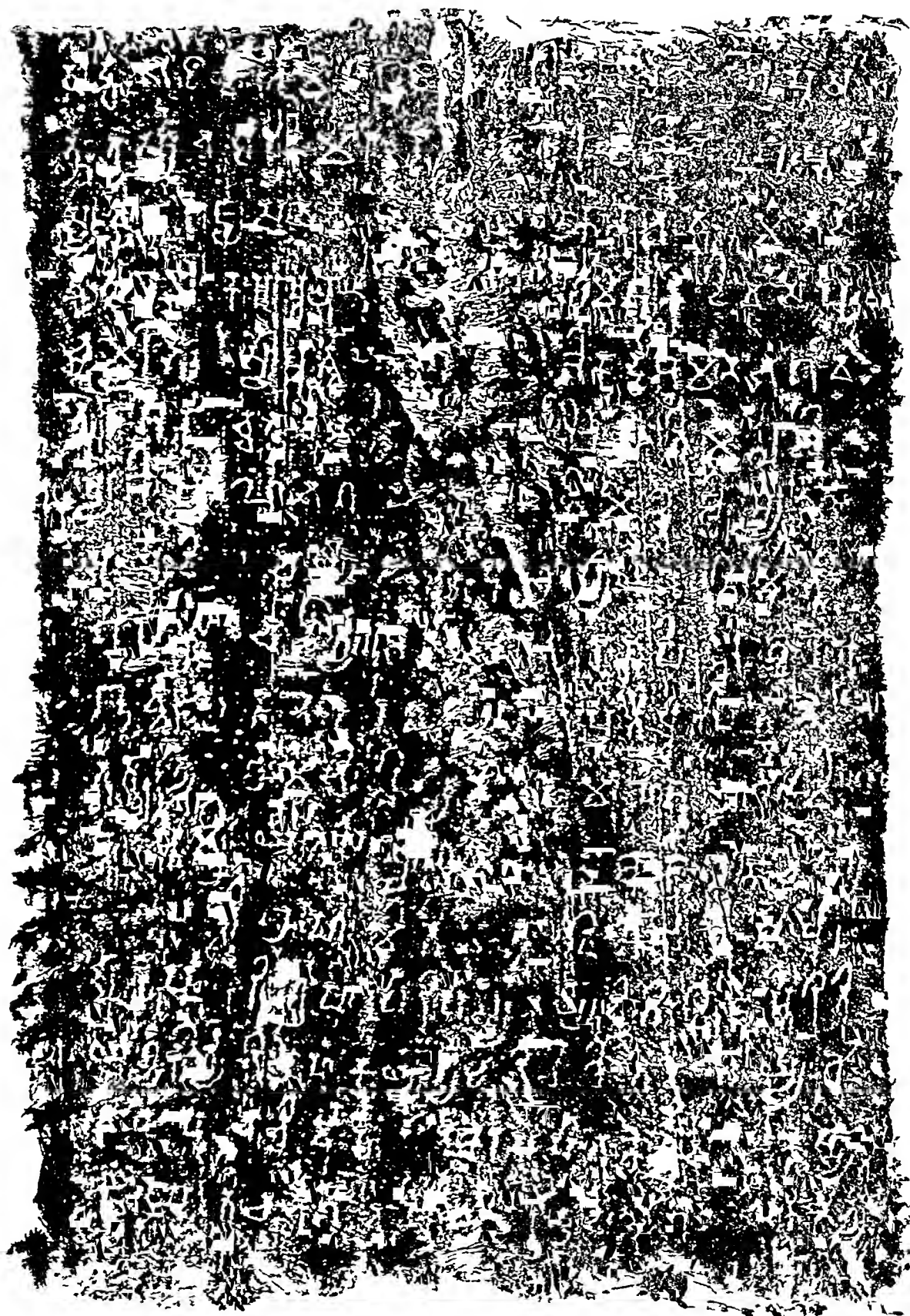
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- 10 Guruv āyatnē guru<sup>1</sup> pratishthāpitō<sup>2</sup> n=ar-  
 11 tat=khyāty artham=ābhilā[kh]ya[tē] [atha] mahēśvarīnām<sup>3</sup>, vi  
 12 jñaptih=kriyatē sambōdhanam cha yatthā kā[ṭ]hā-āchāryvā-  
 13 nām parigraham=itī mātṛā vāsankā[m] pūjā pura-  
 14 skārā[m] parigrahā pāripālānam kuryy id=itī vijñāptar=itā [i~]  
 15 Yaś=cha kīrti-abbhadrōham kuryy [i]d-yaś=ch=ābhilākhitam=uparyy=adhō  
 16 vā<sup>4</sup> sī pamehabhūr=mah[ā]pītākār=upapātākās=cha samyuktas=syāt[i]  
 17 Jayatī cha bhagavā[n=Dandah]<sup>5</sup> rudrā-dandō=gra-[nā]yakō mitya[m]

## TRANSLATION

Accomplished

(L1 15) In the year—of the victorious reign of the *Bhattārika Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Chandragupta*, the good son of the *Bhattārika Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Samudragupta*—on the fifth of the bright half of the First (*Āshādha*) of the year 61 following the Gupta era

(L1 5 10) On this aforesaid (*tithi*), (the *Langas*) *Upamitēśvara* and *Kapilēśvara* (comprising the portraits of) the teachers were installed in the Teachers' Shrine *Ārya Uditāchāryya*, tenth from the *Bagavati* Kusika,<sup>6</sup> fourth from the *Bagavati* Parāśara a stainless disciple's disciple of the *Bagavati* Upamita (and) a stainless disciple of the *Bagavati* Kapila, for the commemoration of the preceptors and for the augmentation of the religious merit of self

(L1 10 16) (It is) not written for my own fame, but for beseeching the worshippers of Mahēśvara And it is an address to (those who are) the *Āchāryya*, for the time being Thinking them to be (their own) property, they should preserve, worship, and honour (them) as (their own) property This is the request Whosoever will do harm to these memorials or (destroy) the writing above or below, shall be possessed of the five great sins and the five minor sins

(L 17) And may divine Danda be always victorious, whose staff is terrific and who is the foremost leader

## No 2 —ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA SAKA 1182

By S SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M A, MYSORE

This inscription was first discovered by Rao Sahib P G Halakatti of Bijapur who kindly sent me an ink-impression of it It is engraved on a stone slab set up in the temple of Hāla-Śamkaralinga at Arjunavāda, a village, a mile and a half distant from Hukeri in the Belgaum district of the Bombay Presidency The stone measures 9 ft 10 in by 1 ft 8 in The writing covers a space of 6 ft 8 in At the top, the figures of the *linga*, *Nandin*, and a

<sup>1</sup> This may perhaps be restored to *guru pratimā yūta*

<sup>2</sup> The *ō* in *to* is quite clear at the back of the uninked estampage Correct the word, however, into *pratiś-*  
*thāpitav*

<sup>3</sup> Read *māhēśvarānam*

<sup>4</sup> Read *uchchhindyat* or some such word after *vā*

<sup>5</sup> Read *bhagavān=Dandah sa*

<sup>6</sup> To express order of descent, the ablative case is employed See the remarks of Dr Hirananda Sastri, above, Vol XIX, p 58

<sup>7</sup> For *prati* (ll 9 and 15) which is distinguished from *khyāti* (l 11) see J F Fleet's note 6 in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 212

worshipper cover a space of 1 ft 4 in, at the bottom, a space of 1 ft 10 in is left blank. The language of the inscription is Kannada, except in the first verse. The *vrāma* is represented by the usual Kannada sign, viz, two vertical strokes. The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. The characters are of the regular type of the 13th century A. C., with an occasional reversion to older forms, as in the case of the *aksharas* *a*, *i* and *ña*. The use of *chha* in place of *tsa*, as in *samvachhara* (l 46), the employment of two kinds of *anusvāras*, and two forms of the secondary *e* symbol are to be noted. Numerous mistakes have also been committed by the scribe, as in *nīruvarīē* for *nīruvarīyē* (l 68), *tapachakravarti* for *tapaschakravarti* (l 43), *virtti* for *vr̥tti* (l 55), etc.

The inscription records that during the rule of the Yādava king Kannara of Dēvāgiri, his feudatories Chāvunda-Setti and Nāgarasa made a grant of the village Kaviāsapura to Hāla-Basavidēva, an ascetic of the family of Sangana-Basava. The importance of the record lies in the fact that this is the first epigraph hitherto obtained which definitely mentions Basava, the restorer of Vira Śaivism during the days of Bijjala Kalachurya (C 1160 A. C.). Dr Fleet had opined that "no epigraphic mention of Basava and Chenna-Basava had been obtained, which is really peculiar if they held the high office that is allotted to them by tradition."<sup>1</sup> Later, while editing the Managōli record,<sup>2</sup> he held that the mention of the names Mādirāja and Basava, son of a Chandrarāja might have been the nucleus around which later Lingāyat tradition clustered. But this Basava could not have been the reformer as his parents mentioned in the Manigavalli record are Chandrarāja and Chandrāmbikā of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, while Mahāprahlu Mādirāja belonged to the Hārīta *gōtra*. In the present inscription Basava is mentioned as the son of Mādirāja, the ruler of Bāgavādī in the Tardavādī-thousand district, and also as Sangana-Basava—a name which also occurs in the *Viraśaiva Purānas*. He was devoted to the *Purāṇas*, *Jangamas* and the *Linga* (l 9). His descendants had the golden bull (*vr̥tshabha*) as their insignia—probably in honour of Basava or after the manner of the Kalachuryas who had also the golden bull as their *dhvaja*, being Śaivas, not Jainas as depicted in the *Byjalarāja charita* and other late works. The founder of the Kalachurya family, according to an epigraph<sup>3</sup>, was born of Śiva and a Brāhmana girl. The genealogy of the donee Hāla Basavidēva is not clear as the record is mutilated in vital parts. It speaks of Sangana Basava, then his eldest (*agra*). Next Dēvarājamunipa is mentioned, then a Sanga, his favourite son Kalidēvarasa, and his son Hāla Basavidēva. It is possible that Dēvarājamunipa himself was the eldest son (?) of Basava, though the Viraśaiva works like *Bharravēśvarahāvyada lathā-sūtra-ratnālara* mention that Basava had only one son Sanga, who died at an early age.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately it is difficult from the impression, as it is, to decide whether it was four or five generations that elapsed from the time of Basava. In this inscription another Sanga, the son of Dēvarāja, is also mentioned (l 37), probably Dēvarāja named his son after his own father Sanga, the son of Basava, according to tradition—a custom common amongst the Hindus.

The record is a Śaivite one, though it can also be claimed for the particular cult of the Lingāyats as it mentions Basava's devotion to *prasāda* (l 42) which acquired a new significance with the rise of Basava. The reverence paid to the *Purāṇas*, *Linga* and *Jangamas*, though emphasised by Vira Śaivism, cannot be said to be particularly characteristic of it. Even

<sup>1</sup> *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p 481

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol V, p 10

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol XI, Dg 42

<sup>4</sup> *Kurnāṭaka Kavicharite*, Vol I, p 174. The *Basava, āja saṅgale*, attributed to Harhara, gives the name Siddharasa to the son of Basava and Gangādevī (x ll 96 ff)

Lākulika Pāsupatas and followers of Kashmir Śaivism are said to have been “*jāṅgama-ling āvatāras*” and “*mahā-māhēśvaras*” and also “*Lākulāgama samaya samuddhara*”, i.e., the upholders of the *Lākula samaya* <sup>1</sup>

The date of the record is Śaka 1182, Siddhārthi, Chaitra, bahula Amāvāsyā, Monday, solar eclipse (Il 46-47) Putting Raudra for Siddhārthi, the date tallies with 12th April 1260 A. C. on which day a solar eclipse occurred <sup>2</sup> Incidentally, it might be mentioned that this grant provides the latest date for the Yādava king Krishnā as we know that the third regnal year of his successor Mahādēva falls in Vaiśākha of Dundubhi, Ś 1185 (1262 A. C.) <sup>3</sup> Krishnā probably lived only for a short time after this grant was made

Chāvunda-Setti, who is the donor of this grant, also figures in other inscriptions In the Bēhatti grant, <sup>4</sup> he is referred to as having quelled the pride of the Hōssana king, and as having come to Kukkanūr in Belvola division of Kuntala on a tour of conquest Nāgarasa is spoken of as the prime minister of Krishnā and as the establisher of the Ratta kingdom (l 45) It is not clear whether this re-establishment of the Rattas took place before or after Vichana had reduced them (Cir 1238 A. C.) <sup>5</sup> We know that the capital of the Rattas was transferred from Saundatti to Belgaum about the year 1208 A. C. <sup>6</sup> A record of the time of Lakshmidēva II, dated 1229 A. C., <sup>7</sup> speaks of *Mahāpradhāna* Munichandra also as “*Ratta rājya pratishth āchārya*”, perhaps because of the help he rendered to improve the fortunes of the family After 1230 A. C. we hear no more of the Ratta ruling family—the Khūndi province having finally passed into the hands of the Yādavas—though the members of the old family might have continued to be employed as ordinary officials Nāgarasa is spoken of as the son of Divākaradēva of the Vāṇasakula and as a devotee of Janārdana Evidently his Vaiṣṇavite leanings did not come in the way of making a grant to Śaivas—which proves that there was little of the bitter animosity between the devotees of Vishnu and of Śiva as depicted in later Vīra śaiva legends He seems to have also been a patron of literature as indicated by the title *Pandita-pārijāta* (l 34)

The localities mentioned in this inscription are interesting The province Tardavādi 1000 (l 8) evidently took its name from the small village Taddavādi on the banks of the Bhīmā, thirty-seven miles north of Bijāpur Bāgavādi was the centre of Bāge-50 as mentioned in the Honvāda inscription of Sōmēśvara I <sup>8</sup> The district Nūlenādu (l 49) clustered round the village Nūlegrāma, fifteen miles to the west of Hukēri The district Kūnda (l 61) was the territory the boundaries of which had been fixed by Ratta Kārtivīrya I (Cir 1040—1070 A. C.) <sup>9</sup> Kaviśāsapura, the lordship over which was claimed by Hāla-Basavidēva, is a village of the same name seven or eight miles from Nūlegrāma In the thirteenth century it must have been in a very flourishing condition, including within its compass the modern villages of Arjunavāda, Koehcharige and Mosaraguppi—the Mosaragutti of the present record (l 69)

Some of the fiscal terms mentioned in the inscription claim our attention *Kottasi* (l 55) and *kuruvange* are perhaps land revenues, assessed from the fields, each of which was sufficient for the maintenance of a temple (l 74), while all the minor taxes like *sumka*, *sāda*, *tala*, *sāriḡe*,

<sup>1</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol XII, pp 34 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol IV, p 122

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, pt II, p 527

<sup>4</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol XII, pp 42 ff

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, Vol X, pp 384 ff

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Belgaum, p 567

<sup>7</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol X, pp 260 ff

<sup>8</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 272 [Bāge 50 took its name, according to Dr Fleet, from Tadalbāgi (*Ind Ant*, Vol XXX, p 380) and so Bāgevādi does not appear to be the centre of the division—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol X, p 201.

*bat[ti<sup>+</sup>]eya-bādhe*, *grāma-bāya*, *anle*, *tanla*, *āne*, *gōsane*, *mudre*, etc., combined, were necessary to maintain the temple of Nāgēśvara (l 73). Perhaps they corresponded to the term *siddhāya* used in later Hoysala inscriptions to mean all the aggregate revenues payable to the king. *Sumla* usually meant a toll on things brought into the village, *lecjuggu*<sup>1</sup> or *lecjumul* a (l 62) being the great toll as distinguished from taxes. *Nidhi* and *nāshēpa* were two of the eight privileges (the others being *jala*, *pāhāna*, *alshim*, *āgāmi*, *siddha* and *sādhyā*). Other taxes were *anle* (a poll tax), *tanla* (coinage), *gōsane* (evidently *ghōshana*, a musical honour mentioned in the Bēhatti grant<sup>2</sup> as *grāma-ghōsha sahutam*, *grāma dēva ghōsha yul tam*—different from *ghōshā* or a village of cowherds), *mudre* (tax on right of seal), dues from fairs (l 77) and *kōnana meyndēge* (tax on buffaloes).

## TEXT

- 1 Nāmis tumga siras<sup>3</sup> chumbi chāndra chūmīra chōra
- 2 vē [1<sup>+</sup>] trulōkyā-nagar ārambhā mūla stambhīya śam-
- 3 bhavē || [1<sup>+</sup>]<sup>4</sup> Śrīyam sri Kallinūtham kudu
- 4 ge bhava harām bhakti brimda[h<sup>+</sup>]je Gurū jīyā hūy ā
- 5 nushamg īkalita-lalitātā prōllasid vīmā bhūgam svīya svā-
- 6 yatta-śakti trayā maya mahimam dēva dīyāda mī
- 7 yā pīyābhīprīya hīlam pranata jana-duramt āgha samghatta śīlam || [2<sup>+</sup>]<sup>5</sup>
- 8 Mattam Tr[r<sup>+</sup>]ānvādī madhya grāma Bīgavādi puravā ādhīśvara Mādīrājana tenū-
- 9 jam Basavarājana mahimey=eut-ēmdāde || Māngala kīrtti purītana jamgamā hū-
- 10 gāika bhakti nīrbhāra hīlī samgam Samgana Basavam samgatīyam<sup>6</sup> mālke bhāl ti-  
yolu(a)
- 11 g=anavaratam || [3 j<sup>+</sup>] Yidava bhūmipālar=deyam chatur ad(b)dhī- parī-
- 12 teyam nīsarṅg ōdayar-īlvar=ant=avārol=asva chamū chaya-vārdhī Simhanā-
- 13 kshāmā dayitam tad agra tanaya prabhavam nripa<sup>7</sup>-Kāmnaram samast-ōdadhī
- 14 vēleyim porage belgodeyol=nelalam nūmirechudam || [4<sup>+</sup>]<sup>8</sup> Sāle bhūdēva-
- 15 rkkalg=itt=alasade gō bhūmī hūma vastr īdigalam malev=arasugalo
- 16 l=kombam bīlavamtam Kāmnaram pratāpī sūhīyam || [5<sup>+</sup>]<sup>9</sup> Svasti [||<sup>+</sup>] samasta
- 17 bhuvan āśrīyā Śrī Prithvī<sup>11</sup>-vallabha mahīrājādhirāja paramē
- 18 śvara paramabhāttīraka Dīārīvatī puravā ādhīśvara Yā
- 19 dāva kula kamūla kīlikā vikāsa bhūskara yari<sup>12</sup> rāja
- 20 jagīy jhampe Mālava rāja Madana Trinētra Gūrījārā rīya bhayamkara
- 21 Telumga rājā sthīpan āchūyā ity=ādī-nām īvali-śam īlamkrīta<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The context would show that this is a festival. The word means "the big harvest"—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol. XII, pp. 44 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Read *siras*.

<sup>4</sup> Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>5</sup> Metre *Śāgdhara*.

<sup>6</sup> *mga* is written above the line.

Metre *Kanda*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *nripa*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre *Utpalāmala*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre *Kanda*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *Prithvī*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *mī*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *śamīrita*.

- 22 śrīmat praudha pratāpa chakravartti śrī Kamnarādēvam Dēvagi-  
 23 rīya nelc vīdinolu sukha samkathā vinōdadim=anavaratam rā-  
 24 jyam geyuttum-ire tat pāda-padma ōpajīvi || Chiklana chikka magam vibhavakke  
 25 Kubcramge senasuvam rāyarumam miklam Bichugiy=au-  
 26 dāryakk=ārim<sup>1</sup> priyan=ātan=amnam Mallam || [6']<sup>2</sup> Ātana tanū-bhavam ||  
 27 Chāvumdam Pārvvatī vallabha-charanā-sarōja dvay-āmōda bhri(r)mgam Chāvum-  
 28 dam tyāga bhōg ānubhava-Bhava sukha śrī-vadhū nri(r)tya-rangam Chāvumdam  
 sāma-  
 29 bhēda prabhru(r)ti [sa]kala mamtr ānga-vidyā samudram Chāvumdam vīra vīra-  
 pra-  
 30 kara samara saṁghata(tta) kāl āgni Rudram || [7']<sup>3</sup> Yene negald=ā Chāvumdana  
 manad annam  
 31 Nāgarājan=akshila<sup>4</sup> niyōgañan<sup>5</sup>=enippa Divākarādēvan putram Vānas ānva-  
 32 y-āmbara mitram || [8']<sup>6</sup> Tyāga-gunakke tāt vane samasta nri(r)pālā niyōga va-  
 33 rtanā-śrīge mvāsam=ishvara viśishtara tōshana pōshanāṅgul=ollāga-  
 34 ram=endu bamnu(ni)suvud=ī dhare pamdita pīrijātanam Nāganana=ā Janārdanana bha-  
 35 kti bhara-prabhav-ānurāganam || [9']<sup>7</sup> Saṁgana Basavana agra<sup>8</sup> kam  
 36 Dēvārāja munipana tanayam Jangama parusam<sup>9</sup> ra  
 37 Saṁgam priya sutan=enippa Kalidēvarasam || [10']<sup>10</sup> Kalidēvamuni-  
 38 pan=ātmaja sale mūjagadolage mereva mā[na]va dēvam gehdam asa(sa)na  
 39 besanava<sup>11</sup> chhalar=adhikam Hāla-Basavidēva munisam<sup>12</sup> || [11]<sup>13</sup> Svasti samasta  
 40 bhuvan āsreyam<sup>14</sup> mahā mātēsvaram<sup>15</sup> Kavilāsa purava  
 41 r ādhīs(s)vararum suvamrṇa(varṇa)-vrisabha<sup>16</sup> dhvajam [tē]saththi purātha<sup>17</sup> pād ārch-  
 chaka-  
 42 rum mahā hṁga-jangama prasāda niyata[ru]m sama-  
 43 ya bhakti sampamnna(panna) sri-Basavarājan āmn(an)vayarum=appa tapa chakra  
 44 [va]rtti<sup>18</sup> vīra bratī Hāla-Basavidēvamge ā mahāpradhānam Ra-  
 45 tta rājya-pratishth-āchāryyanum=appa Nāgarasaru S(s)aka varusham sīsira  
 46 dā nūra yembhatta yeradaneya Siddhārthti(tthi) samvachharada<sup>19</sup> Chai  
 47 tra bhūli amāse Sōma-vāra sūryya grahṇadālli Huli[ge]-  
 48 reya Sōmanāthadēvara samn(n)idhiyalli ā Chaudī Settiyar=ā

<sup>1</sup> Metre Kanda

<sup>2</sup> Metre Sragdharā

<sup>3</sup> Read =al hila

<sup>4</sup> Read niyōgañan=

<sup>5</sup> Metre Kanda

<sup>6</sup> Metre Utpalamala

<sup>7</sup> The letters erased are probably ja Saṁgam<sup>o</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Probably the missing word is sarana

<sup>9</sup> Metre Kanda

<sup>10</sup> Read °am

<sup>11</sup> Read °sam

<sup>12</sup> Metre Kanda

<sup>13</sup> Read asrayam

<sup>14</sup> Read °saram

<sup>15</sup> Read vrisabha

<sup>16</sup> Read puratana

<sup>17</sup> Read tapas chakravartti

<sup>18</sup> Read samatsarada



## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

Verse 1 Invocation to Śiva

V 2 Invocation to god Kallnātha

V 3 Praise of Saugana Basava who had unflinching faith in the *Purāṇas*, *Jangamas* and *Linga*

V 4 The Yādava rulers held sway over the whole earth bounded by the four seas, among them was Simhana, the possessor of numerous horses The son of his eldest son was Kannara who brought the whole earth under the shadow of his royal white umbrella

V 5 Praises of Kannara

Ll 16 24 The refuge of the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth, the king of kings, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāttāraka*, lord of Dvārāvati, the best of towns, the sun to the lotus of the Yādava family, destroyer of the world of hostile kings, a Trinētra (Śiva) to the Kāma, the Rājā of Mālava, terrifier of the ruler of the Gūjjaras, the establisher of Telumgarīya—*Praudha-pratāpa chakravartī* Kannaradēva was ruling at Dēvagin in peace and wisdom, the dweller at his lotus like feet,

V 6 Bichugi, the younger son of Chikka, was the younger brother of Malla Malla's son,

V 7 Chāvunda, worshipper of Śiva, was well versed in arts of diplomacy and war and a veritable Rudra to his foes

V 8 His dearest friend was the Niyōgi Nāgarāja, son of Divākaradēva of the Vānasa family

V 9 Praises of this Nāga

Vv 10 & 11 Sangana Basava's eldest son, Dēvarāja's son, the foremost among the *Jangamas* Sanga (H's ?) favourite son was Kalidēvarasa The son of Kalidēva, the lord of ascetics, is Hāla-Basavidēva, the best of men in the three worlds, who has overcome the pain of hunger and thirst

Ll 39 50 The refuge of all the three worlds, *Mahāmāhēśvara*, the lord of Kavilāsapura, the best of towns, who had the insignia of a golden bull, was the worshipper of the feet of 63 *Purāṇas*, believed in *Linga*, *Jangamas* and *Prasāda* and was the descendant of Basavarāja Such was Hāla-Basavidēva *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgarasa, the establisher of the Ratta kingdom, and Chaudī-Setti requested him for the history of Kavilāsa tīrtha of Nūle nādu, on Monday, the new moon (*tūlhi*) of the dark half of Chaitra, during a solar eclipse in the year Siddhārthi (*corresponding to*) the Śaka year 1182, while residing at the temple of Sōmanātha in Huligere

Ll 50 55 These give the history of the place during the four *yugas*

Ll 55 & 56 The emperor Māndhātā gave to the god under the name Ankanātha, this village (i.e., Kavilāsapura), the fields and the dues from them, viz, *kottasi* and *luruvange*

Ll 56 66 Hearing that it had before been granted to the god, Chauda Setti and Nāgarasa together gave it to the prince of ascetics, Hāla-Basavidēva, along with the taxes *kottasi*, *luruvange*, *talavṛitti*, *amḷaḷa* in the Kūndī province and tolls on one hundred cattle-loads during the festival called *Hejjuggiṇya habba*, for renovating the temples of, and conducting worship to, the gods Svayambhu-Mallikārjuna, Sangamēśvara and Nāgēśvara and also for the purpose of feeding *Jangamas*

Ll 66 76 At the command of Chaudī Setti, Nāgarasa made an allotment of the dues from the village of Kavilāsapura, the boundaries of which are specified Of the dues from Kavilāsapura the tolls, *sāda*, *tala*, *sārige*, *batteya-bādhe*, *grāma-braya*, *amḷe*, *tanka*, *āne*, *gōsane*, *mudre* and *nidhi* and *nīkshēpa* were assigned to Nāgēśvara, the *luruvange* to the god Mallēśvara and *kottasi* to the god Sangamēśvara and for feeding the *Jangamas*





pura to the ascetic Hāla-Basavidēva in Śaka 1182 (=A D 1260) If we suppose this to be the last year of Hāla-Basavidēva and allot him a period of 25 years, his date would be about A D 1235 1260 As we have seen above, two generations intervene between Sangana-Basava and Hāla-Basavidēva Allowing roughly 25 years for each generation we get A D 1160 1185 as the approximate time of Sangana-Basava According to the *Basava-Ājādēvara Ragale*, the *Basava-Purāna* and the *Chenna-Basava-Purāna*, the great reformer Basava, who was also known as Sangana-Basava and who was the son of Mādirāja of Bāgevādi, was a minister of the Kalachurya king Bijjala, who, we know, ruled from A D 1156 to 1167 There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Sangana-Basava of the Arjunavāda record is identical with the 'Apostle of Lingāyatism' of that name Thus we have in this record the first epigraphical confirmation of the tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Basava, the reviver of the Vīrasaiva faith, with king Bijjala

#### No 4—CHAUDALA GRANT OF HARIHARA ŚAKA-SAMVAT 1313

By G V ACHARYA, B A, BOMBAY

The plates bearing this inscription were purchased by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, from Mrs Da'Cunha of Bombay for the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, where they are at present exhibited The source from which they came originally is not known They are three in number, each plate measuring 10" by 6½" Their edges are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface to serve as rims for protecting the writing The second plate is inscribed on both sides, while the first and the third, on one side only All of them are in a good state of preservation No ring or seal is attached to them In weight they are 267 tolas

The inscription incised on these plates is written in Nāgarī script and Sanskrit language. The invocatory as well as the genealogical portion of it (vv 1-10, ll 1-36) is in verse but the rest (ll 37-91) is in prose It opens with invocations to Śiva, the boar incarnation of Vishnu and the Earth (vv 1-3) Then the city of Vijayanagarī is described (v 4) According to verses 5 and 6, Sangama was born in the family of Yadu, his son was Bukkarāja and his son was Harihara In the next verse we are told that king Harihara ruled the earth bounded by the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā, the eastern ocean, the Sētu and the western ocean Verses 8 and 9 relate to the conquest of Gōvā, the capital of Konkana, from the Turushkas by the minister Mādhava, and the re-consecration there of the images of Saptanātha and other gods Next comes the description of Mādhava, who is stated to be the son of the Brahman Chāmunda of the *Bhāradvāj ānvaya* He was governing the province of Konkana under the orders of the king He was the expounder of all the *Upanishads*, the illuminator of the *Śaiva-āgamas*, the author of *Kāvya*s, performer of *Mahādānas* and the teacher of *Nītiśāstra* (v 10 and ll 37 40) While he was seated on the throne at Gōvāpura, on the date specified, he made the gift of the village Paramarūpa in the Vārasa janapada, forming it into an *agrahāra* and renaming it Chaudalāpura, after his father, to 21 learned Brahmins of different *gōtras* The object of this charter is to record this gift The concluding portion states that the minister Naraharidēva purchased two of the granted *vruttis* from their holders and made a gift of them to Vitthala-Pattavardhana of the Kāsyapa *gōtra* This Naraharidēva, we learn, belonged to the Atri *gōtra* and was the son of Brahmarasa He was a disciple of the (sage) Vidyāsankara and had been installed by Mādhavarāja (ll 41 to 91)

The grant was issued in the Śaka year 1313 expired and the cyclic year Prajāpati, on the new moon *tithi* of Chaitra and Wednesday at the time of the solar eclipse, during *Asvinī nakṣatra*

and *Prīti yōga* According to L D Swamikannu Pillar's *Ephemeris* the date regularly corresponds to A D 1391, April 5, Wednesday, on which day there was a solar eclipse

The Mādhavarāja of the present grant has to be identified with Mādhava, the minister of Bukka I, who figures in the Hārōmuchchadī *agrahāra* inscription<sup>1</sup> of A D 1368, which also describes him as the son of the Brahman Ohāvunda, the *Upanishanmārga pratisthā guru* and a follower of the tenets of pure Śaivism as taught by the Śaiva teacher Kāśīvilāsa Kṛiyāśakti That the grant under publication mentions him as a scion of the Bhāradvāja family (*anvaya*) would support the identification, for Bhāradvāja is only a division of the Āngirasa *gōtra* This Mādhavarāja also figures as a minister of Harihara II<sup>2</sup> in another grant of the same year, i e, Śaka 1313, which was published long ago<sup>3</sup> The account given there agrees with that of the present document though it omits the name of Mādhava's father and gives the name of his mother, i e, Mambāmbikā, and of his elder brother Bhāskara Some of the verses are common to both of these charters (vv 5, 7, 8 and 9 of the present grant) The details of the date recorded in them are practically the same, though the months are differently named The charter that has already been published wrongly gives Vaiśākha in place of Chaitra Both the grants were issued on the same date, i e, on the 5th of April, 1391 (A D)<sup>4</sup> As has already been pointed out by Kielhorn, and is substantiated by the present grant, the date concerned pertains to the *amānta* month of Chaitra<sup>5</sup> As Rao Bahadur R Narasimhachar has shown, Mādhava flourished between A D 1347 and 1391<sup>6</sup> The conquest of Gōvā by Mādhava mentioned in these records must have happened before Śaka 1309 (= A D 1386) as in that year he was already known as the 'Lord of Gōvā'<sup>7</sup> The copper plate alluded to above shows that Naraharidēva, the minister, was sent to Goa to succeed Mādhava as the governor of Jayantipura mandala after the latter's death, which must have happened shortly after the issue of the present grant Vidyāsankara, the *guru* of Naraharidēva, was another name of the famous Vidyātīrtha, the *guru* of the brothers Mādhavāchārya and Sāyana, who considered him as an incarnation of Mahēśvara<sup>8</sup>

The list of the donees mentioned in the charter is as follows —

No	Gotra	Father's name	Name of the Donee
1	Kāsyapa	Rāmadēva Pattavardhana	Vāmana Pattavardhana
2	Vāsishtha	Mahādēva Bhatta	Dāmōdara Bhatta
3	"	Nārana Bhatta	Ajja Bhatta
4	Kāsyapa	Rāmadēva Bhatta	Harī Bhatta
5	Bhāradvāja	Nāgadēva Bhatta	Kēśava Bhatta
6	Vāsishtha	Vitthala Bhatta	" "

<sup>1</sup> *Ep Carn*, Vol VII, Sk 281

<sup>2</sup> The late Rao Bahadur H Krishna Sastri who noted this fact (*A S R* 1907 08, p 244) has not identified him with Mādhava the Śaiva minister of Bukka I

<sup>3</sup> *J B E R A S*, Vol IV, p 115

<sup>4</sup> Kielhorn's *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 471

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p 80, f r 6 and *Ind Ant*, Vol XXV, p 273

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XLV, pp 1 ff

<sup>7</sup> *A R on S I E*, 1928 29 p 82

<sup>8</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XLV, p 3

No	Gotra	Father's name	Name of the Donee
7	Vāsishtha	Mahādēva Bhaṭṭa	Harī Bhatta
8	Ātrīya	"	Jānu Bhatta
9	Parāśara	Rāma Bhatta	Mailāra Bhatta
10	Kāśyapa	Nārana Jyōtirvid	Gangādharma Jyōtirvid
11	Bhāradvāja	Mahādēva Bhaṭṭa	Dāmōdara Bhaṭṭa
12	"	Ajama Bhaṭṭa	Mahādēva Bhatta
13	"	Nārana Bhaṭṭa	"
14	"	Vitthala Bhaṭṭa	Sadama Bhatta
15	Ātrīya	Mallinātha Bhaṭṭa	Nārana Bhatta
16	Bhāradvāja	Vitthala Bhaṭṭa	Narahari Bhatta
17	Vāsishtha	Gōvinda Bhatta	Ananta Bhatta
18	Bhāradvāja	Ajama Bhatta	Kēsava Bhatta
19	"	"	Jānu Bhatta
20	Sāndilya	Bhīmadēva	Harīhāra
21	Bhāradvāja	Amlanna	Pammanna

Of these *vr̥ttis*, Nos 9 and 10 were purchased from their holders and donated to Krishna-Pattavardhana, son of Vitthala-Pattavardhana of the Kāśyapa-gotra, by the minister Narahari-dēva

#### TEXT <sup>1</sup>

[Metres Vv 1 and 2, *Anushtubh*; vv 3, 4, 6, 7 and 10 *Śardūlavikrīḍita*, v 5 *Vasantatilakā*, vv 8 and 9 *Indravajrā*]

#### Plate I

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमः शिवा-
- 2 य । नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुंविचद्रचोमरचार-
- 3 वे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारमसु(सू)लस्तुमाय शभवे ।[1१<sup>1</sup>] ज-
- 4 यत्पेय जगदीज लीलाकोलः प्रियत्रियः । यस्य
- 5 दक्षाक्षुरे भूमिस्तस्यस्यवायते ॥ [२<sup>2</sup>] कदत्त क-
- 6 मठेश्वरः कलिपतिर्नीलत्वमालंबते
- 7 वर्षाणां ततयो दत्तावलितुलामारुह्य य-
- 8 स्य [स्थि]ताः । किञ्चित्कलिलं कुलाचलेकु-
- 9 ल मेरुश्च सत्कर्णिकालीलां यत्र दधाति

<sup>1</sup> From the plates as well as from the impressions

- 10 भाति तदिदं रम्य रसा(स)[स्सा]रसं ॥३\*॥ ख्या-  
 11 तो भारतवर्षदक्षिणदले देशोस्य कर्णा-  
 12 टकस्तन्मध्ये विजयाह्वयास्ति नगरी सा-  
 13 रातिभिर्दुर्जया । या क्षलोपरिवर्तिनी-  
 14 मपि पुर जिह्वोरध[\*]स्त्रैर्गुणै[\*] शुभ्रास्सलि-  
 15 हृहस्यनिर्भलरुचा मन्ये हसत्यूर्जिता ॥४\*॥  
 16 [व]शे यदोरभिनवाश्र द्वाच्युतस्य श्रीस-  
 17 गभादजनि सगररगभीमः । ओबुद्धरा-  
 18 ज इति धिक्कृतशत्रुरेष तामध्यतिष्ठदथ  
 19 मध्यमलोकपाल' ॥५\*॥ तत्सूनुस्त्वपद प्रशास्ति  
 20 बलिजिह्वस्त्वविद्विष्टुरस्तद्वृंदावनतत्पर-  
 21 श्व सुमहासेन[\*]अतस्सद्गुणैः । ओयुक्तस्सहं  
 22 सर्वमगल इति ओपत्युमाकातशो[शु(र्य)कत्वा]-  
 23 दिह लक्ष्यैर्हरिहराख्या यो वहत्युज्ज-

*Plate II, First Side*

- 24 ला ॥६\*॥ आक्षय्याख्यसरिहरोत्तरतटादापूर्वपाथोनि-  
 25 धेरासेतोरवनी चिरादवति सत्यापु(प)श्चिमाभोनि-  
 26 धे । ख्यातेस्त्रिभुवनमभिर्हरिहरे राजाधिरा-  
 27 जादिभिस्सर्वोर्वीपतिमौलिलालितपटाभोजे ।<sup>1</sup>  
 28 महीवल्लभे ॥७\*॥ तस्याग्रया माधवमन्त्रिवर्यो दिशं  
 29 जिगोषुर्महता बलेन । गोवाभिधा कोकणराज-  
 30 धानीमन्येन मन्येरुणदर्णवेन ॥८॥ प्रतिष्ठितास्त-  
 31 च तुरुष्कसघातुत्वाय दोषा भुवनैकवीर ।  
 32 उन्मूलितानामकरोल्लतिष्ठा श्रीसप्तनाथादिसु-  
 33 धाभुजा यः ॥९\*॥ सारदाजसदन्वितान्वयसुधावारा-  
 34 शितारापतिचासुडाभिधभूसुरेद्रतनयो सत्रोश्वरो  
 35 माधवः । शासत्कोकणोद्धत हरिहरचोणीपतेरा-  
 36 ग्रथा धर्मानकुरयत्यसज्जनशिखिज्वालौघदग्धा-  
 37 न्पुन ॥१०\*॥ स च निर्जिताखिलभूपालस्सर्वोपनिषदा व्य-  
 38 कर्ता श्रेवागमाना प्रकाशयिता काव्यानां कर्ता स-

<sup>1</sup> The stroke is not necessary;

- 39 हादानाना विधाता नोतिशास्त्रोपदेष्टा भक्त-  
 40 गुणालक्तो भाधवराजो गोवापुरवरसिंहास-  
 41 नमधितिष्ठन्नाल(न्नालि)वाहनशके वर्षाणा त्रयोदशो-  
 42 तत्रत्रयोदशश्रुत्यामतीताया वर्तमानप्रजाप-  
 43 तिसवस(त्स)रे चैत्रभासे अभावाच्याया सौम्यवारे अ-  
 44 श्विनीनक्षत्रगते पुष्यदंते प्रोतियोगे सूर्योप-  
 45 रागे पुण्यकाले वारसनामजनपदे परमरू-  
 46 पनामग्राम स्वपितृनाम्ना चौडलापुराभिधान-  
 47 मग्रहार कृत्वा योनिगोत्र(यु)त[त]त्त्वसपत्ने-

*Plate II, Second Side*

- 48 भ्यश्चतुर्दशविद्यापरिणतेभ्यः षट्कर्मनिरतेभ्यः  
 49 नृक्षशास्त्राध्यायिभा(भ्य) एकविंशतिवाङ्मणे- <sup>1</sup>  
 50 भ्यः सर्वनमस्य प्रादात् । तेषा नामगोत्रवि-  
 51 वरणं यथा काश्यपगोत्रस्य रामदेवपट्टव-  
 52 र्धनपुत्रस्य वामनपट्टवर्धनस्य हत्तिरेका  
 53 वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामो-  
 54 दरभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका । वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य नारण-  
 55 भट्टप(पु)त्रस्य अज्जभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका काश्य(श्य)-  
 56 पगोत्रस्य रामदेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभट्टस्य  
 57 हत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य नागदेवभट्टपु-  
 58 त्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका । वासिष्ठ[गो]त्र-  
 59 स्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका ।  
 60 वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभ-  
 61 ट्टस्य हत्तिरेका आत्रेयगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्र-  
 62 स्य जानुभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका पराशरगोत्रस्य श्री-  
 63 रामभट्टपुत्रस्य मैलारभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका काश्य-  
 64 पगोत्रस्य नारण्योतिर्विपुत्रस्य गगाधर-  
 65 ज्योतिर्विदो हत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य महा-  
 66 देवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामोदरभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका भा-  
 67 रद्वाजगा(गो)त्रस्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य महादेवभट्ट[ट्ट]-

<sup>1</sup> The stroke is not necessary

- 68 स्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य नारणभट्ट-  
69 पुत्रस्य महादेवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भा[र]-

## Plate III

- 70 द्वाजगोत्रस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य शङ्भट्ट-  
71 स्य वृत्तिरेका आच्यगोत्रस्य मङ्गिनाथभट्ट-  
72 पुत्रस्य नारणभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाज-  
73 गोत्रस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य नरहरिभट्टस्य  
74 वृत्तिरेका वासिष्ठगा(गो)त्रस्य गोविदभट्टपुत्र-  
75 स्य अनन्तभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्र-  
76 स्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य क(कै)श्वभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका  
77 भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य जानुभट्ट-  
78 स्य वृत्तिरेका शा[डि]ल्यगोत्रस्य भीमदेवर्च(पु)त्रस्य  
79 हरिहरस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य अक(क)ण्णपु-  
80 त्रस्य पमण्णपुत्रवृत्तिरेका<sup>1</sup> एवमेकविंशतिब्राह्म-  
81 णाना नामगोत्रविवरणं ॥ तत्र मैलारभट्टस्य वृत्तिं  
82 गगाधरज्योतिर्विदो वृत्तिं च पवित्रात्रिगोत्रस-  
83 भूतो ब्रह्मरसात्मजो विद्याशंकरसपावलोक-  
84 नसुधासिकेन संवर्धितो माधवराजेन कृत- ।<sup>2</sup>  
85 प्रतिष्ठः श्रीभान्नरहरिदेवनामा न(म)त्रोश्व-  
86 रो राजससदि तदग्रामीब्राह्मणपौरपरिवार-  
87 रजनसमक्षं सम्यग्धनेन क्रीत्वा ते द्वे वृ-  
88 त्ती काश्यपगोत्राय विठ्ठलपट्टवर्धनपुत्रस्य  
89 कण्णपट्टवर्धननाम्ने विद(दु)षे ब्राह्मणाय स्त्रीपु-  
90 त्राद्यनुमतेन हिर(र)ण्योदकदानधारापूर्वक स-  
91 प्रादात् ॥

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

Verses 1 to 3 Invoke Śiva, Viṣṇu in the form of the Boar, and the Earth

V 4 The impregnable city of Vijayanagara in the Kārṇātaka country which lies to the south of Bhāratavarsha excelled the city of Indra

Vv 5 and 6 In the family of Yadu was born Saṅgama, his son Bukkāṛājā, the conqueror of enemies, was ruling that city. To him was born Harihara, the destroyer of his enemies

<sup>1</sup> Read °पुत्रस्यवृत्ति°

<sup>2</sup> The stroke is no necessary.

V 7 While this king was ruling the earth from the northern bank of the river Krishnā to the Sētū and from the eastern to the western ocean, his feet were worshipped by all the kings

Vv 8 and 9 By his command, Mādhava, the chief of ministers, set out with a large army to conquer the quarters and captured Gōvā, the capital of Kōṇkana. And having killed the Turushkas who were established there, he re-instated the gods Saptanātha and others who had been removed by them

V 10 By Harihara's command this minister Mādhava, the moon to the ocean of the Bhūradvāja family, the son of the Brahman Chāmunda, was protecting the Konkana country and re-establishing the *Dharma* which had been destroyed by the wicked

Ll 37 to 41 This Mādhavarāja, the conqueror of all kings, the expounder of all the *Upanishads*, the illuminator of the *Sarv āgamas*, the author of *lāvya*s, the performer of *mahādānas*, the teacher of *nītisūtra*, being seated on the throne of Gōvā, the best of cities

Ll 41 to 50 When 1313 Śaka years had elapsed, on Wednesday, the new moon (*tithi*) of the month of Chaitra in the year Prajāpati, the sun being in the constellation Aśvinī, the *yōga* being Prīti, during a solar eclipse, gave to 21 Brahmins, who were of good birth and learned in the fourteen *vidyās*, who were devoted to the six *śāstras* and were the students of the *Rik śālkhā*, the village of Paramarūpa in the Vārasa *janapada*, making it into an *agrahāra* called Chaudalāpura after his father's name

Ll 50 to 81 Names, etc., of the donees (see list above)

Ll 81 to 91 The minister Naraṇandīva, son of Brahmarasa, who had been reared up by the favour of (*the sage*) Vidyāśankara, and was installed by Mādhavarāja, purchased two of these *vr̥ttis* from Mailāra Bhatta and Gaṅgādhara, the astrologer, and gave them in the royal court before the Brahmins and other inhabitants of the village to the learned Brahmin Kṛṣṇa-Pattavardhana, son of Vitthala Pattavardhana

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## No 5—KOROSHANDA COPPER-PLATES OF VISAKHAVARMAN

BY G. RAMDAS, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These are three copper-plates which were discovered by a cultivator of Koroshandā, a village six miles to the south of Parāṅṁidi in the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency, while he was ploughing his field. The inscription incised on them has been edited by Mr. Sātyanarayana Rajaguru in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*<sup>1</sup>, but without any facsimile. Owing to certain defects in the reading, re editing of this record is necessary and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in this journal.

Each plate is 7½" long and 2" broad and has a ring hole about ¾" in diameter on its left side. I found neither a ring nor a seal attached to them. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on their inner side but the second plate bears writing on both sides.

The alphabet of the plates resembles that of the Peddāvēgi plates of the Śālikāyana king Nandivarman II<sup>2</sup> and of the Brihatprōshthā grant of Umavarmān<sup>3</sup>. The inscription under notice is written in Sanskrit and is in prose throughout, except for the two imprecatory verses *bahubhāh* etc., and *śashtim* etc., which come at the end. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted: (1) consonants are generally doubled after *r*, e.g. *sarvva* (l. 5), *sarmma* (l. 6), *lartavyam* (l. 8) and *śaṛṅṅṇi* (l. 12), (2) the *upadhāniya* is used in line 4, (3) the final form of it

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XIV, pp. 282 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 30 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff.



occurs in line 8, and (4) the numerical symbols for 7 and 20 occur in lines 8 and 9 respectively. The symbol for the latter figure is rather noteworthy.

The inscription records that *Mahārāja Viśākhavarman*, "who was a worshipper of the gods" and "devoted to the feet of (his) father", granted the village *Tampōyaka* in *Kōrāsōdaka-Pañchālī* to *Vishnuśarmman*, *Śrēsthīśarmman*, *Agnīśarmman*, *Nāgīśarmman* and *Śivaśarmman*, all of whom belonged to the *Ātrēya gōtra* and were the residents of the village *Śabarabhēnda*. The grant was made for increasing the merit of the donee's father who was in heaven. The date of the grant was the 20th day of the 7th fortnight of *Hēmanta* in the 7th year (of the king's reign).

The family to which *Viśākhavarman* belonged is not stated in the charter. But from the *Chicacole* grant of *Indravarmman*<sup>1</sup> we learn that the division *Kōrāsōdaka Pañchālī*, which is also mentioned in the present grant (1-2), formed a part of the *Kalinga* country. This would suggest that *Viśākhavarman* was a *Kalingādhipati* (i.e., the chief of *Kalinga*) like *Umavarman* of the *Bṛhatprsthā* grant, *Chandavarman* of the *Komarī Plates*<sup>2</sup> and *Śaktivarman* of the *Rāgōlu plates*<sup>3</sup>.

Of the places mentioned in the charter, *Śrīpura*, where the king resided at the time of the grant, may be the *Siripuram* (18° 53' N Lat., 83° 50' E Long., Indian Atlas) which now forms part of the *Zamindari* of *Vāṇīvalasa* in the *Vizagapatam* district. It is only 3 miles south of the *Nāgāvalī* river on whose northern bank *Varāhavarmanī*, the well known district of *Kalinga*, was situated. *Siripuram* is not far away from *Viśākhapattanam* (modern *Vizagapatam*) which is said to have been designated after the god *Viśākhāsvāmin* who was worshipped there. Possibly *Viśākhavarman*, the donor of this grant, built a temple in that locality and named the god enshrined in it after himself. *Kōrāsōdaka Pañchālī* must have comprised the region round the modern village *Koroshandā* where the plates were found. *Tampōyaka* I am not able to identify.

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

##### *First Plate, Second Side*

- 1 स्वस्ति[॥] विजयश्रीपुरात्परमदैवत[ः] व्यभिहारकपादभक्तः श्रीमहाराज-
- 2 विशाखवर्मा कोरासोडकपचाख्या<sup>5</sup> तंपोयकग्रामे कुटुम्बिनः
- 3 समाज्ञापयति अस्त्येष ग्रामोक्ताभिरस्तद्व्यभिहारकपादाना

##### *Second Plate, First Side*

- 4 सुरलोकादप्रच्युताना भूयः पुण्याध्यायनाय आचन्द्रताराकप्रति-
- 5 ष्ठमग्रहार कृत्वा सर्वकारभरंश्च परिहृत्य आत्येयसगोत्रे-
- 6 भ्यः शवरमेण्डकविष्णुशर्मश्चेष्टिशर्मश्चग्निशर्मनागशर्मशिवशर्मै(र्मै)-

##### *Second Plate, Second Side*

- 7 भ्य[ः] सप्रदत्तस्तदेवमवेत्य पूर्वोचितमर्यादाभिस्त्वर्चोपस्थान
- 8 कर्तव्यमिति[॥] आज्ञाभोगिकबोदुदैव[ः] [स]ञ्जत् ७ हेमं ७
- 9 अथ च व्यासगोत्री हो श्रीकौ दिवस २०<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> From the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'दचारा'.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. G. H. Ojha's *Palaeography of India*, plate LXXII (lower), last column.

KOROSHANIAN COPPER-PLATES OF VISAKHAVARMAN



## , Third Plate , First Side

- 10 बहुभिर्वहुधा दत्ता वसुधा, वसुधाधिपैः [1<sup>\*</sup>] यस्य यस्य  
 11 यदा भूमि[स्तस्य] तस्य तदा फल[म्] [11<sup>\*</sup>] पष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि  
 12 स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद[ ] [1<sup>\*</sup>] आत्मेता चानुमन्ता च तान्देव नरके  
 वसेत् [11<sup>\*</sup>]

## No 6—SADDÓ ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 104

By STEN KONOW

Saddo is a village on the left or eastern bank of the Panjkora river, to the west of the Katgala pass, on the road from Swāt to Chitrāl, where a bridge leads across the river

Cunningham discovered a stone inscription in Kharōshthī characters at this place, and his servants copied it 'under great difficulties, and not without danger'

When I prepared the edition of Indian Kharōshthī inscriptions for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* I did not succeed in my efforts to get estampages or photographs of the record, and I could therefore only reproduce Cunningham's plate, without any attempt at an explanation<sup>2</sup>

I owe it to the kind assistance of Mr Hargreaves that I can now publish a reliable reproduction On the 29th October 1930 he sent me two estampages, prepared by Khan Bahadur Mian Wasiud Din, who had been good enough to add the following information 'The inscription is situated on the rocky bank (left) of the Panjkora river, between the ruined and existing bridges, which are only a furlong apart The inscribed boulder is quite smooth and naturally sloped like a camel-back, with no sign of dressing It is outwardly 5½' × 2½' in size, of a dun-buff colour, like the rest of the bluff jutting out into the river It is only 48 ft upstream from the broken pier of the ruined bridge, and being on the same level, is submerged in the current for four months in the year, i e, May to August It is therefore at the mercy of the torrent which carries a timber trade, besides trees and other things, when inundated'

We learn from this note that more than one bridge has been constructed in this place, and we also understand why the inscription has suffered so much in the course of time A comparison of Cunningham's plate will, however, show that not much has disappeared since his copy was made, and also that his assistants have faithfully reproduced what they could see on the rock

The characters are Kharōshthī, of the same type as in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription. Some details will be mentioned below

The inscription covers a space measuring 3½ ft by 1½ ft, and contains remnants of four lines, of varying length The height of the *aksharas* is 3 to 5 inches

In 11 Cunningham's plate has five *aksharas*, of which only the first and third are visible in the estampages The first is a distinct *ma* in the plate, but the estampage shows that the left bar is prolonged upwards and perhaps ends in a curve to the left I have not met with a

<sup>1</sup> *A S R*, Vol V, pp 62 f, and plate XVI, No 5

<sup>2</sup> *C I I*, Vol II, Part I, pp 9 f

*ma* of this shape in any other Kharōṣṭhī inscription. The nearest approach to our *alshara* is the *mu* of *danamu* *h[o]* in the Dharmarājikā inscription No. 1<sup>1</sup>, and it is possible that we should read *mu* here. The second *alshara* visible in the estampage can hardly be anything else than *dhe*. In one of my estampages the *e* stroke is unmistakable, and the *alshara* itself is almost identical with the *dka* of the Mathurā elephant inscription<sup>2</sup>.

I cannot make anything out of these letters. If the intervening *alshara* were *ru*, we might think of an old form of *murunda*, which must, in some way, be connected with Saka *rre*, gen. *nunda*, ling. But I should not like to suggest such an explanation.

In l. 2 the first *alshara* which can be read stands below the *dhe* of l. 1, and is so like the *du* of *Takht-i-Bāhī* ll. 1, 6, that I have no hesitation in reading so.

Then follows an *alshara* consisting of a damaged vertical, of which only the top and the bottom remain, continued in a horizontal, bent downwards into a shorter vertical, which is curved forwards at the bottom. So far as I can see, we can only read *śa*.

The ensuing *alshara* is evidently *da*, cf. the *da* in *Takht-i-Bāhī* l. 1 and in the Pāṇi record.

It is followed by *ma*. In one of my estampages the right hand bar is bent backwards at the top, but this bend is absent in the other estampage and in Cunningham's copy, wherefore we cannot well think of an irregularly placed *e* stroke.

Then comes a distinct *śra* and two hooks, which I take to be the numerical figure for 4, twice repeated.

What can be read is accordingly *duśadama-śra* 4 4, and, though the names of the months are not abbreviated in other Kharōṣṭhī records, I restore, with some confidence, *chaduśadam[e]* *śra* 4 4, in the four-hundredth (year, on the) 8. (of) Śrāva.

It is true that other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions present *satīmaa* for 'hundredth,' but this form is probably due to the analogy of ordinals such as *satalīmaa*, *asatīmaa*, and Pāli has *satama*.

What precedes *[cha]duśadama* cannot be read. The existing traces can, however, be reconciled with the reading *sabatśarae*, which we have before *[ti]satīmae* in the *Takht-i-Bāhī* inscription.

L. 3 had already almost disappeared when Cunningham's copy was made. The two first *alsharas* are, however, legible, being *īsa*, very similar to the *īsa* in l. 3 of *Takht-i-Bāhī*.

The ensuing 10-12 *alsharas* are quite obliterated, though the first two or three bear a certain resemblance to the unidentified letters following after *īsa* in *Takht-i-Bāhī*. They probably comprised some term for 'time', and the name of the person who had the inscription executed.

Under the *alsharas* *sada* of l. 2 there are traces of a letter which is like the *di* of l. 2 of *Takht-i-Bāhī* and one might think of restoring *[pra]di-[stauide]*.

Then follows a fairly distinct *esha*.

At the beginning of l. 4 some *alsharas* have been lost. The first *alshara* of l. 3, however, runs down into the line so that not more than two or three letters can be missing. After the gap comes a distinct *ye*, and it is tempting to restore *setuye* or *seduye*, cf. Sanskrit *setūka*, causeway, bridge. It seems to me as if it were possible to trace *se*. We should then have the sentence *pradistauide esha seduye*, this bridge was set up, but the reading is highly uncertain.

The next word is certainly *garuheasa*, but I cannot explain it. *Garu* is evidently the regular Prakrit form of Sanskrit *guru*, heavy, but *hea* remains unexplained. *Garuheasa* may be a name, but is more probably a noun meaning something heavy.

<sup>1</sup> C. I. I., Vol. II, Part I, plate LVII, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. X, 1.

After *sa* one *akshara* is lost, and then follows what looks like an *e* I tentatively read *garu-heasarthae*, for the sake of the heavy.

It will be seen that my reading and explanation are rather unsatisfactory. The only thing which seems to be certain is that the inscription is dated in the year 104, and it can hardly be doubted that the era is the same as *eg*, in the *Takht-i-Bāhī* inscription.

In my edition of *Kharōshthī* inscriptions in the *Corpus* I have assumed that the first year of this era coincided with 84-83 B C, in accordance with certain calculations made by the Dutch scholar Dr van Wijk. The date of the *Takht-i-Bāhī* inscription was identified by him with the 10 March, A D 19, and our record would, similarly, belong to the 16 June, A D 20.

My chronology has, however, been severely criticized, especially by Professor Rapson<sup>1</sup>, who thinks that we must make use of the *Vikrama* era, which was, according to him, established by Azes, as proposed by Sir John Marshall. The date of the *Takht-i-Bāhī* inscription would then correspond to 45 A D, and the *Saddo* date to 46 A D.

In the introductory remarks to my edition of the *Kharōshthī Inscriptions* (C I I, Vol II, Part I) I have maintained that it is impossible to refer the dates in the old series of these records to the *Vikrama* era, if the *Śodāsa* inscription of the year 72 is dated in it, and I agree with Professor Rapson that such is the case.

But then he maintains that he has *proved*<sup>2</sup> that the *Āmohinī* tablet is dated in the year 42 and not in 72, and his arguments have been accepted as final by Professor Charpentier<sup>3</sup> and Mr Jayaswal<sup>4</sup>. The latter scholar goes to the length of asserting that 'throughout the range of Indian epigraphy nowhere the symbol reads 70, and everywhere it reads 40', as if we had to do with a well-known and frequent sign.

I have not been able to accept Professor Rapson's learned and ingenious deductions, for several reasons. And now the Central Asian manuscript remains collected in Berlin have brought fresh light.

In a masterly article<sup>5</sup> Professor Luders has examined the decimal symbols occurring in certain old 'manuscript leaves' written in early *Kushāna* characters, and shown that the  $\text{H}$  symbol must there mean 40, because it is found in a continuous numbering immediately after 39. The St Andrews cross occurs at least twice in page numberings, where the  $\text{H}$  symbol is used for 40, and since all the other decimal symbols, except that for 70, are used in other folios, the St Andrews cross can only mean 70. Professor Luders has further traced the origin of the figure. It is formed from the symbol for 60, which occurs in a shape resembling a *Kharōshthī* *ga*, by adding a stroke to the left.

Professor Rapson remarks that 'much of the perplexity which scholars have found in their attempts to arrange the chronology of the *Śakas* and the *Kushānas* seems to be due to the belief caused by the reading "year 72" that the Great Satrap *Śodāsa* ruled so late as the second decade of the first century A D'. And it would certainly make it impossible to refer the dates of the *Āmohinī* tablet and the *Patika* plate to one and the same era.

Mr Jayaswal's chronology, on the other hand, which leads to such results as that the *Takht-i-Bāhī* inscription is dated in the year 20 B C, discards the unanimous results drawn from Chinese sources by leading sinologists such as Chavannes and Franke, and I must leave it to those who know Chinese and Chinese literature to judge about its merits.

<sup>1</sup> *J R A S*, 1930, pp 186 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The date of the *Āmohinī* tablet of Mathurā, in *Indian studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*. Harvard University Press, 1929, pp 49 ff. In another paper, which will be published in the *Acta Orientalia*, Professor Rapson maintains the same view, against Professor Lüders.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant*, lx, 1930, p 210.

<sup>4</sup> *J B O R S*, xvi, p 245.

<sup>5</sup> *Acta Orientalia* X, pp 118 ff.

After the manuscript of this paper had been sent to press, Sir John Marshall's excavations at Kalawān have brought to light a new record, which shows that Professor Rapson was right in referring the dates of the Takṣitī-Bāhī and some other early inscriptions to the so called Vikrama era, and that the Saddo record accordingly belongs to A D 16

I have discussed the new epigraph in the October number of the *J R A S*, and prepared a paper on it for the *Epigraphia*. It shows that I was wrong in explaining the word *ayasa* in the Taxila silver scroll as corresponding to Skr *ādyasya*, and that it cannot therefore be utilized for calculating the era used in a series of Kharōṣṭhī dates. We must evidently accept Sir John's explanation, that *Ayasa* is the genitive of the name *Aya*, *Azes*

For reasons specified in the *Corpus*, I cannot, however, accept Sir John's further explanation, that *Ayasa* characterizes the era as instituted by *Azes*. It must, I think, have another meaning, viz., to distinguish it from another reckoning, with which the inhabitants of Taxila were familiar

And it seems to me that we have distinct indications to the effect that such an era existed, and was looked upon as a Saka institution. The reading of the Shahdaur inscription<sup>1</sup> is uncertain and does not prove that it was designated as such. The matter would be different if Professor Thomas<sup>2</sup> is right in reading *sa* before the *la* with which the inscription on the Taxila silver vase<sup>3</sup> seems to open

Mr Hargreaves has been good enough to let his deputy, Mr Dikshit, make a careful examination of the original, especially with a view to find out whether any letter preceded *la*. He reported that no trace could be found. A plaster cast of the initial portion of the inscription, which Mr Hargreaves has kindly sent me, seems, however, to show traces of an obliterated *sa*, and it is, besides, difficult to see what *la* can be unless it is the remaining portion of *sa la*

It was in order to distinguish the era used in the Taxila silver scroll from this Saka reckoning that the word *Ayasa* was added, and it was chosen, because the inhabitants of Taxila were so well acquainted with it from the numerous *Azes* coins that it was looked upon as a kind of symbol of the whole Parthian dynasty. The era was not, however, instituted by *Azes*, but by an Indian ruler, who made an end to Saka dominion in another quarter, viz., in Mālava, just as the Parthians had done in Taxila

We must necessarily draw the inference that two different eras are used in the older series of Kharōṣṭhī records, one old Saka reckoning, and the Vikrama era. To the former we must apparently, *inter alia*, refer the Mairā well, the Mānschrū, the Shahdaur, the Patika plate, the Taxila silver vase, and probably also the Lorañ Tīngai, the Hashtnagar, and the Skarāh Dherī inscriptions, to the latter, *eg*, the Takṣitī-Bāhī, the Saddo, the Panjtār, and the Taxila silver scroll records

With every reserve I finally give the text and translation of the Saddo record

### TEXT

- 1 mu dhe
- 2 [sambatsarae cha\*] duśadam[e\*] śra 4 4
- 3 iśa [pra\*]dī[staviḍe\*] eśba
- 4 [sedu\*]ye garuheasa[rtha\*]je

<sup>1</sup> *C I I*, Vol II, Part I, No IX

<sup>2</sup> *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1931, p 4.

<sup>3</sup> *C I I*, No XXX



1

2

3

4

1

2

3

4





## TRANSLATION

In the 104th year, the 8 Śrāvana, at this [instant, by ] was set up this bridge, for the sake of heavy

## No 7 —CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I

By K V SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B A , M R A S

The late Dr Hultsch noticed this inscription long ago<sup>1</sup> but did not give the text nor a critical analysis of its contents. In consideration of its historical importance I am editing it below. It seems that the record is not in its original position, for the different portions of it lie in different places, though in the same sanctuary, viz, the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram. One piece is found in the floor of the *mukha-mandapa* and the other is built in the roof of the said temple. Both these pieces, in my opinion, go to make up section I of the record though some portions of it, especially at the middle and at the end, are not forthcoming. Similarly, the third fragment is found in the floor and the other fragment marked B-1 is to be found in the roof. These fragments put together would make up section II of the record, though here too, some portions have not been secured as yet. Each of the fragments A and A-1 contain an equal number of lines incised on them. The portion of the record giving the date (l 8) which is found on the fragment A, seems to continue on the fragment marked A-1. Of the other section, 49 lines are engraved on the fragment marked B and 30 on the slab called B-1. I think that lines 16 to 45 of B continue on B-1 for, when put together, they read continuously.

The section marked I gives the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukyas. Among the kings mentioned in it we find the names of Vijayāditya-Gunakāṅga, i e, Vijayāditya III, Chālukya-Bhīma I, Kollaviṅḍa, i e, Vijayāditya IV and Chālukya-Bhīma II (ll 3-4). This Bhīma is compared to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma and is described as a warrior distinguished in many battles. After him comes Dānārṇava whose foot-stool, we are told, was made lustrous by the diadems of potentates like the Vaidumba and who was a worshipper of the God Paramēśvara. Parama bhattāraka Bhīmēśvara. After this, the inscription gives the date in the following words —

[Śa\*]ka-nṛipa-nava-śata-samlhyā-vi shu yātēshu tribhuv-adhikēshu etc

The letter *vi* which follows the words *nava-sata* and is clearly visible on the stone would indicate that the mutilated word is *vimsa*. This being the case, the date of the inscription must be Śaka 923 expired (or 924 current) which corresponds to the year 1001-2 of the Christian era. The palæography of the inscription would support this surmise.

Section II introduces Dānārṇava-Nṛipakāma (l 17) stating that by defeating the armies of his enemies and despatching Kāmārṇava to heaven he accomplished all his desires. It then speaks of a chief called Jatāchōla-Bhīma-nṛipati, giving a number of his epithets, like the following —*Samgrāma-vijaya, Arasar-ābharana, Sukavi chintāmani, Kīrtti-Dilīpa, Saty-aiatāra, Samar-akavīra, Paraganda-rākshasa, Dīna-kalpadruma, Bhūpāla-Mēru, Achala-vīra, Vikrama-Dhanañjaya, Saujanya-dhavalā, Dushṭa-kāl-ānala, Asahāya-Vikrama, Bhuvan-akadīpaka, Achāra-Bhagīratha, Kārmuka-Rāma, Apurāna-Dadhichi, Vanat-ābharāma, Abhinav-Āntaka, Sūrya-kulavāsa, Rāja-Makaradhīra, Vikrānta-Chakrāyudha, Samasta-raj-āgrēya, Gōndala-sāhasa, Māna-sampūrṇa, Ranga-nṛigēndra, Vira-Narasimha, Karikāla-Chōla, Arirāja-bhīshana, Tyāga-mahārṇava*, and *Nara-lōka-Rudra*. Thereafter comes a mutilated passage in Telugu (ll 40 to 47) which describes some achievements of this chief, namely, Jatāchōla-Bhīma. The

inscription ends by saying that "such a distinguished person was captured by king Rājārāja". It is true that only the initial letter of this name is now preserved, but there is no doubt that it should be read as Rājārāja. We know that it was Rājārāja who was ruling over these parts in the Śaka year 923.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the chief who was captured by Rājārāja is herein called Karilāla Chōja and that he claims descent from the Solar dynasty (*Sūrya-Jula nāsa*), would show that he was of Telugu Chōja origin and that he was in possession of the Eastern Chālukya territory during the period of confusion which followed the reign of Dānūrnnava.

Though fragmentary, this inscription is very helpful for settling some of the doubtful points in the history of the Chōlas and of the Eastern Chālukyas. We know that Rājārāja I conquered the Vēṅgī country about the 11th year of his reign (A D 999) and the Kaluṅga country in the next year (A D 1000). The Tiruvālaṅgādu plates of Rājendra Chōja I report that he defeated an Īndhrn chief named Bhīma.<sup>2</sup> We also know that Rājārāja invaded the Vēṅgī and Kaluṅga countries about A D 999-1000. We have to see who this Bhīma, whom he had routed, was. That he was the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya who bore the surname Mummudi-Bhīma and Birudanka Bhīma<sup>3</sup> seems to be unlikely, for his dates do not go so far back as A D 999-1000.<sup>4</sup> Here it may be noted that the so called *interregnum* in the Vēṅgī country had just then come to an end and that no Chōja king prior to the time of Rājārāja I had anything to do with the political situation in the Vēṅgī or Kaluṅga countries. Among the Eastern Chālukyas, we know of no king of the name of Bhīma who came after Dānūrnnava and whom Rājārāja I had defeated in A D 999. The present inscription enables us to settle the question of his identification definitely, for while revealing his name it states that he was captured by Rājārāja I. Evidently, this chief got possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions in the confusion caused by the deposition of Dānūrnnava. Though Dānūrnnava was dispossessed of his kingdom about A D 973, he appears to have lived till A D 1000.

The second point of interest in the inscription is contained in the statement that Dānūrnnava slew or defeated king Kāmārnnava, who, to judge from the name, must have been a member of the Eastern Ganga line. In this connection, it may be said, that the Vēṅgī and the Kaluṅga countries were fighting each other for some generations prior to the time of Dānūrnnava. King Gunaga-Vijayāditya III (A D 841-888) claims to have conquered the Gangas and to have received a tribute of elephants from the king of Kaluṅga.<sup>5</sup> Kollaviganda-Vijayāditya IV also claims to have conquered the ruler of Kaluṅga in A D 918 and to have ruled over the forests of Trikaluṅga.<sup>6</sup> Vikramāditya II (A D. 925) is said to have held sway over the countries of Vēṅgī and Trikaluṅga.<sup>7</sup> The fact that Dānūrnnava-Nṛpalāma despatched to heaven or defeated Kāmārnnava which the inscription under notice has brought to light, is not only new to history but it also proves for certain that the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī and the Eastern Gangas of Kaluṅga were inimical towards one another. That the Kāmārnnava who was defeated by Dānūrnnava must be identified with Kāmārnnava IV, i.e., the father of Vajrahasta IV, may be shown by working backward the period of rule of the Eastern Ganga kings from the date of accession of Vajrahasta V which fell in A D 1038.<sup>8</sup> Since Madhukāmārnnava, Gundama II,

<sup>1</sup> S I I, Vol III p 421, v 82

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1906, p 68

<sup>3</sup> According to the Ranastipurnā grant Vimalāditya's accession to the throne took place in A D 1011, May 10, Thursday (Above, Vol VI, p 319)

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol IV, p 226

<sup>5</sup> Ind Ant, Vol XX, p 104

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p 269

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol IV, p 195

Kāmārnnava V and Vajrahasta IV are reported to have reigned for 19 years, 3 years, 6 months, and 35 years respectively; before the accession of Vajrahasta V, we get A D 980 or thereabouts for the end of the reign of Kāmārnnava IV. And since that king is said to have ruled for a period of 25 or 30 years, his reign must have lasted from A D 950 or 955 to 980. These dates fall within the rule of Dānārnnava which commenced<sup>1</sup> in A D 970. It is very likely that the Eastern Gangas made a counter invasion on Vēngī which must have eventually resulted in the deposition of the aggressive Dānārnnava and given occasion also to the Telugu Chōla chief Bhīma-nripa to acquire possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions. Perhaps Dānārnnava continued to live after his deposition, for the Chellūr<sup>2</sup> plates of Kulōttunga-Chōda II attribute to him a reign of 30 years, a period that exactly covers his actual reign of three years and the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years which immediately followed it, as reported in other Eastern Chālukya charters. What favoured these events seem to be the internal dissensions that were prevailing in the country for a long time as is clearly disclosed by the rule of kings Yuddhamalla, Bādapa and Tāla of the collateral branch of the Eastern Chālukyas. It would not be wrong, therefore, to surmise that the deposed king Dānārnnava applied for help to the Chōlas against his enemies. In this connection, the following facts revealed by the Chōla and the Eastern Chālukya records are worthy of note. Vimalāditya's coronation is stated, in his Ranastipundi grant<sup>3</sup>, dated in the 8th year of reign<sup>4</sup>, to have taken place in Śaka 933 (A D 1011). Since his predecessor Chālukya-chandra Śaktivarman is said to have reigned for 12 years before this date<sup>5</sup>, his accession must be placed in A D 999, which is very near the date when the Chōla king Rājarāja I invaded the Vēngī country. The invasion of Rājarāja I resulted in placing over the Vēngī country a member of the direct line of the Eastern Chālukyas, namely, Śaktivarman, whose brother Vimalāditya was married to Kundavā, the daughter of the invading Chōla king<sup>6</sup>. In view of these facts it may safely be surmised that the Chōlas must have helped Dānārnnava at the time of his difficulties. This inference is further supported by the fact that the Chōla invader Rājarāja I captured Bhīma-nripa, who was then in possession of the Eastern Chālukya dominions, and proceeded straightway against the Kalinga country and subdued it.

The date of the accession of Śaktivarman to the Eastern Chālukya throne being A D 999, as shown above, the period of the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years in the Vēngī country and the rule of Dānārnnava for 3 years before it, must fall in A D 972-3 to 999 and A D 970 to 972-3. Dānārnnava's fight with Kāmārnnava and his deposition will have to be placed in A D 972-3. It may be observed here, in passing, that the Rāshtrakūta power in the Deccan became practically ruined about this time when Śīyaka Harsha, the Paramārā king of Mālwa, pillaged their very capital, namely, Mānyakhēta, and Taila II, the first member of the revived Chālukya line, ousting the Rāshtrakūtas, extended his rule right up to the borders of the Eastern Chālukya and the Eastern Ganga kingdoms. Possibly it was about this period when there was so much of confusion in the Deccan that the Telugu-Chōlā chief Bhīma-nripa, also called Karikāla-Chōla and Jatā-Chōla, of the solar race, found it possible to capture a portion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion.

<sup>1</sup> [See *Ind Ant*, Vol XX, p 272 —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol XIV, pp 56 ff

<sup>3</sup> Above Vol VI, p 351

<sup>4</sup> As copper plates attribute only a reign of 7 years to this king the 8th year must be counted from the date of his nomination to succession

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol VI, p 351

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XX, p 277.

The Telugu portion of the inscription under publication, though very much mutilated, would inform us that this chief engaged himself in fighting the rulers of Andhra as well as Kalunga, took possession of a fort which could not, perhaps, be seized by Bṛta-Vijaya-āditya and that he constructed tanks and made gifts to the temple of Bhīmāśvara<sup>1</sup>

## TEXT :

## I

- 1 y aksh-śśvara prabhriti  
Chōla Trinētra-vasudhā-patinā
- 2 jānām Mahāśśvara vara pra[s]  
[ma]hī lañjhanūnām<sup>2</sup> antaka-Siv ālaya tat-ārāma pravarttana-prabhriti
- 3 priti(t)ānām Chōlūnīm ku dhān āmara-Durggā prasād āśrīta<sup>3</sup> sūha-  
rann<sup>4</sup> ālamkṛta Chāṣṭya-vaśa-pradīpāyamañna-Kōllavi gānda-pri
- 4 dīvyām Gyaṇ(Ga)ryyām Kumāra in Bhīm-ūpar-ivātārah Bhīma-  
parākramah pravarttana-mah āhavaḥ dig antam āntan-darpp āntaṇ=jha<sup>5</sup> yathā  
vōga
- 5 Dāna-par-ārnnava<sup>7</sup> tat bhṛi V[ai]dumba-prabhriti-rāja-rājanyā-rājī
- 6 rūjata<sup>8</sup>-pīthastham=anēka sahasra śātakumibha samibhūta prabhriti-  
kati-sūtra-prabhriti-vichitra nēka-ālamkūr ālamkṛtam-ānna<sup>9</sup>-rūpam-amūly-
- 7 ānēka-ranna<sup>6</sup> dyuti-patala-virachit-ēndra-chūpam-a<sup>10</sup>ki  
lōkanārtham=avanam=ava [bha]kti-namamram rachit-āñjāh putam Bhaga-
- 8 vataḥ Paramāśśvarasya Paramabhattārakasya śrīmat-Bhīmāśśva<sup>11</sup>  
kanripa-nava-sata-samkhyā-vi shu vātēshu tribhṛt=adhikēshu cha
- 9 turtthanyayūt=purastāt=nirasta śasīti || Bhīmāśśvarasya dīvyasya Bhī  
sya rūpēna janma janm-ē[ti] [dha]raupatīh Kṛta-yugē Trētā-yugē
- 10 Rāvanah Bhīmāh Pāndu-Prith-ātmaajah Kurukula dhvaṇsī yugē nva  
li-yugē Sauryyādi-dharmā rttum-ēsha nripatīh Chōla<sup>11</sup>-Trinētrō=
- bhavat 1- Bhūtō-bhavan bhaviṣyān=va bhūpatir-ddāna śauryyatah

## II

- 1 nāpi bhaviṣhyati 1- chintyāñ=chintī  
2 lē dhāvan syandana-yādasi sapura  
3 tūrmu-ōttīrnnā-mahārnnavān=a[pu]  
4 patasyat Parachakra-bhīma-rīpav[ō]  
5 trāya-viśāla-mandapa-viśa  
6 jēshu Bhagadatta ēva turagē

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr N Lakshminarayan Rao, M A, the Kanarese Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for this information

<sup>2</sup> From the ink impressions prepared by Mr V Venkatasubba Ayyar, B A

<sup>3</sup> Read *asadita*

<sup>4</sup> Read *lañchananām*

<sup>5</sup> Read *ratna*

<sup>6</sup> Read *cha*

<sup>7</sup> [The reading is *parāvarnnava* which might stand for *parayan arnava* —Ed]

<sup>8</sup> Read *rajita*

<sup>9</sup> Read *atma*

<sup>10</sup> Can the symbol between °m=° and °kr,° be taken as °dhaḥ°

<sup>11</sup> Read *nripatis=Chōla*

- 7 tatam Śatakra[tu]r=apī svarggan<sup>1</sup>=tanō  
 8 masu sthēyāt(d)=bhuvī yāv ad arkka .  
 9 shu bahushv=ath=āsīt Karikāla  
 10 śaiśavē Krishna-nripasya vā[chā]  
 11 bhīhatya mad-ōddhatān apa  
 12 chukō[pa] sañjāta-samagra-manyuh  
 13 ntyai sumukhat-prachandaḥ<sup>2</sup>nyayūyu .  
 14 śchalam sva-bhagani<sup>3</sup>-padam=Andhrama  
 15 nah prāk sāmanta-māny-ātavika-dri  
 16 na durnnikhō-dhāt da-jvāla-māruta-vaśād ya  
 17 Dānārnnava-Nīpakāmō yō yudhi sat-sakala-sainyam=abhihatya dēśam  
 18 m-avinōt parinētum=īśah chitram su-dūram=apī chāru rmmantam Kāmār-  
 nnavan=divam=ani  
 19 bhūt vyaktam vyasismapatatsv=iti vaiparītyā Kāmārnnavam bhuvī nayan  
 20 t vinayād=anya-bhūpataih<sup>4</sup>|- Tyāgūna Karnnam=apī rūpatayā Manōjam tējō  
 21 si samad-ān(t)makam yah |- Sa śrīmān-Jatāchōla-Bhūma-nripatih sat Ganda-  
 Bhūriśravā  
 22 tha yōgatah |- Sasy-āpānya chatu sya bhūshana-chayam Bhī  
 23 mandah-śikhāmanih |- Gandabhūriśravah |- Samgrāma-vijayah |-  
 24 ga-dhavalah<sup>5</sup> |- Amsar-ābharanah |- Sukavi-chintāmanih |- Śau  
 25 kīrti-Dīlipah |- [Sa]ty-āvatūrah |- Samar-aika-vīrah |- Virabhata  
 26 ramga-mallah |- Paraganda-rākshasah |- Dīna-kalpadrumah |-  
 27 ndrah |- Bhūpāla-Mūruh |- Achalita-vīryah |- Chaturamga-Rā  
 28 Vidyādharah |- Vikrama-Dhanañjayah |- Saujanya-dhavalah |-  
 29 nanah |- Dushta-kāl-ānalah |- Asa[hāya]-Vikramah |- Kara  
 30 yug-āchārah |- nagvāya-Brihaspatih |- Satya-Ma  
 31 rānanah |- Bhuvan-aika-dīpi(pa)ka[h] |- Āchāra-Bhagīrathah |-  
 32 Kārmuka-Rāmāh |- Atithādityan<sup>6</sup> |- Apurāna-Dadhīchih |-  
 33 nah |- Vanit-ābhīrāmāh |- Abhinā(na)v-Āntakah |- Sūryakula-vāsah |-  
 34 Sundarah |- Rāja-Makaradhvajah |- Budha-janaupūrah<sup>7</sup> |- Samvyakta-Bhā .  
 35 Vikrānta-Chakrāyudhah |- Samasta-rāj-āgrīyah |- Rāja-kula  
 36 rah |- Gōndala-Sāhasah |- Māna-sampūrnnaḥ |- Kshatriya-kula .  
 37 [ā]rah |- Chalaramga-Rāmāh |- Rānāmgā<sup>8</sup>-mrīgīndrah |- Vīra-Narasimhah |....  
 38 hadēvah |- Karikāla-Chōlah |- Arirāja-bhīshanah |- Su  
 39 h |- Tyāga-mahārnnavah |- Naralōka-Rudrah [I\*] Sakala-bhū .  
 40 sthira-sanniya-ghatanadh(y)-Amga-Kālimka-patilu nāla  
 41 larallōti parikōti-Rodḍalair=antu mārodda ē  
 42 hyure kōtuku Bētundu Gunaka-vijayitundu  
 43 krambu sādhiñchī sōdhiñchī gunakoni Bhīmśva  
 44 ma-ddiyalu gāluktambu diggayalu kati-sūtra-bahu

<sup>1</sup>Read *svarggan tanō*<sup>2</sup>Read *su-maha prachandaḥ*<sup>3</sup>Read *si a bhagani*<sup>o</sup><sup>4</sup>Read *bhūpataih*<sup>5</sup>Read *sad ganda*<sup>o</sup><sup>6</sup>Read *Budha jan oḍḍarah*<sup>7</sup>Read *Rana ramga*<sup>o</sup>

- 45 trōpulu gulliyalun duttī mbulu sadḍulu raeli .  
 46 rāyillana tana rūpu bhānda nī[rva]sindim gāyanabhamba .  
 47 davikrāyakudayya Dākarambi  
 48 paritalla [i'] Ivanai śrī-kō-Rū  
 49 k[o]ndār

## No 8—NIVINA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DHARMARAJADEVA

B. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M. A., PH. D., OOTACAMUND

The charter under examination consists of three copper-plates which were found in 1929 in a field in the Nimmīna village of the Kudala taluk in the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency. The plates were sent by the Collector of Ganjām to the Government Museum, Madras, where they are now deposited. They are held together by a ring the ends of which are fastened into a circular seal. Each plate measures  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " while the diameter of the ring is about  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and that of the seal  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The rims are slightly raised and the plates are rounded at the corners. Including the ring and the seal, they weigh 77½ tolas, approximately. The first plate is engraved on one side only but the remaining two are incised on both the sides. The inscription which they bear consists of 52 lines of writing. The first plate has 11 lines, the second 22, each free of it having 11 lines, but the third plate has 13 lines on the obverse and 6 on the reverse side of it. Owing to corrosion, which has caused holes in the plates, the inscription is badly damaged in several places, though practically the whole of it can be made out with the help of the other known records of the Śailōdbhava family to which it belongs. The seal is marked with the crescent, below which is found a couchant bull in relief. The sign-manual of the king was possibly written below the bull but the letters of the legend are much worn out and the name cannot be read with certainty. The first two letters are śrī and mā and the last letter is sya. There are traces of three letters between them.

The characters belong to an early type of the Nāgarī script and bear much resemblance to those employed in the Ganjām plates of Nītibhañjardīva.<sup>1</sup> As Kielhorn<sup>2</sup> has already made a detailed study of the script employed in these records, I shall make here only a few additional remarks. The initial *a* and *ā* are denoted in the present record by two different signs though they seem to have been mixed up, e.g., *āsi(sī)d* (l. 12), *anī(nyī)* (l. 25), *Alatālangha* (l. 34) and *asmī(smin)* (l. 35). For medial *u*, also, there are two signs, one is the ordinary sign for *u* with a rounded curve to the left, as, e.g., in *pāntu* (l. 21) and *bhāsvat(d)-ushnāmsu-*, (l. 21), while the other is indistinguishable from the sign of *ū*. The sign for *āgraha* has also been used, though only once, in *pratīprā(pā)ditah(tō)-sma* (l. 42). The *Anusūtra* is marked in two ways, (1) by the usual dot on the top of the letter as in *bhīnam(nnam)* (l. 4), or in *ūhīam(ūham)* (l. 8) and (2), occasionally, with a dot and a hook below it both added to the right of the letter as in *a[ga\*]srām* (l. 19) and *Phāsīkāyām* (l. 31). It may be noted that the latter sign has been used only at the end of a *pāda* or a verse.

The grant is written in incorrect Sanskrit prose and verse and has been very carelessly incised, so much so that, not only have many words been wrongly spelt but letters and even words have been left out in several places. Words like *vēshaika* (l. 40) (for *vaishayika*), *Dikhīda* (l. 39) (for *Dikshita*), *Vachchha* (l. 40) (for *Vatsa*), *rishī* (l. 40) (for *rishi*), *tāmira*<sup>o</sup> (l. 42) (for *tāmra*<sup>o</sup>), found

<sup>1</sup> Above Vol. XVIII pp. 293 ff

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VII pp. 101 ff

in the text are evidently Prākṛitic. The portion showing the boundary of the gift village is written in a vernacular which appears to contain a mixture of Telugu and Oriya.

As regards orthography the following points may be noted. *Ba* and *va* are not distinguished. A consonant is usually doubled in conjunction with a superscript *r*, but exceptions are also found. e.g., *dayālur=narapatir=* (l 22), *pradarpād* (l 30), *kala(kālē)yav-bhūta°* (l 18), etc. Final *n* is changed into *m* in *-valtrām* (l 23), *prāptavām* (l 27), *-bhāvām* (l 30), etc., *n* is used in *prāṇśu* (l 6), *Kalinga* (l 8), etc., side by side with *m* in *ramse* (l 15), *kalamla* (l 16), etc. Vowel *ri* is wrongly used for *ri* in *samśritas-Trivar°* (l 31), *tribhuvana* (l 5), *dharitri* (l 15), etc. *Rīpha* has been dropped in many places and in all such cases the following consonant has invariably been left undoubled as, e.g., *kōmalai va(ba)ddhā°* (ll 1-2), and *dulalita* (l 18). *Visarga* has been wrongly used in *wah* (l 1), *vyatikarak* (l 3), *apik* (l 11), and wrongly dropped in *kamkā* (l 3), *-vā(bā)hu* (l 7), *bhuvō* (l 9), *ārādhitā* (l 10), *prabhu* (l 12), *-āsīdhāra* (l 18) etc. Other errors and peculiarities have been noticed in the foot-notes accompanying the text.

The grant was issued by the *Paramabhattārāla-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Śrīmad-Dharmarājādēva alias Mānabhīta* of the Śailōdbhava family from the fortress (*kōṭa*) of Alatālanghapura in the Kōṅgōda-mandala. Its object is to register the gift of the village Nivīnā, situated in the Khudīngahāra-vishaya, to a Brāhman Savaridēva Dīkshita of the Vaehehha (*Vat-sa*)-gōṭra, the Pañcharshi-pravara and anupravara, Chhandōgya-charana and the Kōuthuma school (of the Sāmaveda). Lines 42-46 give in detail the boundaries of the gift village. In l 47 an additional grant of two *timpiras*<sup>1</sup> (of land<sup>2</sup>) seems to have been made. The *Dūtaka* seems to have been an *akṣhapatalika* but his name is not preserved. The seal was fixed (*lāñchita*) by Jayasimgha. The name of the engraver is not legible.

Besides the present grant only five other complete records of the Śailōdbhava kings are known.<sup>3</sup> They are (1) the Ganjām Plates<sup>4</sup> of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja, (2) the Khurdā Plates<sup>5</sup> of Mādhavarāja, (3) the Buguda Plates<sup>6</sup> of Mādhavavarman, (4) the Pārikud Plates<sup>7</sup> of Madhyamarājādēva and (5) the Kōndēdda Grant<sup>8</sup> of Dharmarāja. Of these, the first two are written completely in prose and the rest, like the present record, are composed partly in prose and partly in verse. Many of the verses found in this record also occur in the Buguda, Pārikud and the Kōndēdda Plates.

In the grant under publication, the portion containing the date (l 47) reads *Samvat [Var]-śālha-sudī-prathama-pakṣa-dvīti[yā°]*. Probably we have to restore the commencement as *Samvat [9°]*. From an examination of the plate it becomes clear that the broken space would not allow any numerical sign to be incised before *Vaī°*, the whole space being covered by the partly

<sup>1</sup> The word occurs also in the Pārikud Plates (l 44) in the form *timpira* which Banerji read as *timmira*. Its meaning is not clear. The expression *diādasa timpira pramanah* in the Pārikud Plates suggests that the word refers to measurement of land.

<sup>2</sup> There are also two incomplete records of this dynasty, viz., (1) Purī Second Plate of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta alias Śrīnivāsa, (the Bengali monthly) *Sahitya* for the year 1319 (B S), p. 895 and pl. and (2) Tekkah Plate of the time of Madhyamarāja (III) (*J B O R S*, Vol IV pp 165 ff). The latter mentions four other rulers after Dharmarāja. I may mention here in passing that the Plate shows the reading *parivrayo=llaparāja* in l 19. Thus the name should be Allaparāja who was the uncle's son of Ranaśhōbhā and not a son of Madhyamarāja (II), as understood by H P Shastri. Cf. Mr V Misra (*J B O R S*, Vol XVI pp 178 ff) and Mr S Rajaguru (*Ind Hist Quart*, Vol VII, pp 165 ff). Here it may incidentally be remarked that Mr Rajaguru's reading of the date in the Purī Plates is incorrect. The date is evidently regnal.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VI pp 143 ff and Plates.

<sup>4</sup> *J A S B*, Vol LXIII, pt 1 pp 28° ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol III pp 41 ff and Vol VII pp 100 ff and Plates.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol XI pp 284 ff and Plates.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol XIX pp 267 ff and Plates.



missing vowel sign in this letter. Moreover, the signs for the numerical figure 9 and the final *t* are so much alike that it is not impossible that the scribe finding two similar signs on the document omitted one of them, either through inadvertence, or because of his not understanding its significance. If this supposition is correct, then the date of the inscription would be the **second day of the bright fortnight of the 9th year of the reign of Dharmarāja**.

In our present state of knowledge it is not possible to determine the exact dates of all the Śaṭṭodbhava rulers. The only certain date about this dynasty is found in the Ganjām Plates of G. E. 300 (=619-20 A.D.). In the other dated inscriptions either the reading of the date is uncertain, or only the regnal year is given. According to Kielhorn,<sup>1</sup> the Buguda Plates should, on palaeographic grounds, be placed in the 10th century A.D. If this scholar is right in his assumption, then the rulers mentioned in the Khurdā and the Ganjām Plates are to be regarded as remote ancestors of the homonymous rulers mentioned in the Buguda and other Plates. But in that case we have to admit that no history of the dynasty is available for three centuries or more. In spite of the apparent palaeographic difficulty, can it not be possible that Mādhavarāja Saṃyabhīta of the Ganjām and the Khurdā Plates may be identical with Mādhavarman Saṃyabhīta of the Buguda Plates?<sup>2</sup> But to accept this view we have to assign long rules to Mādhavarman and some of his successors.

There may also be another ground in dating the Buguda grant to an earlier period. Both in the Kōndēdda grant and the present record mention is made of a king Trivara,<sup>3</sup> an ally of the rebel Mādhava who was probably a younger brother of Dharmarāja. Both Mādhava and his ally were defeated by Dharmarāja at Phāsikā as a result of which Mādhava is said to have died broken hearted near the Vindhyapāda. We do not know of any ruler of the name of Trivara from inscriptions. But we know of one Mahāsiva Tivradēva belonging to the Sōmarasī rulers of Mahākōśala. Two of his inscriptions are known which are dated in the regnal years 7 and 9. Palaeographically, these inscriptions have been assigned to the 8th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> The name Trivara of the present record and the Kōndēdda grant may have been Sanskritised from the wrongly supposed Prakṛit form of Tivara and, if he is the same as the ruler of Mahākōśala, the present record as well as the Kōndēdda grant should be assigned to the 8th century A.D. It may be possible that Mādhava, when defeated at Phāsikā, sought the help of the neighbouring powerful king of Mahākōśala, and, having been defeated for the second time, was forced to leave his own country, take shelter in that of his ally and to spend his last days somewhere near the Vindhyapāda (Satpurā range), which was, at that time, within the realm of Tivradēva. In that case the Pārikud grant may have to be placed towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century of the Christian era and in spite of the apparent palaeographic difficulty the Buguda and the Ganjām Plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler.

It is to be noted that in the Ganjām Plates of Mādhavarāja II, he is stated to be a feudatory of Śaśāṅka. In the Pārikud Plates, Madhyamarājadēva bears no titles of a supreme ruler, though he is stated to have performed the Āśvamedha sacrifice. This last incident shows that he claimed the rank of a *Chakravartin*. In the Kōndēdda grant the horse sacrifice is referred to (l. 43), though neither Madhyamarāja, nor his son and successor Dharmarāja, bears any titles of a paramount

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VII pp. 100 f.

<sup>2</sup> The name has been read as Strivara in the Kōndēdda grant, but I would ascribe the *s* to sandhi.

<sup>3</sup> His date will be about the middle of the 8th century, if Prof. Bhandarkar is right in his assumption that Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjām Plates of Amoghavarsha I (Above, Vol. XVIII pp. 243 ff.) as being defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, was the ruler of Mahākōśala. We know of only one Chandragupta in this family who was the son of Nannadēva and consequently a brother of Tivradēva whom Chandragupta appears to have succeeded.

sovereign But in the present grant Dharmarāja is given the titles *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahā-ājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* which were borne by independent rulers alone In our present knowledge of the history of Orissa, it is difficult to say definitely whose subordinates the Śailōdbhavas were after the rule of Śaśānka was at an end, but it is not impossible that sometime after the breaking up of Harsha's empire Madhyamarāja declared independence and his successor used all the titles befitting an independent ruler I cannot, however, account for the omission of such titles in the Kōndēdda grant

It appears that there has been, from the beginning, a misconception regarding the names of certain Śailōdbhava rulers The name read as Yaśōbhīta till now, should correctly be Ayaśōbhīta It was pointed out in the Kōndēdda grant<sup>1</sup> that in l 22 the plate read *narapatir=Ayaśōbhīta* This reading is authenticated by the present grant also Banerji's correction<sup>2</sup> into *narapatishu Yaśōbhīta* is thus not justified Wherever this name occurs the *sandhi* seems to have been overlooked Even Dr Hultzsch appears to have done this for, in the Ganjām Plates of the time of Śaśānkarāja, he changed the reading into *Mahārāja-Yaśōbhīta* although the inscription gave it quite correctly as *Mahārāj-Ayaśōbhīta*<sup>3</sup>

When Professor Kielhorn first published the Buguda Plates he was under the impression that Mādhavavarman was the son of Sanyabhīta (II) Dr Hultzsch pointed out that Sanyabhīta was only a surname of Mādhavavarman II<sup>4</sup> In the same way, there is nothing in these inscriptions to show that Yaśōbhīta, *ī c*, Ayaśōbhīta and Madhyamarāja were different persons Mr R D Banerji in his article on the Pārikud Plates, though accepting the analogy of the Buguda Plates, was of the opinion that Madhyamarāja was probably a son of Yaśōbhīta<sup>5</sup> (*ī c*, Ayaśōbhīta) II, while Mr Y R Gupte writing on the Kōndēdda grant presumed, on the same analogy, that Yaśōbhīta was the surname of Madhyamarāja, though he was unable to prove his point The difficulty of both the scholars was due to the misunderstanding of a passage in the text The last *pāda* of verse 12 in the present inscription, which occurs in other grants also, was wrongly read by Banerji as *Madhyamarājādēva-guna-dhīr-d-rājyam pituh prāptavān* while the correct reading is *rājyē-pi tat=prāptavān* The verse under reference simply means that the sages leave their homes and perform various austerities in seeking after *divya-pada* while Ayaśōbhīta II got the same abode, *ī c*, *mōksha* in his own kingdom

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant Kōngōda has been identified by Kielhorn with *Kung-yü* (or *gu*) t'o of Yuan Chwang Cunningham identified Kōngōda, the capital city of the province of the same name, with Ganjām while Fergusson placed it 'somewhere between Kuttaek and Aska'<sup>6</sup> in the Ganjām district We find from his records that the Chinese pilgrim journeyed south west from the Ota country, through a forest, for over 1,200 *li* and reached *Kung*

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol XIX p 268, note 2

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol XI p 285, l 21

<sup>3</sup> On the same analogy it may be possible that the name in l 12 should be read as Aranabhīta In fact, the internal evidence of the grants of this dynasty shows that the names should be Ayaśōbhīta and Aranabhīta In Khurdā Plates we find *Śrī Sanyabhītasya putra (pautrah) prasrita vipul āmalā yasasah satatam=ayasobhītasya śrīmato Yaśōbhītasya etc* Similarly cf verse 8 of the present grant and note the expression *yathartha nāmā* For Aranabhīta cf verse 6 in the text of the present record where this bravery in battle is described (It may, however, be pointed out that the Ganga king Hastivarman appears to have borne the *viruda* of Aranabhīta—Above, Vol XVII p 332) In the case of Sanyabhīta we probably have to take the name as a *bahuvrīhi* compound (Pāṇini, II ii 23 24) meaning thereby 'of whom the army was afraid' The epithet *pratāpa varit āri, saṁya* given to Sanyabhīta in the Khurdā Plates, seems to confirm this explanation

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol VI p 144, note 1

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol XI p 283

<sup>6</sup> See Waters, *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India*, Vol II p 197.

*yu t'o* As the inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava dynasty mentioning Kōngōda-mandala have been found at Cuttack, Khurdā, and Ganjām, we may well conclude that all these places were within the province of Kōngōda. In all probability the province extended from the southern bank of the Mahānadi and included within it the northern portion of Ganjām. The country outlying the northern bank of the Mahānadi was probably the *Wu-t'u* or Ota (Skt. Ōdra) of Yuan Chwang, while the southern part of Ganjām was within the Kalinga territory. According to the same pilgrim the capital city of *Kung-qu-t'o* was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea. The Ganjām Plate of Śaśāṅka mentions that it was situated on the bank of the Śālmā river. I have not been able to find the name elsewhere. The trace of the ancient name may, however, be found in the small river Sālā which is fed by the Chilkā lake.<sup>2</sup> This part of the country would answer well to the description of the Chinese pilgrim. But at present no place recalling the name of Kōngōda is found on the bank of this river. The village Kōṅkōda situated in the Rāmgarī Agency of the Ganjām district, however, reminds us of the ancient name of Kōngōda, though the former could not have been the site of the capital city mentioned by Yuan Chwang.

Of the other place names mentioned in the present record the name of the *vishaya* of *Khindīghāra* may be recognised in the village Khindī in the Kudala taluk of the Ganjām district while *Nivimā* is undoubtedly the village of Nimmuna in the same taluk where the plates were found.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres: Vv 1, 4 and 12, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 2, 10, 11 and 14, *Sragdharā*, vv 3, 6, 7, 9 and 13, *Vasantatilakā*, vv 5 and 15-17, *Anushtubh*]

#### First Plate, Reverse

- 1 Om<sup>4</sup> svasti || Indrōr(ndōr) ddhauta-mnāla=[tantubhi]<sup>5</sup>r=ivah(va) śhishtāh karai[h\*] kōma-lai-
- 2 [r\*]=va(ba)ddh-āhūr=aruna(nai) sphurat-phani - manai(nē)[r=ddigdha]-prabhā[sō - m]śubhih [/\*] [Pirvva]tyā[h] sa-kacha-
- 3 graha-vyatikarāh(ra)-vyāvṛtta-va(ba)ndha-ślathā Gang-āmbha[h-pluti-bhīnna-bhasma-kani]-kā[h\*] Śambhōr=jatā[h\*]
- 4 pāntu vah|| [1/\*] Śrīmāmbhina (Śrīmān=uchchai)r=nna(nna)bhāstē(tō) gurur=Achalapati (tch) kshō[bbh]id=yah] kshamā[yā] gambhīras=tōya-rā-
- 5 ōr=atha divasakarī[d\*]=bhasma(bhāsva)d ālōka-kārī(rī) | hlādi saivvasya ch=ēndōs=tri (tri)-bhu[va]na-bhava[na-prc]rakaś=ch=i(ā)pi
- 6 vāyō rājā sva(sa) Sthānu-mūrttir=jjayati Kali-mala-kshālanō Mādha[vēndrah ||] [2/\*] Prān(m)sur=mmahēbha ka-
- 7 ra-pīvara-chāru-ā(bā)hu[h\*] kṛishn-āśva(śma)-sañchaya-viśāla-vivēka-dakshōh<sup>6</sup> (i)<sup>7</sup> rājīva-[kōmala-dal] āyata-lō-
- 8 elian āntah (i)<sup>7</sup> khyātah Kaluga-janītas(janātās<sup>8</sup>) Pulndasēnah || [3/\*] Tēn=ctlitam(ttham) gum[n=āpi] sa[t\*]tva mahatō(tā) na-

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid*, Vol II p 195

<sup>2</sup> See Indrān Sheet Atlas, No 74 (Indrā and adjacent countries series)

<sup>3</sup> From impressions and the original plates

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>5</sup> Portions within square brackets are either broken or not clear and have been restored on the authority of other published records belonging to the same family

<sup>6</sup> Read *sañchaya vishāla vivēka dakshōh*

This mark of punctuation is superfluous

- 9 shta bhuvvōr=mmandalam<sup>2</sup> (|)<sup>1</sup> śaktō=yam<sup>3</sup> paripālanāyā(ya) jagatah kō nāma  
[sa\*] syād=|tī |] pratyādishṭa-vi-  
10 bh-ūtsavēna bhagavā(m)n=ārādhita(tah) [svāśvatam]<sup>4</sup> tach-chi[tt-ānu]gunam vi-  
[dhitsur=a]dīśa[d\*]=va(vā)ñchbh[īm\*] Śva(Sva)-,  
11 yambhō(bhū)[r=a]pih(pī) || [4 ||\*] , Sa ślā-sa(śa)kal-ō[dbhē]dē<sup>5</sup> tēn=ā[py=]  
ālōhya] dhimatā [i\*] [p\*]rikalpitah(ta)-

*Second Plate, Obverse*

- 12 [sad-vamśah\*] pra[bhu][h\*] Śailōdbhava[h\*] kri[ta]h [|ō||\*] Śailōdbhavasya kula-  
[jō=Ra]nabhīta [ā]sid anā<sup>6</sup>sakri-  
13 t=kritabhīyām vi(dvi)shad-amganīnām | jyōtsnyā(snā)-pravāha<sup>7</sup>-samayē sva-  
dhīy=ēva<sup>8</sup> sārddham=ā[kaj]mpitō naya-  
14 na-paksha(kshma)-jalīshu chandrah || [6 ||\*] Tasy=ābhavad=Vivu(bu)dhapāla-sama-  
sya sānum(sūnuh) śrī-Sa<sup>9</sup>nya[bbhīta] itī bhūmi-  
15 patir=ggariyā[ni\*] yam prāpya nāga-ghatā-ghata<sup>9</sup>-lav(b)dha-pra-āda<sup>10</sup>-vijaya[m\*] mumvi-  
[de\*] dharitri(trī) | [17||]Tasy=āpī vams[ā]-  
16 shu<sup>11</sup> yathā[r\*]tha-nāmō(mā) jātō=Yasōbbhīta itī [kshiti\*]shah(śah) | [yē\*]na  
purudhō<sup>12</sup>=[pi\*] , śubhē(bhai)s=charitrē(trair)=mrishṭah kalamka[h\*] kalī-nadala-  
17 na syāt<sup>13</sup> | [18\*||] Jātō=[tha\*] tasya tanaya[h sukriti śimasta\*] śimantini(nī)-nayana-  
shatpada-purīndarikah(pundarikah) [i\*]sri-[Sa]nyabbhīta 1-  
18 ti bhūmipatir=mmahēbha-kumbhasthah(i)-dalana-dula(durlla)lit āsidhārī(rah) [|9||\*]Kala-  
yar<sup>14</sup>=bhīta dhātri(trī)-patibhir<sup>15</sup>=u-  
19 pachit-ānyai(nī)ka-pāyāvātārāh || nitā<sup>16</sup> yčshām kathā=bhī(pī) pralayam abhī-  
matā kīrti-mā(pā)lar=a[a\*]srām [i\*]  
20 yajña(jñai)s=tair=Aśvamēdha-prabhritibhir=amarā lamvitas<sup>17</sup>=triptim=[urvvi]m=udrpt-ār-  
ātri(tī)-paksha-kshaya-kriti-patu-  
21 nā Śrīnivāsōni(na) yēnah(na) | [110||\*] Tasy=ōtkhāt-ākhlī-ārēr=mmarur(d)=iva [ja]-  
nan-ōdbhāsvat(d) ushnām[śu]=tējāh || <sup>18</sup> śūrō mā-  
22 ni(nī) dayālur=narapatir=Ayasōbbhīdādevas=tanūjah | (|)<sup>19</sup> mātamgāmn(gān)=yō=ti-tu-  
[ngām]\*<sup>20</sup>va(ba)hala-mada-mu-

<sup>1</sup> This mark of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>2</sup> Read *n=ēshām bhūvo mandalam*

<sup>3</sup> Other inscriptions of this dynasty have *śaktō yah*

<sup>4</sup> Read *śasvatam*=

<sup>5</sup> Read *śakal ōdbhēdā*

<sup>6</sup> Read *āsīd=yēn=ā*

<sup>7</sup> Read *prabōdha*

<sup>8</sup> Read *dhīy=ana*

<sup>9</sup> Read *naika sata nāga ghata vighaṭṭa*

<sup>10</sup> On the impression the last syllable looks like *dam* But what looks like an *anusāra* is only a hole in the plate

<sup>11</sup> The Kōndōdda grant reads *iamsē=tha*

<sup>12</sup> Read *prarūḍhō*=

<sup>13</sup> Read *Kalī darpanasya*

<sup>14</sup> Read *Kālēyair=*

<sup>15</sup> There are traces of another sign before *pa* Either it was a mark of punctuation wrongly put or the plate read *nripati* by mistake

<sup>16</sup> Read *pāp avatārar=nnitā* The marks of punctuation before *nitā* are unnecessary

<sup>17</sup> Read *lambhivās=*

<sup>18</sup> The marks of punctuation are unnecessary,

<sup>19</sup> *Danḍa* unnecessary

<sup>20</sup> Read *ṭungān*

## Second Plate, Reverse

- 23 chā(cha)ś=chāru-vaktrām(ktrān) prachandā[m](ndān) vaddh=ākarshatī khinam<sup>1</sup> pu-  
nar=apī navatē yat-kṛitam(tah) sampragalbhā(bhah)<sup>2</sup> || 11 ||\*
- 24 Kēchid=vrī(va)nya mṛigēna sārddha[m\*] rāmatē(nte) tatām(thā) sthiti<sup>1</sup>-lilayah(yā)<sup>15</sup>  
kēchit(ch)=chōrddh[v\*]a-mukhā mayūkha<sup>6</sup>-
- 25 kīrana-jvāl-āvali-prēkshanah(nāh) [l\*]<sup>7</sup> kēchit śaila-guhōdarēshu nīratā<sup>8</sup> dhūm-āvali(i)-  
pāi(yi)na[h\*] a-
- 26 nē(nyē) vāyu-phal-āmvu(bu)-bhaksha-nīratā[h\*] kēchi[n\*]=nī(ni)r-āhārakāh | 1[t\*]-  
tham yōga-jushō vihāya vasati[m\*]
- 27 dhyāyamt divyam padam<sup>15</sup> chitran(m)Madhyamarājadēva-trigunām-dhṛid rōjyam  
pī<sup>9</sup> tat=prāptavām(vān) || [12] || Tasy=ābha-
- 28 vat=sakala-śāstra-viśēsha-vēdī | <sup>5</sup> Śrī-Dharmmarāja iti sūnur-adhiti(dhīta)-śās-  
trah | ()<sup>5</sup> tasy=ā
- 29 ti-ni(ni)rmala-yaśah parivardhamāna[m\*] pādau Harēr=īu(iva) na māyati  
martti-lōkyāh<sup>10</sup> || [13] ||\*<sup>12</sup> Rājyam lavdhā(bdhvā) pra-
- 30 darpād=aviṣamta-tayō<sup>12</sup> Mādhavō jē(jyē)sthā-bhāvām(vān)<sup>15</sup> tasyā tasmād=apas-  
tram<sup>13</sup> kṛita-vishama-mati[r\*]=vīgra-
- 31 hē Phāsikāyām | yuddha-kshōbhāna(na) la(bha)gnō nripatiparam-asau samā rī  
(śrī)tas T[rīva]r-ākhyah<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> pa-
- 32 śchām(śchāt)=tēn=āpī sārddham punar=apī vijitā(tō) Vindhya-pādēshu jirnnāt  
(jirnnah) || [14] ||\* Śau[ryam] śrīr=yauvanam
- 33 rājyam-ekaikya(ka)m mada-mā(kā)rakam | sarvām śrī-Mānabhītasya nī[rvi]kār-  
am=upasthitah(tam) || [15] ||\*<sup>16</sup> Ala-

## Third Plate, Obverse

- 34 tālanghapura<sup>16</sup>-kōtāt | Parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitri-pādānudhyātō(tah) Pa-  
35 rama-bhatā(ttā)rakō Mahārājā<sup>17</sup>-paramēśvara[h\*] śrī[ma\*]d-Dharmmar[ā\*]-  
jadēva[h\*] kuśalī || Āsmī<sup>18</sup>=Kōngō

<sup>1</sup> Read *baddhv=akarshaty=alhinna*

<sup>2</sup> Parikud and Kōndēdda grants have *yan natah sapragalbhah*

<sup>3</sup> Parikud grant reads *sārddham=acharams=tatha*

<sup>4</sup> What looks like an *anusvāra* above *ti* is merely a depression on the plate.

<sup>5</sup> *Danda* unnecessary

<sup>6</sup> Read *sahasra līra* as in the Parikud grant

<sup>7</sup> Parikud grant has two verses (12 13) in this connection, while Kōndēdda grant omits one. Here we have only the first half of the previous verse and the whole of the latter, the second half of the former being omitted, most probably, by oversight. [Reading given in both is wrong. One should expect something like *Kēchid vanya mṛigēna sārddham=acharam rēmus=sul hain lilaya*—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Parikud and Kōndēdda grants read *nīyata*

<sup>9</sup> Read *dēva guna dhṛid rajyē=pi*

<sup>10</sup> Read *marttya lōk*. The suggestion to read *nabhaś śrīta* in the Kōndēdda grant is not correct. In the Tekkai Plate the reading is *na mayi na marttya lōk*. It is to be noted however that the root *mā* (in the Divyādi group) is *ātmanēpadī*.

<sup>11</sup> Verses 13 14 of the Kōndēdda grant have been omitted from the present record.

<sup>12</sup> In the Kōndēdda grant also the reading is *tayō* which has been wrongly read as *°tayū*, *taya* has been used here in the sense of 'protection'.

<sup>13</sup> Read with the Kōndēdda grant *dēsād=asmād=apāstum*

<sup>14</sup> Read *Trīvar ākhyam* or *Trī*<sup>15</sup> as in the Kōndēdda grant. In the former case, however, the meter suffers.

<sup>15</sup> Kōndēdda grant records two more verses after this.

<sup>16</sup> The reading of the first letter is not very certain.

<sup>17</sup> *Ja* is written in a smaller letter between *rā* and *pa*. Evidently it was inserted later, on finding out the error.

<sup>18</sup> Read *Asmīn*.

i



ra



rb



34 34  
 36 36  
 38 38  
 40 40  
 42 42  
 44 44  
 46 46

rub

48 48  
 50 50  
 52 52

- 36 da-mandalē śrī-sāmanā-mā(ma)hāsāmanta mā(ma)hārājanakarājaka<sup>1</sup> - rājaputtrāh(=ā)  
[ntara\*]nga dandanā-  
37 yaka-[dānda\*]pāsik-ōpanka-stakad(stad)(tadāyuktaka—Ed)-vimyuktaka-sakarana-vyavahā  
rina-nānyāms=cha<sup>2</sup> vrā(brā)hman-  
38 purōg-ādi-vēshaika<sup>3</sup>-janapadām(dān) yath-ārha[m] mānaya[ti\*] vō(bō)dhayati jñāpa-  
yati viditam=astu  
39 bhavatām Khidingahāra-visha[ya\*]-sammamdhā<sup>4</sup>-Nivina-grāmāt(mah) | <sup>5</sup> Savaridēva-  
dikhida ||<sup>12</sup>(dikshita)-  
40 bhatta(bhattāya) Vachchha(tsa)-gōtrāya pañcha-risha-pravara-anupravarāya<sup>6</sup> Kau-  
thuka(ma)-sākhāya Chhandō<sup>7</sup>-charanāya  
41 mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puny(ny)-ābhiv[īd\*]dhayō(yē) sahla-dhārā-pura[h\*]sarēna  
chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kāla[m\*]=a-  
42 kari(rī)kritya tāmra(mra)-śāśa(sa)tvē(nē)na pratiprā(pā)ditā(tō)=smat<sup>8</sup> na kōchit  
(lēnachit) vighātita[vya\*]m=iti || grāmasya simā kata<sup>9</sup>  
43 Pāschima-dīśahī(dīśi) Trikūta Jōdapāpādi vanarāi vālmika vamnka(nka)-  
sila-vanarāi[\*] Uta(tta)ra- dīśahī(dīśi)  
44 Trikuta | Pāni-sākhā(?)traimanivādhaivāni [i\*] Uta(††a)ra-dīśahī(dīśi) dīgha-sila [i\*]  
Pūvēhi (Pūrvasyām) jōdavanarāi  
45 vada[i\*] Pūva-utara-kōnēhi sōmani<sup>10</sup> Trikuta | Pūva aakhim[ē]hi sē ma Trikuta |  
Pūva-dīśahī khō-  
46 llāda[i\*] Pūva-dakhina-kōnahī vāgha-guhu(guhā?) Trikuta [i\*] Dakhina dīśa pavadi  
sila gādi savatih ||

*Third Plate, Reverse*

- 47 'paradvau tūmpirah<sup>11</sup> || Samvat [9\*] [Vai]śākha-sudi-prathama-paksha-dviti[yā i\*]  
48 Uktāñ=cha dharmma-śāstrē[i\*] Vahubhih (Bahubhir=) [vasu]dhā datām(dattā)  
rājā(ja)bhīh Sagar-ādibhih[i\*]  
49 rya(ya)sya yasya yadā' bhūmi[s\*]=||<sup>12</sup> tasya tasya [tadā phalam] || [16||\*] Sva-  
dat[t\*]ām para-dat[t\*]ām=vā yō ha-  
50 rēti(ta) vasundharām[i\*] sa viśthāyām kṛimur=[bhūtvā] pitri[bhih] saha pachvatēh  
(tē) || [17||\*] Itakō(Dūtakō)=  
51 tra mahākshapata[la?] dēvō(vah) [pradhānatana(mah) ?] | Lāñchhitam Jayasimghēna  
52 utkīrnam Chchā[hībhayē ?]nāh(na) mitih(iti) ||

No 9 —TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

About the beginning of the 10th century A.D. a branch of the Paramāras of Mālwa was founded by Dambarasimha, the younger brother of Vamsimha of Mālwa. The rulers of this

<sup>1</sup> Read *rājānaka* - Read *\*harinō=nyams=cha*

<sup>3</sup> Read *varshayika*

<sup>4</sup> Read *sambaddha-*

<sup>5</sup> *Danda unnecessary*

<sup>6</sup> Read *pañcharshi pravara anupravarāya* These five *rishis* are Aurva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya and Āpnavīna

<sup>7</sup> Read *Chhandogya*

<sup>8</sup> Read *\*tō=smābhīr=*

<sup>9</sup> Read *simā kṛita* [*Kata, desaḥi, rai*, etc. are evidently Prākṛit formations—Ed.]

<sup>10</sup> The first syllable may be read *sro*

<sup>11</sup> The meaning of this expression is not at all clear. The sign at the commencement looks like that of an *evagraha* but it cannot be connected with the previous line

<sup>12</sup> *Dandas unnecessary.*



family may be called the Paramāras of Vigada from the name of the territory over which they ruled and which comprised the present Bānswāra and Dungarpur States. These rulers, who were subordinate to the Paramāras of Mālwa, had for a long time their seat of Government at Uthhūnaka, the modern Arthūnī in the Bānswāra State in Rājputāna. The two inscriptions edited below belong to the rulers of this family and were found in the Bānswāra State. These documents, together with the one already published,<sup>1</sup> throw much light on the history of this branch of the Paramāras.

#### A.—PANAHERA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHADEV I OF MALWA [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1116

This inscription has already been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1916-17.<sup>2</sup> It is engraved on a stone slab which is built into a wall of the temple of Mandalesar (Mandakśvara) Mahādeva at Pānīhērī in the Bānswāra State of Rājputāna. The slab is broken into pieces and at present only the two sides, right and left, are available, the middle portion being altogether missing.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī characters of about the 11th century A.D. But *ā* in *ra* (l 20) and *ī* in *Īśānā* (l 2) have forms which are generally found in the inscriptions of an earlier period.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription consists of 38 lines of writing and is written in verse with the exception of a few words in ll 1, 26, 36 and the concluding portion of l 38 which are in prose. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

In respect of orthography the following points may be noted. *a* and *b* are not distinguished as in *vāmdharā* (l 8), *valavat* (l 15), etc., *s* is used for *ś* in *sumdārā* (l 9), *līksam* (l 11), *śra* (l 16), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *atī āśīt* (l 20), *tapāśī* (l 31), etc., consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* are usually doubled as in *yair mmulha* (l 12), *darppō* (l 14), *dāhāttrī* (l 11), *pa tra* (l 13) etc., *anusāra* is used for nasals in *saśāmla* (l 2), *bhujanga* (l 3), etc. as well as at the end of stichs and hemistichs as in *mahāīalam* (l 26), *phalam* (l 33), etc.

The inscription is a *prastāva* of the Paramāra kings of Mālwa and their subordinate rulers, the Paramāras of Vigada. It consists of two parts: the first part in 25 verses is given to the Paramāras of Mālwa and the other part, beginning from verse 26, to those of Vigada. Its object is to record the foundation of the temple of Mandakśvara (Śiva) at Pānīhērī and various endowments in that connection, by the Paramāra ruler Mandalikā. After the usual praise of the god Śiva in the first five verses, the inscription gives, in verse 6, the familiar legend of the origin of the Paramāra family from the sacrificial fire on the Arbuda mountain. It then describes the army of some king, evidently an early Paramāra ruler, and the scene of a battle (vv 7-9). Muñjadēva is then mentioned (v 10) who is said to have won victory in a battle (v 12). Sindhurāja is spoken of in verse 13 and his army is extolled in this as well as in the next two verses. Verse 16 states that from him sprang a king whose name is not preserved in the inscription but which was most probably Bhōjarāja. The next four verses are devoted to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII p. 80 and above, Vol. XIV pp. 297 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 2 f.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IX p. 200 and Vol. XVIII p. 96.

praise of this king and his army King Jayasimha is mentioned in verse 21 and the splendours of his army are likewise described, while his superiority and control over other kings are spoken of in the next four verses Here ends the first part of the inscription

The second part commences by saying that in the Paramāra family was born Dhanika, who built the temple of Dhanēśvara near Mahākāla (*at Ujjain*) (vv 26-27) After him, his brother's son Chachcha became king (v 28) Verse 29 tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost in the present portion of the record, gave battle to Khōttigadēva at Khalighatta on the bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā) in the cause of Siyaka and went to heaven Verse 31 introduces Satyarāja who is said to have received a fortune from king Bhōja and fought with the Gūrjaras He married Rājaśrī of the Chāhamūna family from whom was born Limbarāja (vv 32-33) His (i.e., Limbarāja's) younger brother was Mandalika, who took General Kanha prisoner and handed him over to Jayasimha (vv 34-37) Mandalika is glorified in verse 39 and is said to have built the temple of Mandalēśvara (Śiva) at Pāmsulākhēta (vv 45-47) This king Jayasimha is said to have assigned to the god, for defraying the expenses of worship, one *vimśōpaka*<sup>1</sup> on every bull (*that passed*) on the road and also some land at Pāmsulākhēta Mandalika also granted to this temple, for his own spiritual welfare, some lands and a garden behind Nagna-tadāga and (*the temple of*) Varunēśvari together with some rice-fields as well as lands in the villages of Nattapātaka, Pānāchhī and Mandaladraha (vv 47-52) The date is given at the end as Vikrama-Samvat 1116 (A.D. 1059) The inscription was engraved by Āsarāja, son of Kāyastha Śrīdhara of Valabhī

As to the personages spoken of in the inscription, kings Siyaka, Muñjadēva, Sindhurāja, Bhōjadēva and Jayasimhadēva are the well known Paramāra rulers of Mālwa Up till now only one copper plate inscription<sup>2</sup> dated V 1112 (A.D. 1055) of the time of Jayasimha (I) has been discovered, so this inscription carries his reign to a further period of some four years Among the rulers of Vāgada, Dhanika, Chachcha, Satyarāja, Limbarāja and Mandalika are mentioned in the inscription The names of Kankadēva and Chandapa, the two rulers after Chachcha, which are found in the Arthūnā Inscription of V 1136<sup>3</sup> are not preserved in the present record The battle fought against Khōttigadēva at Khalighatta (v 29) is evidently the one mentioned in the Arthūnā Inscription of V 1136 (verse 19) as being fought by Kankadēva against the Rāshtrakūta king of Karnāta

From verse 36 of the present record, Mandalika who is called Mandaladēva in the Arthūnā Inscription, appears to have been the feudatory of King Jayasimhadēva (I) of Mālwa

Many of the localities mentioned in this inscription may be easily identified Thus Pāmsulākhēta (vv 39, 46) is the village of Pānāhērā where the inscription was found Nattapātaka (v 50) is the village called Nātāwārā lying about two miles to the west of Pānāhērā Dēulapātaka is the modern Dēlwārā situated about 4 miles south-west of Jagapurā Bhōgyapura is the village Bhagorā which stands about 3 miles to the north-west of Pānāhērā Pānāchhī is now called Pānāsī and is situated at a distance of about 4 miles from Pānāchhī Mandaladraha is Mādaldū of the present day and is about 4 miles to the west of Nātāwārā Nagna-tadāga (v 48) is a tank called Nāgēlātālāva and is to be seen at the foot of the temple of Mandalēśvara at Pānāhērā Khalighatta (v 29) was evidently the name of a ford on the bank of the Narmadā I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of this word see above, Vol I p 166

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol III p 46

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol XIV pp 297 ff

TEXT <sup>1</sup>

[Metres —Vv 1, 2 (?) and 52, *Āryā*, vv 3-6, 8, 11, 13 15, 23, 26, 29, 31, 32, 39 and 60, *Sārdūnavikrīḍita*, vv 7 and 16, *Vasanta'ralā*, vv 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 22 and 33, *Sragdharā*, vv 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 34, 36, 37, 44 51, 53 59 and 61, *Anushtubh*, v 21, *Mālīnī*, v 35, *Ḍālīnī*, v 38, *Upajāti*, vv 40-43, *Tōṭala*]

1 श्री श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

धृतगगनसिधुपटः शैलसुताशालभजिकासुभगः । जयति जगत्तत्रय-  
मडपमूलस्तभी मन्नादेव ॥१॥<sup>१</sup> जयति शिवो यस्मू[धि] . . .

. . . [१<sup>१</sup>]-[१२॥]-  
- - - [श-]

2 शाककलया सद्य प्रपद्यामृतं

वामः प्राप्य सुरा जगाम गरलशानादघोरः सुख ।

इशानेन समुद्रमथनविधौ नैवीकृत पद्मगो- - - - -  
- - - - - [१३<sup>१</sup>]- - - - -  
- - - - -

3 तैर्दूमैर्महासलिताः पुनश्च दन्तिताश्चूडेदुलिखाशुभि । भूयः स्फारभुजग-

भोगश(ग)रलशानासोर्मिभिः संभृतः शभो पातु कठोरकठ - - -  
- - - [१४<sup>१</sup>]- - - - -  
- - - - -

4 उत्ते शुटुव(व) हरि ।

सैनाकाव्यु(व्यु)दयोः स्वसुखाव गृहे को नाय मे वर्तते मिथ्याह  
भवनः प्रियेत्यगस्तुताक्षितो हरः पातु वः ॥५॥<sup>१</sup> अत्रास्यव्यु(व्यु)द  
- - - - -  
- - - [१<sup>१</sup>]- - - - - [वि<sup>१</sup>]-

5 तते होमक्रियाप्रक्रमे

कृडाग्नेः परमार इत्यभिधया दिव्य पुमानुत्थित. ॥६॥<sup>१</sup> आनीद-  
कठभुजद्वयकठोरवैरिक्कठास्पिनिर्दलनदंतुरखल्ल[धार. १<sup>१</sup>]- - -  
- - - - -  
[१७॥]- - - - -

6 नये सज्ञापनार्थं सुहु-  
श्चडोड्डाभररावसृष्टककुम्भि द्राक्षाडिते दुदुभी । चेलु पीलुषटातुरगम-

<sup>1</sup> From an impression

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol. [It is preferable to read the symbol as *siddham* —Ed.]

चमूसंधदपोत्कटाः सामन्ता, कटकाग्र — उ उ उ — — — उ —  
 — उ — [॥८॥] — — — उ — — उ उ उ उ उ उ — — उ —  
 — उ नैर्वैर्वालीः स्नातुकामै-

7

रनवि(धि)गततलास्तस्य शुद्धस्थलीषु ।  
 दोर्दंडोच्चंडखण्डाहतकरटिघटावोरककालकूला सद्यः कीर्णालगद्यः स्फुटित-  
 नरशिरःपङ्क — — उ — — [॥९॥<sup>\*</sup>] — — — उ — — उ उ उ उ उ  
 उ — — उ — — उ — — [उद्य]द्विद्वंठपीठस्फुटविगलददृक्त्ति-

8

तत्सन्नाभरगः ।  
 राजा ओमंजदेवः समजनि कृतिना वा(वा)धवो यस्य कीर्त्तिः  
 कुजे कुजे गिरीणां प्रकटितपुलकं गीयते किन्नरीभिः [॥१०॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
 — — — उ उ — उ — उ उ उ — — — उ — — उ — — —  
 — उ [म]कातरेण मनसा वा(चं)चत्पाणामडलः ।

9

लेभे(ऽ)नतरमेव सौस्थ्यमतुल तुच्छाभवद्यन्महो  
 त्वंगतु(त्तु)गतु(तु)रंगनिधुरधुरचोदोक्तैः पासुभिः ॥११॥<sup>\*</sup> सुडा(शुण्डा)रा  
 डाकिनीना [ह] उ उ उ उ उ — — उ — — उ — — — —  
 — — उ — — [श]तकरटिघटाः सत्वरं जित्वरण । वेन्वा(ना)-

10

दीयन्त भूर्द्धि स्फुरदसिसलिलं पातयित्वा रिसैन्ये  
 गृह(भ्र)स्त्रीणां ररध्र(धु) श्रुतवहस<sup>१</sup>वसासीधवो योद्ध(दृ)कठा ॥१२॥<sup>\*</sup>  
 रभावा(वा)[हु?] उ — उ — उ उ उ — — — उ — — उ — — —  
 — उ उ — पराक्रान्तिभिः ओसिधुराजो नृपः । भेजे यस्य

11

विमर्षिकुंजरघटासधदहेलानम-  
 द्वात्तीमंडलभारधारणपरिक्रोसं(शं) भुजगेश्वरः ॥१३॥<sup>\*</sup> क स्थातुं चमते  
 पराक्रम — — — उ — — उ — — — — उ उ — उ — उ  
 उ उ [ति]प्रोद्दामगर्भं वचः ते दृष्टुं क[वध]नामरिप-

12

वः सो(शौ)र्यप्रतिसर्द्धथा  
 दध्रे यैर्मुख एव यस्य यस(श)सा विनासितः कालिमा ॥१४॥<sup>\*</sup>  
 जाता वागससजसा भयव[शा]दुल्लू उ — — उ — — — — उ उ —  
 उ — उ उ उ — [य<sup>२</sup>]वा गृहे<sup>३</sup>यादृस(श) । रु(नु)त्वा यज्ञज-  
 दडपोडितधनु-

13

दकारभाराद्वत  
 गाढापाणि<sup>४</sup>रुपानह<sup>५</sup> परमभूदै(दे)कैव विवेभिर्षा ॥१५॥<sup>\*</sup> तस्मादजायत

- सरोरुहपत्तनेचो विद्यानि[धिः<sup>१</sup>] ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — [१\*]  
 — — ७ — ७ ७ ७ चडहपाणदडणापाकोस(श)लविदग्धभुजो नरे-  
 14 द्र. ॥१६[१\*]  
 सूर्यत्युद्दामदर्पोत्कटवारटिवटामेदुरे यस्य सेत्चे मेदिन्यामन्नमायाममहम-  
 रधुरा धर्तुसुद्धर्तुकासः । — — — — ७ — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७  
 — — ७ — — ७ — — कर्मा मर्माव्ययाभिः समजनि निभृव.(त)  
 प्राणशेषस्तु  
 15 [ग्रि]प ॥१७  
 [१\*] यस्मिन्नुर्वी विजेतु प्रचलति व(व)नवत्तगमातंगसंन्यचोभजीण  
 प्रवाहाः प्रमथितनलिनीमडपोद्दीनहंसाः [१] — — — — ७ — — ७  
 ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — — ७ — — वेरिस्त्रोमा(वा)पपूरेमरुपु  
 समभव(व)स्तेपि भूपा.  
 16 [त्र]लिद्या ॥१८[१\*]  
 दर्शयन्नालनो रूप विद्यासु(स्फु)रितविभ्रमे । यप्रतापावु(वु)दो  
 भूला का(दा)नवर्पी प्रजास्वभूत् ॥१९[१\*] भूला मि(शि)रसि शचूना  
 खङ्ग ७ — ७ . . [१\*] . . . . ७ — — . .  
 . . . . ७ — रियं ॥ २०[१\*] तमसु विनतभृष्टञ्चक्रचूञ्चित-  
 ङ्गि, प्रतप-  
 17 ति जय[सि]ङ्ग पाधिबो माव(ल)वाना ।  
 चटुलतुरगसेनापाशुभिर्यः प्रयाणे कलुषयति चतुर्णाभरणवाना पयासि  
 ॥२१[१\*] यज्ञा(दा)हु सौ(शौ)र्यवेगो ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ —  
 — ७ — — — — — ७ — — [ग्र]मरुयवतिभि, कीर्यति  
 पुष्पष्टव्या । हिलाकष्टासिदडाहतसु-  
 18 मटवटीकांधकाडा<sup>१</sup>स्त्रिखड-  
 प्रथोतद्रक्तधाराप्लुतसमरधरापृष्ठनृत्यत्काव(व)ध' ॥२२[१\*] ता' कडल-  
 कापोलकोलिकापणुव्यत्काठोर[द्रुमा<sup>१</sup>] — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७  
 — — — ७ — — ७ — [१\*] द्रोईण्डविलासडंव(व)रणचडासिधाराजलि  
 दाभ(झ)ज्जति वि-  
 19 पञ्चवारणघटाः सुगामसोमास्तुशः ॥२३  
 [१\*] यस्याजौ यमजिह्वास खङ्गमालोव्य विद्विष' । अप्राप्तेष्वायुष  
 का । तन्मुचंति जीवितम् ॥२४[१\*] . . ७ — — ..

<sup>१</sup> Read स्तम्भकण्डा

ॐ — ॐ . [1<sup>\*</sup>] [स<sup>\*</sup>]र्वे पृथ्वीमृतश्चित्रं सुष्टिमध्ये  
निवेसि(शि)ताः ॥२५॥

20

अनाशो(सी)त्परमारव[श]विततौ लब्धा(ब्धा)न्व[यः] पार्थिवो  
नाका श्रीधनिको धनेस्स(श्च)र इव त्यागैककल्पद्रुमः । — — —  
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — — ॐ ॐ  
ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — नित्ये स्वकीयं वयुः ॥२६॥ श्रीमहाकालदेवस्य  
निकटे हिमपाडु-

21

र ।

श्रीधनेश्वर इत्युच्चैः कीर्तनं यस्य राजते ॥२७॥<sup>\*</sup> चक्षनाभाभवे(व)-  
त्व(त्त)त्ताङ्गावसूनुर्महादृपः । रणे . . ॐ — — . . . . .  
ॐ — ॐ . [॥२८॥<sup>+</sup>] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — —  
— ॐ — — स्वया विख्यात करवानघातदलितद्विदुभिकुम्भस्थलः ।  
यः श्री-

22

खोट्टि(ट्टि)कदेवदत्तसमर श्रीसीयकार्थे कृतो  
रेवायाः खलिघ[ट्ट]नामनि तटे युष्मा(द्वा) प्रतस्थे दिव ॥२९॥ . . .  
. . ॐ — — . . . ॐ — ॐ [1<sup>\*</sup>] . .  
. . ॐ — — . . . ॐ वासिता ॥३०॥<sup>\*</sup> आतः<sup>1</sup>  
कीर्त्तितरणिणीस(त्तु)ल(त्तु)कितचैलोक्यसीमातरस्यागी

23

सत्यपराक्रमो [गुण<sup>\*</sup>]निधिः श्रीसत्यराजोभवत् ।  
यः श्रीभोजनरैद्रदत्तविभवः सार्धं रणे गृज्जैः कृत्वा[सं] ॐ ॐ — ॐ  
— ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — [॥३१॥<sup>\*</sup>] — — — ॐ ॐ —  
ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — भाग्यभागीरजीमेत्त(त्तुः) कीर्त्तिषु चाहमान-  
सहता वशीकृत्वा लभ्यते । रा-

24

जन्त्रीः सहजेव येन सहजश्रीमन्मतिः स्वामिना  
यस्याः स्यादुपमानभादिपुरुष(सा)पीत[स्त]नी देवकी ॥३२॥<sup>\*</sup> तस्या —  
— ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ — — ॐ — — त्यातः श्री  
लिव(व)राजः प्रकटसुभटता(तः) दृष्टिषु ब्र(ज्ज)ह्मकल्पः [1<sup>\*</sup>] स्वल्पश्री-

25

भूरिदाता नयविनयमहापण्डितस्तद्वरिष्ठः  
स्त्रि(स्त्र)र्गं प्राप्तश्चलित्वा क[लि]युगमधिपद्वेषिणो निर्दलित्वा [॥३३॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
भोगत्यागी गृही[त्वा] . . . . . ॐ — ॐ . . । श्रीमह-

<sup>1</sup> Correctly अत The first syllable is lengthened for the sake of the metre

लोक इत्यस्य लघुभ्राताभवे(व)नृपः ॥३४[॥<sup>\*</sup>] स्र(शू)रस्त्रागो नमो  
शोलो वि-

26

पद्यित्

कंदर्पाभिः कामिनीचित्तचोरः । माभताना स्मृतिं दत्ताङ्गिको  
राजत्युर्वीमडले मंडलोकः ॥३४(३५)[॥<sup>\*</sup>] अपि च ॥ भोज . .  
७— . . . . . ७—७ [१<sup>\*</sup>] . . .  
७— . . . . . ७—७ . . . ॥३५(३६)[॥<sup>\*</sup>] येना-  
दाय रणे कनं दडाधीम(श) मन्नाव(व)न । अपि च नयमिन्नाय  
मा[ज्व]

27

गजसमन्वि(त) ॥३६(३७)

[॥<sup>\*</sup>] जयत्यसौ श्रीपरमारवंशो यत्र प्रभु, श्रीजयसिंहदेव । जातः  
प्रसा(शा)खासु च यस्य तुंगमासतपूज्य ७—७— [॥३७(३८)  
॥<sup>\*</sup>] — — — ७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—  
भक्त्याकार्यत मदिर स्मररिपोस्तत्पागुलाखेटके । यन्मोत्तु(त्त)गगिर-

28

प्रदेशनिहितेदीपोत्सवे दीपके-

ईर्तं कलालमजयति नयनान्धादायसिद्धिचयः ॥३८(३९)[१<sup>\*</sup>] ७—  
सुष्टिमुपाहृतवानपि यः ७—७—७—७—७—७— [१<sup>\*</sup>] ७—  
७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—  
भुवि सोऽप्यवतीर्य भवेन्नृपतिः  
॥३९(४०)[॥<sup>\*</sup>] शरदास्तृदालयमोशयति

29

कुरतेत्यव[नो] दिनमेकमपि । दिवि ययमन्त्रमुपास्य सि(शिव)  
पुनरव मन्त्रीपनत, प्रभवेत् ॥४०(४१)[॥<sup>\*</sup>] ह्र(वृ)हदास ७—७—  
—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७— [१<sup>\*</sup>] ७—  
कामयतेपि महेंद्रपदसुरनाथमपि स्वलयेदचिरात् ॥४१(४२)[॥<sup>\*</sup>]

30

यदि' पक्षमहेष्टकया तरुभिर्व्वरमारश(शिव)लाघटितैर्घटयेत् । निखिला-  
मरसे(शे)खरधटनया निविसे(शे)द्विवि घटपदावु(वृ)रुहः ॥४२(४३)[॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
विषाणज ।  
प्रासदमथ माण्य शिव एव करोति यः ॥४३(४४)[॥<sup>\*</sup>]

31

राजा सो(यो)जयसिंहेन अस्मै देवाय भक्ति ।  
वृषभं प्रति भोगार्थे' मार्गे पिसो(शे)पको दत्तः ॥४४(४५)[॥<sup>\*</sup>]

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- पासुलाखेटके स्थाने कच्छोक्त ७—७ . [1\*] . . . .  
 द्वितीयस्तु दत्त शंभो स्वभक्तिना<sup>(?)</sup>॥४५(४६)[1\*] वदनाख्ये(ऽ)रघटे च  
 भूमै(सि)-
- 32 भोगद्वय तथा ।  
 दत्तं श्रीमंडलोकेन स्वश्रेया(य)य(सि) महेश(श)तः ॥४६(४७)[1\*]  
 ५४ नग्नतडागस्य वरुणेश्व(श्व)र्याश्वथैव च । वाटिका सुभगा दत्ता-  
 . ७—७ . ॥४७(४८)[1\*] एवादित  
 कृत्वा यावच्चद्रदिवाकरौ । भूमिर्दत्ता सकेदारा बुध्वा(बुद्धा)  
 33 सासारिक फलं ॥४८(४९)[1\*]  
 नष्टापाटकग्रामे भूरन्या देउलपाटके । भोग्यपुरे च पानाच्छामपरा  
 मडलद्रहे ॥४९(५०)[1\*] एवमेतेषु ग्रा[मेषु] . , ७  
 [ल-]क्षिता । भूमिः श्रीमंडलीकेन दत्ता श्रीमंडलेश्वरे ॥५०(५१)[1\*]  
 एतच्च पु-
- 34 र ललनानूपुरभकारमुखरिताभोग ।  
 भोगनिमित्त शंभोर्दत्त श्रीमंडलीकेन ॥५१(५२)[1\*] पुरेच सत्काद्रव्यस्य  
 भूरधरादिकस्य च [1\*] म . . ७—७ . . . शः  
 प्रकल्पित ॥५२(५३)[1\*] तपश्चो(स्त्री) ब्र(ब्र)ह्मचारि(री) यं(य)[श]चि-  
 दांता(तो) जितेंद्रि-
- 35 य ।  
 तेनात्र त(न)वि(तिः) कर्तव्या चारिकैः सह सर्वदा॥५४\*॥-क॥  
 भरतो धुंधुमारच कार्तवीर्यी शिविवे(व)लि । हरिश्चन्द्र(चन्द्र)स्तु  
 माधाता नलो वेणुर्नृपाद[यः] ॥५५\*॥ ७—७  
 . जान(ता) वरपूरिताः । तप्यायुषि परिचीणे ग[ता]  
 कृतां(कार्ता)तिक पुर ॥५६\*॥
- 36 मत्वै[त\*]दस्थिरं सर्वं राज्यमायुधं नृपै ।  
 न लोप्य सि(शि)वसंबधि वस्तु स्तोकां(कम)पि यज्ञवेत् [५७\*] यतः  
 [1\*] भवत्तानाज्यमज्ञा(ज्ज्ञ)नाद्यतिस्थितं करजोद[रि] [1\*]  
 . . ७—७ . . हरिद्विप ॥५८\*॥ विसे(शि)षत, ।  
 अस्मद्वसे(शे)ष — — विषये भो-
- 37 क्तात्र यो भवेत् ।  
 तस्यास्माभिः कृताभ्यर्था (र्चा) सि(शि)वदत्त न चालयेत् ॥५९\*॥ अस्ति  
 प्रत्यवनीस(श)चक्रमुकुटसृष्टाद्विपीठत्रियः ।<sup>1</sup> श्रीकोदडचतु[र्भ-]  
 — ७—७ — ७ — ७ — [1\*] [ते\*]नेय स्फुटवर्णपा-  
 कपटिमप्रौढेः पदार्ड[व(व)रैः] सदृश सुम-

38

[न]प्रचो(वो)धजननी शभोः प्रशस्तिर्गृत्ते ॥६०॥\*

यावच्चाद्रे कला शभोर्द्योतते कूटमउपे । कीर्त्तिं श्रीमउलीकस्य तावट-

स्त्वचया भुवि ॥६० ६१॥[॥\*] सयत् वि[क्र]म- १११६

[वा]लभकायस्थ-योधरसुतासराजिनयमुत्कीरिता(गीर्वाण)[सु(शान्ता)] ॥

## B—ARTHUNA INSCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF VIJAYARAJA VIKRAMA SAMVAT 1166

This record was found at Arthūnā in the Bānswāra state in Rājputāna<sup>1</sup> and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer. It consists of thirty-one lines of writing covering a space of 1' 7½" × 1'. Excepting a few letters, the inscription is well preserved.

The characters are Nāgarī of a type which was common in Rājputāna during the period to which the record belongs. The average size of the letters is about 1". The letter *r* is differently written in lines 15 and 21.

The language is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of a few words at the beginning of l. 1 and at the end of verses 25, 26 and 30, the record is written in verse.

In respect of orthography it may be noted that *r* is used for *b* in *rahu'c* (l. 2), *raha* (l. 12), etc., *n* for *m* in *munnā* (l. 7), *s* for *m* in *sāsana* (l. 15), *nasara* (l. 19), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *śāhara* (l. 31). Consonants with a superscript *r* are doubled in *patra-mudhara* (l. 2), *śrī-mudhara* (l. 7), etc. *Anusāra* is used for nasals in *Mandalika* (l. 2), *-chancharika* (l. 16), etc. Rules of *śandhi* have been frequently violated. *Jihvāmūliya* has been used in lines 29 and 30.

The subject of the inscription is the foundation of a Jaina temple and the consecration of the image of Vṛshabhānātha at the town of Utthūnaka during the reign of Vijayarāja, the Paramāra ruler of Viṇḍa. After paying homage to Viṇḍa in verse 1, the inscription records in verse 2 that Mandalika of the Paramāra lineage killed the general Kanha and Sindhurāja. It then speaks of Mandalika's son Chāmundarāja as having destroyed the army of the lord of Avanti in the Sthali country. Verse 3 speaks of his son Vijayarāja, who was a brave and famous ruler and a conqueror of his foes. The inscription then turns to the description of the Jaina family, one of whose descendants caused the temple of Vṛshabhānātha to be built. Verses 4-5 inform us that in the territory of Vijayarāja there was a town called Talapūtika, the residence of Ambata, a learned Jaina physician and jewel of the Nāgara family. His son was Pīpika, who knew the whole of *Vivaraḍa* (v. 7). He had three sons, Ālaka, Sīhasa and Lalluka (v. 8). Ālaka was benevolent, well versed in history and a pupil of Chhatrasena of the Mithuna family (v. 9-11). He had three sons by his wife Hōlā. The eldest was Pāhuka who was well versed in *Śāstras* and who became a recluse (v. 12-14). His younger brother was Bhūshana, a pious Jaina whose glories are described in verses 15-19. He had two wives Lakshmi and Sali. By the latter he had three sons, Ālaka, Siddhāra and Śāntimukhya. It was Bhūshana who established this Jaina temple (v. 20-22). His younger brother was Lallaka. His elder brother Pāhuka had a son named Ambata by his wife Śukā (v. 23-24). Verses 25-26 and the prose line between them inform us that an image of Vṛshabhānātha was established by Bhūshana in the town of Utthūnaka in the year 1166 of the Vikrama era, while Vijayarāja was reigning in the province of Sthali and that the image was consecrated on Monday, the 3rd day of the bright

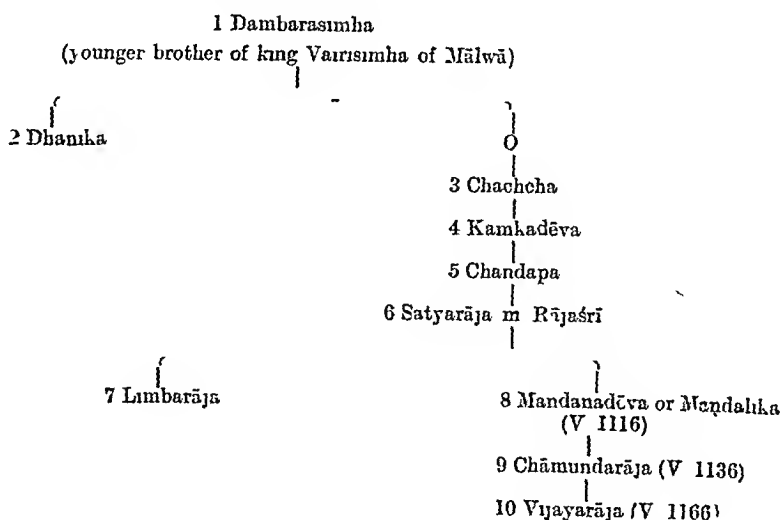
half of Vaisākha of the same year which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 5th April, 1109 A D The next two verses inform us that 16 verses from the fourth as well as the first verse were composed by the learned Katuka while the rest was the work of Bhātuka, son of the Brahman Sāvada who was the son of Bhāilla of the Valla family The *prasasti* was written by the *Sāndhviṅṇahika* Vāmana, son of Kāyastha Rājapāla of the Vālabha family (v 29) The inscription was engraved by the *viññāṇika* Stamāka The *prasasti* practically ends with line 26 The next five lines, which seem to have been added later, are herein styled *ātm-ānusāsana* <sup>1</sup>

As regards the personages mentioned in the inscription, much is already known about Mandalika and Chāmundarāja from other inscriptions The inscription A says that Mandalika took general Kanha prisoner and handed him over to king Jayasimhadēva, whereas in the inscription B he is said to have killed him Again, in the Arthūnā inscription of V 1136,<sup>2</sup> Chāmundarāja, son of Mandanadēva, is said to have overcome Sindhurāja, whereas in the present record Mandalika is said to have killed him which would be impossible unless the two Sindhurājas were different persons, or the word 'Sindhurāja' was used in the general sense of 'a ruler of Sindhu' Thus the facts mentioned in inscription A and the Arthūnā inscription of V 1136 do not agree with those found in the present record <sup>3</sup> The former inscriptions are earlier and, perhaps, more reliable than the present record

Vijayarāja, in whose time this inscription was written, was the last known ruler of the Vāgada branch No trace has yet been found of his successors It is known, however, that Vāgada, after a few decades, went under the control of the Guhila king Sāmantasimha of Mewār, who established a kingdom there in about V 1236 (A D 1179) and thus became the founder of the present State of Dungarpur in Rājputāna <sup>4</sup>

As to the places mentioned in the inscription, Utthūnaka is the modern Arthūnā which is about 28 miles south-west of Bānswāra Talapātaka is now a village called Talavādā lying about 12 miles to the south of Bānswāra

The genealogy of the Paramāras of Vāgada according to the inscriptions now available would stand thus —



<sup>1</sup> [This, I understand from Muni Puṇyavijaya of Pātan, is some small *Digambara* work—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol XIV pp 297 ff

<sup>3</sup> See Dr Barnett's remarks in the last para. on page 296 of *Ep Ind* Vol XIV—Ed

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind Ant.*, Vol LIII pp 101 f

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres —Vv 1, 13 and 14, *Māhāt*, vv 2, 5, 6, 22 and 30, *Sārdūlaśrīrīkṣa*; vv 3, 25, 26, 31, 32 and 33, *Āryā*, vv 4, 11 and 17, *Vasantaśilālā*, v 7, *Sragdharā*, vv 8, 20, 23, 24, 27-29 and 34-38, *Inuṣṭubh*, vv 9 and 10, *Mandālāntā*, vv 12 and 21, *Indraśrīrī*, vv 15, 16 and 39, *Sikhari*, v 18, *Pruthi*, v 19, *Haru*]

1 श्रीं ॥ श्री नमो योतरागाय ॥

स जयतु जिनभानुर्भव्यराजोऽराजोजनितवरपिकागो दत्तलोकाप्रकाशः ।

परसमयतमोभिर्न स्थितं यत्परस्तात्चणमपि चपलाभदादिव्यथोत्कृष्टं ॥२॥

2 आसोऽप्रीपरमारवशजनित. श्रीमङ्गलीकाभिध कल्पस्य ध्वजिर्नापतन्निधमन्त्र-  
सिधुराजस्य च । जज्ञे कीर्तितान्तालवालक ५३ ॥ मन्त्राजो नृपो योऽति-  
प्रभुसाधनानि व(व)दुग्धो ऋति श्री

3 देगे स्थलो(ग्राम्) ॥३॥

श्रीविजयराजना[मा] तस्य सुतो जयति जगति पितृतयगा<sup>१</sup> । सुभगो  
जितारिवर्गो गुणरत्नपयोनिधि शूरः ॥३॥ देगेऽस्य पत्तनवर तलेपाटनाय  
प्रस्थापनाजनजिता-

4 सगमदरोक्तम् ।

अस्ति प्रशस्तसुरमदिरवजयन्तीविस्ताररुडदिननायकरप्र[चा]र ॥४॥ तस्मिन्नाग-  
रवगमोऽसुरमणिर्निशेषशालास्यु(स्यु)धिर्जनेन्द्रागसवामनारमसुधाविशाल्यम[ञ्जो]भयत् ।

5 श्रीमानव(व)टसज्जक कलिय(व)दिर्भूतो भिषगा(ग्रा)मणीर्गाईव्येपि निकचिताह-  
प(प्र)सरो देशव्रतालकतः ॥५॥ यस्यावयवकर्मनिष्ठतमते[नि]ष्टा वनातभव-  
न्नतेवाभिवदाहिताजलिपुटा-

6 चोरा<sup>२</sup> क्षतोपामना ।

यस्यानन्यसमानदर्शनगुणैरन्त[च]मत्कारिता गन्धुपा विदधे सुतेव सतत  
देवी च चक्रेश्वरा(रो) ॥६॥ पापोकास्तस्य भूतु<sup>३</sup> समजनि जगितानेकभव्य-  
प्रपो(मो)द-

7 प्रादुर्भू-

तप्रभूतप्रविमलधिपण<sup>४</sup> पारदृष्टा श्रुताना [१<sup>\*</sup>] सर्वायुर्वेदवेदो विहितमङ्गल-  
रुक्तातलोकाभुकोपो ।<sup>१</sup> निर्नी(णी)ताग्रेपदोपप्रकृतिरपगदस्तप्रतोकारमारः ॥७॥ तस्य  
पुत्रास्त्रयोभूवन्भूरिशा-

8 खविभारदा ।

आलाके साहसाराय्य लक्ष्मकाय्यः परोनुजः ॥८॥ यस्तत्राय मन्त्रविशदप्रज्ञया  
भासमान<sup>२</sup> स्वातादगैस्फुरितसकलैतिहातत्त्वार्थसारः । संवेगादिस्फुटतरगुणव्य-

<sup>1</sup> From the original inscription

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> The strokes are redundant

<sup>4</sup> Dardā uanece sarv.











9

क्तसम्पक्क(र्क)भावः तै(वस्त्रै)-  
स्त्रैर्दानप्रभृतिभिरपि स्तोपयोगीकृतश्रीः ॥८॥[1\*] अधा[रो] यः सकुल-  
समिते साधुवर्गस्य चाभूद्भ्रे शील सकलजनताल्हादि रूपं च काये । पात्री-  
भूत क्षतयतिष्ठतीना ।

10

श्रुताना प्रि(श्रि)या च  
सानदाना धुरमुदवहङ्गोगिना योगिना च ॥९॥ यो मा[धु]राव्ययनभस्तल-  
तिग्म[भा]नोर्व्याख्यानरंजितसमस्तसभाजनस्य । श्रीच्छत्रसेनसुगुरोत्तरणारविदसे-

11

वापरोभवदनन्यमना. सदैव ॥११॥  
तस्य प्रशस्तामलशीलवत्या होलाभिधाया वरधर्मपत्न्यां । त्रयो व(व)भूवुस्त-  
नया नयाव्या विवेकवतो भुवि रत्नभूताः ॥१२॥ अभवदमल-

12

वो(वो)धः पा[हु]कस्तत्र पूर्व-  
क्तगुरुजनभक्ति. सत्कुशाग्रीयवु(वु)द्धिः । जिनवचसि यदीयप्रश्नजाले विशाले  
गणभृदपि विमुह्येत्कैव वार्त्तापरस्य(स्य) ॥१३॥ करणचरणरूपानेक-

13

शास्त्रप्रवोणः  
परिहृतविषयार्थो दानतोर्यप्रवृत्तः । श्रमनियमितचित्तो जातवैराग्यभावः कलि-  
कलिलविमुक्तोपा(वा)सकी[वो]य प्रभाष्यः ॥१४॥ कनिष्ठस्तस्याभूद्वनविदितो भूषण-  
इति श्रियः पात्र

14

कापिः कुलगृहसुमायाश्च वसतिः ।  
सरस्वत्याः क्रोडागिरिरमलवु(वु)द्धेरतिरना(?) चभावहया कद प्रविततकृपायाश्च  
निलय ॥१५॥ स्मरः सौरुध्येण प्रव(व)न[सुभ]गत्वेन शशभृत् कुवे(वे)रः  
सप-

15

त्या समधिकविवेकेन धिषण ।  
महीनृत्या मेरुर्जलनिधिरगाधेन मनसा ।<sup>१</sup> विदग्धत्वेनोच्चैर्य इह वरविद्याधर  
इव ॥१६॥ जैनैर्द्रसा(शा)सनसरोवरराजहसो मौनीर्द्रपादकमलद्वय-

16

चचरोकः ।  
नि.शेषशास्त्रनिवहोदकनाथनक्रः ।<sup>२</sup> सोमंतिनीनयनकैरच(व)चारुचद्र. ॥१७॥  
विदग्धजनवक्त्रमः सरससारशृंगारवानुदारश्च(च)रितश्च यः सुभगसौम्यभूर्त्ति  
सुधीः । प्रसाद-

17

व(न)परानमहरविलासनीकुतल-  
व्यप(पा)स्तपदपंकजद्वितयरेणुरत्युन्नत. ॥१८॥ प्रथमधवलप्राये [चै]त्ये गतेपि  
दिवं पुन. ।<sup>१</sup> कुलरथभरी येनैकेनाप्यसंभ्रममुद्धृतः । गुरुतरविप-

<sup>१</sup> [Muni Panyaviyaya of Pātan suggests १पात्रकोपः—Ed]

<sup>२</sup> Punctuation unnecessary

- 18 व्रतं ग्रावय[ज्ञा]दुदतारि च  
स्थिरमतिमहास्थान्ना नीतो विभूतिगिरि शिरः ॥१८॥ हे भार्ये भूषणस्य स्त-  
लक्ष्मीशीलीतिविश्रुते । पतिव्रतत्वमयुक्ते चारित्र्यगुणभूषिते ॥२०॥<sup>[११]</sup> स [गो]-
- 19 निकायामुदपादि पुत्रान्मन्त्रामयोऽगुण्डेवभक्तः ।  
अलोकसाधारणशक्तिमु[ख्या]न्स्ववधु(वन्धु)चित्ताज(ज)विकाशभानून् ॥२१॥ आयुस्त-  
मसहोन्नसारनिहितस्तोकास्तु(स्तु)वत्तस्व(श्व)र
- 20 सचित्य द्विपकगणचलतरा लक्ष्म्याय दृष्टा स्थिति । ज्ञात्वा शाससुनिधया-  
त्स्थिरतरि नून ७ — — ७ सी तेनाकारि मनोहर जिनः ७ भूमिरिद-  
मूषण(यम्) ॥२२॥ भूषणस्य क-
- 21 निष्ठो(ष्ठ) श्रीलक्ष्माक इति विश्रुत ।  
देवपूजापरो नित्य भ्रातुरादेशकलदा ॥२३॥ ज्येष्ठो(ष्ठ) पादकनामा यः सोड-  
कायामजोजनत् । शुभलक्षणसंयुता पुत्रमन्व(स्व)टमजक(कम्) २४<sup>[११]</sup>
- 22 वर्षसहस्रे याते पट्टयुत्तरगतेन सयुक्ते ।  
विक्रमभानो काले स्वलि(लो)विषयमवति सति विजयराजे ॥२५॥ विक्रम-  
सवत् ११६६ वैशाख सु(शु)दि ३ भोमे हयभनावस्य प्रतिष्ठा ॥
- 23 श्रीहयभनावनाम्नः प्रति[ष्ठितं] भूषणेन विव(विश्व)मिद ।  
उत्पूजकनगरैस्त्रिभिर्जगतौ(त्या) हयभनावस्य ॥२६॥ युगल ॥०॥ तुर्यहता-  
त्मसारस्य वृत्तात्ये(न्ये)तानि षोडश । आयुर्वृत्ते-
- 24 न युक्तानि कृतवान्नाटुको वु(वु)धः ॥२७॥  
भाइलो वल्लवसे(शे)भूतजः श्रीसावडो द्विजः । तत्सुनीर्भाटुकस्येय निःशेषावा-  
परा कृतिः ॥२८॥ वालभ्यान्वयकायस्थराजपालस्य
- 25 सुपुत्रा ।  
सधिविश्वहसस्थेन लिखितं वास[ने]न वै ॥२९॥ यावद्वावणरासयो सुचरित-  
भूमौ जनैर्गीयते ।<sup>१</sup> यावद्विष्णुपदी जलं प्रवहति व्योमन्यस्ति यावच्छशो । अहं-
- 26 दत्ताविनिर्गतं अयणकैः यावत्तु(च्छ्र)त पव्यते तावत्कीर्ति-  
रिय चिराय जयतात्सुयमाना(ना) जनै ॥३०॥ उत्कीर्णा विज्ञानिकसमा-  
केन ॥ मंगल महाश्रीः ॥
- 27 श्री ॥ लक्ष्मीर्नवासनिलय विनीतकिल(कलु)प निधाय हृदि वीर ।  
आत्मानुशास(स)नमह व[क्ष्ये] जायसुध्याना<sup>२</sup>(०) ॥१॥(३१) दुःखादि(दि)भेषि नितराम-  
भिवाच्छसि सुखमतोहमध्यात्मन् । दुःखापहारि सुख-

<sup>१</sup> Danda unnecessary<sup>२</sup> Perhaps we have to read भोवाय रोध्याना<sup>०</sup>—Jd

- 28 करमनुसा(शा)स्मि त[वा]नुम[त]मेव ॥२(३२) ॥  
यद्यपि कदाचिदस्मिन्विपाकमधुर तदात्वकटु किंचित् । त्व तस्मान्मा भैषो-  
र्यथातुरो भैषजादुग्रात् ॥३(३३)॥ जना धनाश्च वाचानाः सुलभा. भ्युद्यो-  
त्यता । दुर्लभ-  
29 भा ह्यंतराद्वास्ते जगदस(स)जिह्वीर्षेव ॥४(३४)॥  
परायतात्सुखादृख स्वाथत्त केवल यर । अन्यथा सुखिनामानङ्गधमा[र्त्ता]  
स्तपस्विनः ॥५(३५)॥ उपायकोटिदूरचे स्वतस्तत इतोन्वत । सर्वत  
पतनप्राये  
30 काये कीय तवाग्र हः ॥६(३६)॥  
अवस्यं(श्य) नस्व(श्च)रैरेभिरायुःकायादिभिर्यदि । सास्व(शाश्च)तं पदमायाति  
सुधायातमवैहि ते ॥७(३७)॥ गतुमुच्छासनिस्वासेरभ्यस्यत्येष संतत । लोकाः  
प्रथमितो<sup>२</sup> वाक्कल्यात्मा-  
31 [नमज\*]रामर ॥८(३८)॥  
गलत्यायुः प्राय प्रकटितघटीयचक्र(स)लिलं खलुः(लः) कायोप्यायुः गतिमभिपतत्येष  
संतत । किमस्य(प्य)न्यैरन्यैर्दयमयमिदं नोवितमिह स्थितो स्वात्मानाविस्त(?)-  
मिव मनुजे स्थासु मरु(मम्)<sup>३</sup> [॥\*] ८(३८) [॥<sup>४</sup>]

## No 10.—MATHURA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28

By STEA KONOW.

In a field opposite the Chaurāsī Jaina temple in Mathurā, 200 yards due south of the Govardhan Road, is a well called Lāl Kūvā. Some eight or nine years ago a pillar of red Mathurā sandstone was found here, and left on the surface till it was deposited in the Mathurā Museum, as No 1119, on the 13th June, 1929, at the instance of the late Pandit Radhakrishna.

The pillar is 6' 7" high and 11 8" broad at the bottom. Up to a height of 2' 7" it is square, above that, octangular.

The pillar bears an inscription, 14" high and 11" broad, consisting of thirteen lines. The height of individual letters varies between  $\frac{1}{4}$ " and 1". The beginning of ll 12-13 has peeled off. In other respects the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.<sup>३</sup>

The characters are Brāhmī of the Kushāna type. In l 1, after the word *siddha*, we find the crescent like stroke with a bar in the middle, which occurs in two other Brāhmī records, in the same position. Buhler<sup>४</sup> explained it as a stop, of the same kind as the crescent used after

<sup>१</sup> Read प्राथमिकी

<sup>२</sup> मरु is written on the left hand margin with the sign of *lāla-pada* before it

<sup>३</sup> After my manuscript was sent to press, the inscription was published by Mr Jayaswal, *J B O R S*, XVIII, pp 4 ff, and noticed by Mr Harit Krishna Deb, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp 117 ff. These papers have not brought me to modify my views.

<sup>४</sup> *Indian Palaeography*, § 36, C 5

the first edicts in the Kālsī version of Aśoka's inscriptions. It is, however, possible that it is used to denote final *m*.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 5, 8, 20, 50 and 500.

The characters are well cut, but the shape of individual *al'haras* is not always quite the same. Thus the long *ā* is sometimes straight, and sometimes curved, cf. *anādhānāna*, l 8, where we find both forms used side by side. In *śā*, ll 2 and 4, it is placed about the middle of the bar, in *ā*, l 6, at the bottom. The *u mātrā*, which also stands for *ū*, is a straight downward stroke after *n* (l 1), *p* (ll 1, 2, 4, 6, 9 13), *m* (l 6) and *h* (l 10), an upward slope after *t* (ll 3, 4) and *ś* (l 4), a downward slope after *l* (l 7) and *r* (l 2), and a forward stroke after *t* (l 11). *R* is straight in ll 1, 6, 7, 12, while the bottom is curved to the left in ll 2, 3, 5, 12, 13. The central bar of *ya* in *dhāriya*, l 5, is bent to the left, so that the letter looks like a *yī*. The object was perhaps to avoid its running into the subscript *ya* standing above it.

There are some cases of carelessness. The *anusāra* is frequently omitted, cf. *siddha*, l 1, if we should not read *siddham*, *punya*, ll 9, 11, and several plural genitives. Short vowel is written for a long one in *nūi*, l 3, *nūi*, l 11, *yachatra* for *yachchātra*, l 9, *patina* side by side with *patinā*, l 3, *pibasitānam*, l 9, etc. Other mistakes are *tutū* for *taṭṭū*, l 3 *bubhūśhātāna* *pibasitānam* for *bubhūśhātānām* *pūpūśitānām*, l 9, *anādhānām* for *anādhānām*, l 8, *sariyū* for *sariyū*, l 11, *isarga* before *t*, l 10, etc.

Some of these inconsistencies and mistakes are due to the fact that the writer attempted to write Sanskrit, but was not able to do so correctly. The language is the mixed dialect, though the Sanskrit element is exceptionally strong. Thus the *ri* vowel occurs in *pidhātū*, l 3, *lpiṭṭā*, l 8. The form *latina* for *latana*, l 7, may be of interest, because the origin of this word, which makes its first appearance in the *Śālisthāyana Śrautasūtra* and the *Chhāndogya-I parashad*, is not known. It is, however, not probable that the *ri* is anything else than a misunderstood Sanskritization. The three *s* sounds are distinguished as in Sanskrit. The word *salu*, l 7, seems to be certain, but I cannot explain it. *R* compounds such as *pr*, *hr* and *tr* are preserved throughout, and the *ts* in *samatsarē*, l 1, is also in accordance with Sanskrit phonetic. Similar cases are, however, well known from other inscriptions in the mixed dialect and from the North-Western Prakrit. Forms such as *brāhmana*, l 5, *yachatra*, l 9, *yachchātra*, l 9, *priyah*, *yīśhā*, *tīśhām*, l 10, are Sanskrit.

There are, however, numerous Prakritisms. Compare *prasthō*, l 7, *dīvaputro*, l 10, *ādhalā*, l 6, *śhāhsya*, l 10, *śālūyē*, l 6, *prithīyē*, l 11, the frequent shortening of the termination of the genitive plural, pronominal forms such as *ayam* for *iyam*, l 1, *tam* for *taḍ*, l 9, *ūam* for *ūad*, l 8 *dinnū* for *dattā*, ll 3, 11 *dhāriya*, l 6, *chaturdī* for *chaturdī*, l 4, etc.

The record is dated on the first day of Gurppiya in the year 28, and we learn from ll 9f that the Dīvaputri Shāhi Huvishka was then on the throne.

Gurppiya is the Macedonian month Gorpaios, corresponding to the Indian Prōshthapada, and this is the only known example of the use of a Macedonian month in a Brāhmī inscription. We have, on the whole, no other example of the use of the Macedonian calendar in Mathurī, and it is *a priori* likely that the person at whose request the inscription was drawn up was a foreigner, from a country where that calendar was known and used, i.e., that he came from the North-West. This inference is also borne out by other considerations, as we shall see below.

The Hidda inscription is dated in the same year as our record, viz., on the 10th Apellaios 28. According to Dr van Wijk's calculations the corresponding Christian date is the 24th November 155 A.D., and that of our record, the 19th August 156 A.D.

As set out in the introduction to my edition of Indian Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol II, Part I, this dating is based on the assumption that the epoch of the era used in these inscriptions is the year 128-9 A D, and I am still convinced that it cannot be put earlier, but may be later. The common opinion among scholars in India and Europe is, however, apparently that we must refer them to the historical Śaka era.<sup>1</sup>

This theory is not based on any indication in Indian sources, but simply on the assumptions that the founder of the era was a Śaka, and that this Śaka must have been Kanishka, the most famous of the Kushāna rulers of India.

I have no doubt that the former assertion is correct. Dr Fleet's remarks about this point are unanswerable. The only question is about the individuality of this ruler. I fail to see how it is possible to get away from Dr Fleet's remark that the Śaka era is emphatically a southern reckoning.<sup>2</sup> It must have been instituted in commemoration of an event which was of importance in the history of Southern India, but was of no consequence for the development of Northern India. Else it would be difficult to account for the fact that it has not with certainty been traced in northern inscriptions before the year A D 862.

As I have stated in the introduction to the *Corpus*, Vol II, Part I, we have a tradition about its introduction in the *Kālakāchāyākathānālā*, to the effect that it was introduced by a Śaka ruler who reported an older Śaka conquest of Mālava, and overthrew the dynasty of Vikramāditya, the ruler who had, in his turn, overthrown the earlier Śaka conquerors. It is expressly stated that the narrative is an incident, introduced in order to explain the origin of the Śaka era *ēyam pāsamgīyam samaklīhāyam Sagalāla-jānanāttham*. It is evident, therefore, that the author of the text knew a tradition about a Śaka ruler, who effected a reconquest of that part of India, and that this second Śaka conquest was commemorated through the introduction of the historical Śaka era, to replace the reckoning introduced by Vikramāditya.<sup>3</sup> And we know from Chinese sources that a similar tradition about a reconquest was known at a much earlier date. For the *Hou Han-shu* states that Yen K'ao-chen, i.e., Wima Kadphises, again extinguished T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, and, according to Professor Karlgren, the Chinese word for *again* cannot be twisted to mean anything else than *again, afresh*. Now Yen K'ao-chen's predecessor, K'iu-tsu-k'io, i.e., Kujūla Kadphises, did not conquer T'ien-chu, and the word *again* must therefore bear reference to an earlier conquest by kindred tribes. The author of the *Hou Han-shu* had heard about this earlier conquest, and introduced a reference to it, perhaps without noticing that some confusion was, in this way, introduced into the narrative.

It is, I think, unavoidable to draw the inference that two 'Śaka' conquests of T'ien-chu were believed to have taken place at the time when the *Hou Han-shu* was compiled, i.e., in the fifth century A D. And the author states that his narrative is based on the reports of Pan-yung towards the end of the rule of the emperor An-ti (107-125 A D). In other words, the story about the two conquests was known in the first half of the second century A D, and it has evidently been the same tale which was handed down in India and made use of by the author of the *Kālakāchāyākathānālā*.

The only old traditional account of the introduction of the Śaka era which we possess seems, accordingly to indicate that it was due to Wima Kadphises. It is not necessary to assume

<sup>1</sup> Cf especially Professor Papson, *J R A S*, 1930, pp 186 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *J R A S*, 1913, pp 987 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In face of the facts drawn attention to by the late Haraprasād Sāstrī, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 320, I do not understand Professor Rapson's remark that Dr Fleet has proved that "later research, however, has shown that there was no such King Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A D."

that he effected the reconquest in person. That may have been done by one of his governors or generals, *e.g.*, by Nahapāna. And subsequently the Śaka rulers of those reconquered districts began to date their records from this reconquest, through which their rule had been established.

There are also other considerations which speak against ascribing the introduction of the historical Śaka era to Kanishka. It is hardly possible to deny the justice of the remark made by M. Sylvain Lévi<sup>1</sup> about the defeat of the Yue-chi Shāhi by Pan-ch'ao and about the Yue-chi ruler paying tribute to China in A.D. 90, that 'it was not Kanishka, at the apogee of his reign and power, who consented to such a humiliation'.

So far as I can see, weighty reasons speak against the theory that Kanishka's era was the historical Śaka era. It cannot be proved simply by being repeated, without any real reasons. We cannot definitely settle the question about its epoch, but we can confidently state that it was not A.D. 78.

Traditional tales, corroborated by epigraphical evidence, lead to the conclusion that Kanishka added a large territory in Northern India to the Scythian Empire, and it is not to be wondered at that his era was introduced everywhere in the north, though an old Śaka era still lingered on in the North-West, and even seems to have been occasionally used in Mathurā<sup>2</sup>.

Our inscription brings an addition to our knowledge about the chronology of his successors, in so far as it reduces the interval between Vāsishka and Huvishka to some few months. The latest recorded date of Vāsishka is some day in the third month of Hēmanta, *i.e.*, of Pausha, in the year 28, and our record shows that Huvishka was on the throne less than eight months afterwards. He is designated as *dēvaputra Shāhi*, and the imperial title is not applied to him in any record before the year 41. It is therefore possible that another Kushāna was the real suzerain at the centre of Kushāna power, in Badakshān. But it is evident that the person at whose request our record was drawn up in Mathurā owed allegiance to Huvishka.

The purport of the inscription is to record the endowment of a *punyaśālā*, a hall for acquiring merit through distribution of alms, with an *akshaya nīti*, *i.e.*, a permanent endowment, wherewith the capital could not be touched. On behalf of the donor, about whom I shall make some remarks below, two *srēṇīs* or guilds were entrusted with the management of 550 *purāṇas* each. The name of the first *srēṇī* is written in the part of the stone which has been broken off, and I can only read the last two *aksharas rāha*. The second was the *saṃtalāra srēṇī*, *i.e.*, probably the makers of *saṃtālā*, wheat-flour.

Out of the interest realized from month to month the expenses are to be covered for serving hundred Brāhmanas in the hall, and for daily keeping some provisions at the door for the benefit of hungry and thirsty indigent people, and distributing them on the same day (supposing *sādyam* to be synonymous with *sadyah*), *i.e.*, 3 *ādḥaka* of groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha śaku*, 3 *ghataka* and five *mallaka harita-kalāpaka*. The reading *saktunā*, *i.e.*, *saktūnām*, is uncertain, the *akshara ltu* being apparently identical with *lri* in *kṛitena*, 1.8. The meaning of the word *śaku* is, as already remarked, unknown to me. *Harita-kalāpaka* must be bundled fresh vegetables. The measures *ādḥaka* and *prastha* are known, the latter being a fourth of the former. I do not know anything about the size of the *ghataka*, jar, and *mallaka*, bowl.

The *punyaśālā* is characterised as *prāchinī*, *i.e.*, evidently 'eastern,' perhaps in order to distinguish it from another, western, hall. It is further said to be *chatuḍis*, *i.e.*, *chaturdis*, opening towards the four quarters.

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. IX*, ix, 1897, p. 26, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, p. 422.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Kanakāli Tilā inscription of the year 209, if this is a genuine record.

The principal donor is designated *Kanasarukamānaputra Kharāsālērāpatī Vakanapātī*

The first term may be compared with *Kushāna[m]putra* in a Brāhmī inscription on the pedestal of a statue found by Pandit Radhakrishna at Māt near Mathurā and described by Professor Vogel.<sup>1</sup> Mr Jayaswal<sup>2</sup> has explained this word as 'son of Kushāna', taking Kushāna to be the name of Wima Kadphises' father, whom he identifies with the *Maharaja Gushana* of the Panjar and the *Maharaja Rajatiraja Khushana* of the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions. He finds the same name in the *Kuei-shuang-wang* of the Chinese *Han Annals*, which is said to mean, "according to the established Chinese system," 'King Kuei-shuang,' i e, 'King Kushan', and in the last word of the coin-legend *shaonano shao Kaneshki Koshano*,<sup>3</sup> where *Koshano* is explained as *Kaushāna* meaning 'descendant of Kushāna'. I am afraid that these statements cannot well be upheld.

To judge from estampages which I owe to the kind assistance of the Government Epigraphist the beginning of the Māt inscription is *Mahārājā Rājātīrājā dēvaputrō Kushāna[m]putr[ō] shāhi Tamata* | *lshamasya*, essentially as read by Professor Vogel, i e, a string of titles in the nominative, followed by a name in the genitive, a feature which is well known from other sources.<sup>4</sup> Here *Kushāna[m]putra* follows after *dēvaputra*, i e, 'a gods' son,' and not 'God's son,' and similarly *Kushāna[m]putra* might mean 'a Kushānas' son,' 'a Kushāna scion'. At all events the inscription does not in any way prove the existence of a personal name *Kushāna*.

I am not in a position to form an opinion about Chinese grammar. But Sinologists have not apparently thought of translating *Kuei-shuang-wang* as 'King Kuei-shuang' no more than of rendering *Sai-wang* as 'King Sai'. The *Ts'ien Han-shu* says about Ta-hua that there were five principalities: Hui-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun and Kao-fu, each under one *hi-hou*. The *Hou Han-shu* states that the Yue-chi divided the country into five principalities, giving the same names, only correcting Kao-fu to Tu-mi. It further relates how K'iu-tsu-k'io, the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, attacked the other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang. These statements can hardly be reconciled with Mr Jayaswal's new explanation.

Further the form *Koshano* in the coin-legends cannot represent *Kaushānō*. The legends are written in Saka,<sup>5</sup> and in Saka *koshano*, i e, *kushānu*, cannot be anything else than the gen. plur. of a base *Kusha*, which is rendered *Kuu-sha* in the Chinese translation of the *Kolpanāmanditika*, where it is stated that Kanishka belonged to the family of the Kiu-sha.<sup>6</sup> We accordingly know that the name of Kanishka's family was *Kusha*, and *Kushāna[m]putra* might accordingly be two words, *Kushānam putra*, a son, i e, scion, of the Kushas, as proposed by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein<sup>7</sup> who reads *Kushānam putrō*. So far as I can see, that reading is probable, but also *Kushāna* can very well be the gen. pl. of *Kusha*. On the other hand, an adjective *Kushāna* might be formed from *Kusha*, just as we have Saka *balysāna*, lordly, from *balysa*, lord, and the existence of this derivative is proved by the use of the inflected base *gushana*, *khushana* in the Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions mentioned above.

<sup>1</sup> *A S I* 1911 12, pp 120 ff

<sup>2</sup> *J B O R S* VI, pp 12 ff

<sup>3</sup> In the present connexion it is not necessary to give the Greek letters of the legend.

<sup>4</sup> We do not know this ruler from other sources. If there was an interval between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, as stated by Sir John Marshall, *A S I A R* 1912 13, p 8, he may have been a successor of the former. Mr Jayaswal's attempt to show that Wima Kadphises is meant is not convincing.

<sup>5</sup> *Z D M G* 68, 1914, pp 85 ff

<sup>6</sup> Aśvaghoṣa, *Sutrālamkāra*, traduit par Édouard Huber Paris 1908, p 168. The Sanskrit original has [l]u[ṣ]a, but the name of the family is not found in the fragment, s. Luders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmanditika des Kūmarāśāta*, Leipzig 1926, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> *S P A W*, 1914, pp 643 ff



I therefore think that *Kushāna[m]putra* in the Māt inscription must mean 'Kushāna scion'. And similarly I would translate *Kanasarukamānaputra* in our record as 'the Kanasarukamāna scion,' or, 'the scion of the Kanasarukamas', though it is possible that *Kanasarukamāna* is the name of a person.

It would be possible to read *prāchinikana Sarukamāna putrēna*, by the scion of the eastern Sarukamas, but that would necessitate the assumption of rather many slips in one word, *prāchinikana* in that case standing for *prāchinakānām*, and the other alternative seems to be preferable.

I am unable to offer any explanation of *Kanasarukamāna*, *Kanasarukama*, for *saruka* cannot well be separated out and compared with the ethnic name *Saraucæ*, mentioned by Trogus,<sup>1</sup> for which other sources have *Sakarauloi*, *Sakaurakoi*, and *Sacaraueae*.

The other designations of the donor, *Kharāsālāpati* and *Vakanapati*, i.e., the ruler of Kharāsālā and Vakana, are likewise unexplained. *Vakanapati* is evidently the same title which occurs as *Balanapati* in the Māt inscription, where the person who erected the chapel of Yamatakhama is described as *Balanapatina Hum*.

It is possible that *Bakana*, *Valana* is the well-known Wakhān, which occurs as *Volhāna* in other sources, such as the *Divyāvadāna*. But it would be unsafe to consider this identification as certain. If it should prove to be right, it would perhaps be possible to connect the incomplete *Hum* following after *Balanapatina* in the Mathurā inscription with the old name of Wakhān represented by Chinese *Hu-mi*, or that of the capital, Chinese *Ho mo*.

As pointed out by Chavannes,<sup>2</sup> Badakshān remained the stronghold of the Yue-chi down to the fifth century. After their dominion had been established in Mathurā, it would be natural for chiefs from the North West to pay occasional visits to that place, and the use of the Macedonian calendar in our inscription seems to point to a north-western origin of the donor. He was not an Indian, but came from abroad.

#### TEXT \*

- L 1 Siddham<sup>1</sup> Samvatsarē 20 8 Gurppiya divasē 1 aṣam punya-  
 L 2 sālā prāchinī Kanasarukamāna - putrēna Kharāsālē-  
 L 3 rapatin[ā] Vakanapatinā rakshaya-nīva dinn[ī] Tu(t)ūtō va[ddhi]  
 L 4 tō mās ānumāsam suddhasya chatudisī punya-s[ī]l[ī]-  
 L 5 sam brāhmaṇa-satam parivishitavyam divasē diva[sē]  
 L 6 cha punya-sālāyē divāra-mu(ū)lē dhārya sādyaṃ saktunā<sup>2</sup> ā-  
 L 7 dhakā 3 lavana-prasthō 1 śaku-prasthō 1 harita-kalāpaka-  
 L 8 ghatak[ī] 3 mallak[ā] 5 ētam anādh[ā]nām<sup>3</sup> kūtēna dātavya[m<sup>4</sup>]  
 L 9 babhukshitāna pibasitānam<sup>5</sup> Yach[ā]tra punya[m<sup>6</sup>] tam dēvaputrasya

<sup>1</sup>Prol 41, 42 Deinde quo regnante Scythiae gentes Saraucæ et Asiæ Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos Reges Thocarorum Asiæ interitusque Saraucarum

<sup>2</sup>To avoid misunderstanding I may state that I cannot accept Mr Jayaswal's explanation of these terms

<sup>3</sup>T'oung Pao II, viii, p. 187

<sup>4</sup>For the facsimile see plate facing page 6, *J B O R S*, Vol. XVIII (1932) — Ed

<sup>5</sup>Perhaps *siddha* <sup>6</sup>Read *saktūnām* <sup>7</sup>Read *anāthānām* <sup>8</sup>Read *bubhukshitam pibasitānam*

- L 10 Shāhīsva **Huvishkasya**<sup>1</sup> ṛēshā[m\*] cha dēvaputro priyah tēshām =api  
punya[m\*]  
L 11 bhavatu sarvāṇi<sup>2</sup> cha prithivī ē punya[m\*] bhavatu akshaya-nivā<sup>3</sup>  
dinn[ā]  
L 12 [r]āka-siēn[ī] 500 purāna-sata 500 50 Samitakara-srēnī-  
L 13 [vē cha\*] purāna-sata 500 50

## TRANSLATION

Success In the year 28, on the first day of **Gorpiaios**, this eastern hall of merit was given a perpetual endowment by the **Kanasarukamana-scion**, the lord of **Kharāsalāra**, the lord of **Vakana**. From what is cleared off month for month from the interest therefrom hundred Brāhmanas should be served in the open hall, and day for day, having kept it at the entrance to the hall, on the same day three *ādḥaka* groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha saku*, three *ghataka* and five *mallaka* of green-vegetable bundles this should be given for the sake of destitute people, hungry and thirsty. And what merit is herein, may that accrue to the **Dēvaputra Shāhi Huvishka**, and also to those to whom the Dēvaputra is dear, and may the merit accrue to the whole earth. The perpetual endowment was given to the *-rāla*-guild, 550 *purāna*, and to the flourmaker-guild, 550 *purāna*.

## No 11 —ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

By PROFESSOR I PH VOGEL, PH D, LEIDEN

In addition to the important inscriptions from **Nāgārjunikonda** edited by me in this journal Mr Longhurst's excavations on that Buddhist site have yielded some more epigraphical documents which it is my intention to publish in the present paper. As regards the site, on which these records have been discovered, and the peculiarities in language and script noticed in them, I may refer to my previous article.

**Āyaka-pillar Inscriptions belonging to Stūpa No 5**

At the south-eastern foot of the **Nāgārjunikonda Hill** and about two furlongs from the Great Stūpa or *Mahāchetiya* there is a group of ruined buildings consisting of a monastery (No 4), a *stūpa* (No 5), two apsidal temples and a roofless *mandapa*. The site of the *stūpa* was marked by a large mound of brick débris overgrown with jungle and locally known as *Ipkarāllabōdu*. A pillar inscription from this site published under the letter *G* in my previous paper records the foundation of a monastery by a Queen **Bhat(t)idevā**, who calls herself the daughter-in-law of **Vāsethiput(t)a Sīri-Chātāmūla**, the consort of **Mādhariput(t)a Sīri-Vīrapurisadat(t)a** and the mother of **Sīri-Bhuvula-Chātāmūla**, who evidently was the then reigning king. The *vihāra*, which according to this inscription was dedicated to the Masters of the **Bahusut(t)iya** sect, is no doubt the ruined monastery (No 4) found on this site.

In the course of Mr Longhurst's explorations two more inscribed pillars have come to light here. They are *āyaka*-pillars and must, therefore, have belonged to the *stūpa* No 5. The information contained in these two epigraphs agrees with what is found in the pillar-inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> Looks almost like *Puvishkasya*

<sup>2</sup> Read *sarvāyē*

<sup>3</sup> Read *-nivā*

<sup>4</sup> Vol XX, pp 1-37

tion G They are, however, valuable, because they settle some doubtful points in the latter inscription which has suffered much from exposure The new inscriptions, which I call G2 and G3, also supply the full date which is the second year of the reign of King Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla, the sixth fortnight of Summer, the tenth day

The inscription G2 is remarkable, because the method of spelling shows an attempt at greater accuracy than is the case in the other inscriptions Double consonants are indicated in several instances (*putta*, *samlappasa*, *Purisadattasa*, *bhayyāya*, *Bhattidevāya*) and even in *ṣatti* where the doubling of the consonant is wrong In the same way we find a ligature in *Virūpakḥha*, *patitthapito*, *Ikkhākunam*, *pakkham* This practice however, is not universally followed, we find a single consonant in *agithoma*, *savathesu*, *samvachharam*, and in the genitive ending *-sa*

The final *m* in *siddham* (l 1) is expressed by a small letter written under the line

### Āyaka-pillar Inscription G2

#### Transcript

(L 1) Siddham namo bhagavato Buddhasa Mahārājasa (l 2) Virūpakḥhapatti-Mahāsena-parigahitasa agihot-[\*ā]githoma-vājape- (l 3) v-[\*ā]samedha-yājisa aneka-hurama-koti-go-sata-sahasahala-satasaha- (l 4) [sa-padāyī]sa savathesu apatihata-samlappasa Vāsithiputtasa Ikkhā[kunam] (l 5) Siri-Chāntamulasa sunhāya mahārājasa Mā[tha]riputtasa Siri-Virapuri- (l 6) sadattasa bhayyāya mahādeviāya [Bhattidevāya] deyadhamma imam savajātaniyuto (l 7) vihāro achariyānam Bahusutiyāna[m] patitthapito Raño Vāsithiputtasa Ikkh[ā]kūnam (l 8) Siri-Ehuvula-Chatamūlasa samvachharam bitiyam gūma-pakkham chhatham 6 divasam dasamam 10

### TRANSLATION

Success ' Adoration to the Lord Buddha This pious gift, a monastery provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahusut[t]iya sect by Mahādevī [Bhattidevā], (*who is*) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsithiputta Siri-Chāntamūla of (*the house of*) the Ikkhākus, who is favoured (absorbed ?) by Mahāsēna, the lord of Virūpakḥhas, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agnishtōma, Vājapēya, and Āsvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of line, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (*his*) aims, (*and who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Māthariputta Siri-Virapurisadatta In the second year of (*the reign of*) Rāja Vāsithiputta Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla of (*the house of*) the Ikkhākus, the sixth 6 fortnight of Summer, the tenth 10 day

### Āyaka-pillar Inscription G3

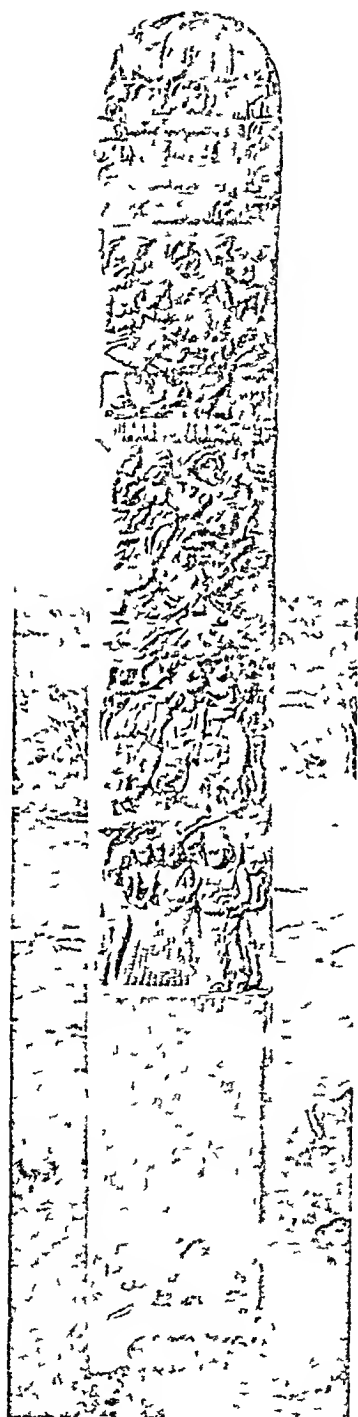
#### Transcript

(L 1) Siddham namo bha[gava]to (l 2) Budhasa Mahārājasa Vir[ū]pakḥhapati-Mahāsena- (l 3) [pa]rigahitasa agihot-[\*ā]githoma-vājape- [\*ā]samedha- (l 4) yājisa hīrana-koti-go-sata-sahasahala- (l 5) la-satasahasahala-padāyisa savathesu apa- (l 6) tihata-samlapasa Vāsethiputtasa Ikkhākuna[m] Si- (l 7) ri-Chāntamulasa sunhāya mahārājasa (l 8) Mādhariputasa Ikkhākunam Siri-Virapu- (l 9) risadattasa bhayāya mahādeviāya Bha- (l 10) -tidevāya deyadhamo ayam Devī-vi- (l 11) hār[ō] sava-jātaniyuto ariyānam [Ba-] (l 12) husutiy[\*ā]na[m] patitthapito Raño Siri-Ehu- (l 13) vula-Chatamūlasa sa[m]vachhara bitiya gūma-pakḥha (l 14) [chhatham] divasam dasamam

### TRANSLATION

Success ' Adoration to the Lord Buddha This pious gift, the Queen's Monastery, provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahu-

# PILLAR WITH INSCRIPTION L



1

2

3

4

5

6

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10

11

12

13

From a photograph



suttīya seet by Mahādevī Bhatidevā (*who is*) the daughter-in law of Mahārāja Vāsethīput[t]a Sirī-Chāmtamūla, of (*the house of*) the I[k]khākus, etc., (see above, sub-G 2), (*and who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Mādharīput[t]a Sirī-Vīrapurīśadat[t]a of (*the house of*) the I[k]khākus. In the second year of (*the reign of*) Rāja Sirī-Ehuvula-Chītamūla, the [sixth] fortnight of Summer, the tenth day

#### Inscription on carved pillar found near Stūpa No 9

Next we have an inscribed carved pillar found underground near stūpa No 9. This stūpa, measuring 42 feet in diameter, is an isolated monument near a fortified hill which stands on the south-western side of the valley and not far from the river. The pillar which is rounded at the top is carved with five panels placed one above the other. The carving has suffered from exposure, but, as far as we can see, the subject of the reliefs does not appear to relate to the Buddha legend or to any of the *gāthas*. The uppermost panel contains a domed building. The next one shows a corpulent male person, perhaps a king, seated in the midst of four females, one of whom seems to hold a *chāmara*. In the third panel there is apparently the same royal personage,<sup>1</sup> attended by five women, of whom three seated on the floor seem to be making music. The fourth panel shows an elephant mounted by two persons and surrounded by four marching attendants. The man seated on the neck of the elephant must be a *rājā*, as is evident from the parasol visible over his head and held by the attendant sitting behind him. The scene exhibited in the fifth or lowermost relief is very curious. It shows a group of eight men, most prominent among them is a bare-headed corpulent person who seems to hold a staff in his left hand. He wears sandals, but for the rest his dress is remarkably simple. Notwithstanding the plainness of his attire, he must be a king, for behind him we notice an attendant holding a parasol, the emblem of royalty, over his head. On his right there is another attendant holding a vessel in both hands. The other persons of which the group is composed have the appearance of monks. In the midst of the group there is what looks like a heap of stones.<sup>2</sup> Possibly the supposed stones are intended to be seen in perspective, so that in reality they are meant to be placed in rows on the ground. In that case, however, there is no reason why the legs of the attendant holding the vase should be partly concealed.

The inscription, which we call L, is engraved immediately under the last-mentioned panel. It consists of thirteen lines of close writing. The letters are small and partly worn like the carvings above. The result is that in several places the reading is uncertain. The main purport, however, is perfectly clear. The inscription records that the pillar was set up by the sisters, mothers and consorts of King Vāsethīput(t)a Sirī-Chāmtamūla. The names of these ladies, thirty in number, occupy lines 7-13 of the inscription. It is dated in the twentieth year of the reign of King Chāmtamūla's son, King Mādharīput(t)a Sirī-Vīrapurīśadat(t)a.

As the pillar was evidently erected in memory of the deceased king Chāmtamūla perhaps on the spot of his cremation, there is some reason to suppose that the five reliefs carved on it relate to that ruler and that we may recognise him in the corpulent personage who occupies a prominent place in three of the five panels. The royal elephant-driver in the fourth panel would then likewise represent King Chāmtamūla. In the fifth panel he seems to be shown in the act of performing some ceremony, perhaps a donation, as may be surmised from the vessel held by one of the attendants.

#### Pillar-inscription L

##### Transcript

(L 1) Sīdham Mahārājasa asamedha-vāyasa anekā-līlana-kotī [pādā]vasa (1 2) Sirī-Chāmtamūlasa putasa rāṇo Mī[dha]nputasa [Ikhākupam] Sirī-Vīrapurīśadatasā (1 3)

<sup>1</sup> See my remarks in *A S R*, 1929 30, Epigraphical Section, under Inscriptions from Nāgarjunikonda.—Ed

<sup>2</sup> Possibly ingots or gift money.—Ed

vasasanaya samvāhara vamsa[m] vāsa pakhān prathama[m] divasa[m] bitivā[m]  
 saga-gatasa (l 4) rañño agihot-[\*ā]githoma-vājapey-[\*ā]samedha-yājisa hrana-koṭi-go-satavahara-  
 (l 5) hala-satasahasā-padīya savathesu apatīhata samakāmsa V[āsi]t[h]iputasa (l 6) I[Khā]knsa  
 [sām]-Siri Chāntamūlasa sñhodar[ā]hū m[ī]tali mahā[ā]deviḥ Sunītisiriya? (l 7) Khamdasiriya  
 Vijñathavāsiriya M[is]asiriya Samusiriya [Nā]ga[va]susiya (l 8) [Nā]gasiriya Khamdakoti-  
 siriya Mahāsarasiriya Ratumatisiriya Mūlasiriya (l 9) Aṣakotusiriya Maduvāsiriya  
 [Nā]gasiriya [Rī]masiriya Golasiriya (l 10) Vehsiriya [E]dhusiriya Khamdasiriya Satīsiriya  
 Parajatisiriya (l 11) Pamditasiriya Sivanūgasiriya Samudāsiriya Bapisiriya Nadīsiriya  
 (l 12) Aṣasiriya Ratūsiriya Sivanūga[siriya] subhatarikāhī cha (l 13) Sarasikūya Kusma-  
 ratūya [i]va[m] \*thra[m]bho

### TRANSLATION

Success<sup>1</sup> In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājān Mīdhariput[t]a Siri Virapurisada[t]ta  
 of (the house of) the I[k]khāks, the son of Mahārāja Siri Chāntamūla, the offerer of an  
 Asvamedha, and the giver of many crores of gold, in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the  
 second day, this pillar (has been erected) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of the late<sup>2</sup>  
 Rājān V[āsi]t[h]iput[t]a Svāmūn Siri Chāntamūla, etc., (see above, sub G 2), (to wit), by  
 Sunītisiri, Khamdasiri, Vijñathavāsiri, M[is]asiri, Samusiri, [Nā]ga[va]susi, [Nā]gasiri,  
 Khamdakotisiri, Mahāsarasiri, Ratumatisiri, Mūlasiri, Aṣakotusiri, Maduvāsiri, [Nā]gasiri,  
 Rāmasiri, Golasiri, Vehsiri, Edhusiri, Khamdasiri, Satīsiri, Parajatisiri, Pamditasiri,  
 Sivanūgasiri, Samudāsiri, Bapisiri, Nadīsiri Aṣasiri, Ratūsiri, Sivanūga[siri] and by the  
 subhatarikās Sarasikī and Kusumaratī

### Fragmentary pillar inscriptions (M 1-19) belonging to the monastic hall (mandapa) of Chāntisiri

Not far from the Mahāchetiya and close to the eastern side of the first apsidal temple which,  
 according to the long inscription on the pavement,<sup>3</sup> was founded by Chāntisiri, the maternal  
 aunt of King Siri-Virapurisadatta in the 18th year of his reign, Mr Loughurst discovered the  
 remains of a large stone paved hall. A number of stone pillars belonging to this building are  
 still extant, but all in a broken condition. The tops of the pillars are provided with a groove  
 or mortice to receive the longitudinal beams of the roof which must have been of timber. The  
 pillar-shafts are inscribed, but, owing to their mutilated condition, not a single inscription has  
 been preserved entire. Altogether twenty fragments were recovered, two of which can be  
 pieced together (M 4). In some cases several lines of the epigraph are partly preserved (M 1  
 consists of eight lines), but some of the smaller fragments contain only a single word (M 16,  
 18 and 19).

Immediately above the inscription the pillars were adorned with the carved figures of two  
 recumbent animals, probably lions, turned sideways. From this we can tell that the two  
 largest pieces (M 1 and 2), where these animals are visible over the lettering, must contain the  
 upper portion of the inscription. One of the small fragments (M 16), too, shows a recumbent  
 animal, perhaps a bull, so that the few *alsharas* preserved on it must have belonged to the first  
 line of the inscription. By comparing these three fragmentary inscriptions, we arrive at the  
 conclusion that the epigraphical records engraved on the pillars are not identical and do not  
 represent a single text. On the other hand, the preserved portions show recurring passages,

<sup>1</sup> There is *anuvāda* above this letter and the *alshara* is more like 𑀅. The reading might be Kamnhī° —Ed

<sup>2</sup> Prakrit *saggagata*, Skt *siargagata*, lit 'gone to heaven'

<sup>3</sup> It seems to read *cha days* —Ed

<sup>4</sup> *Ep Ind*, vol XX, p 21, First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, plate III

<sup>5</sup> In the same way the pillar on which the inscription G is found bears the figures of two animals (lions?)  
 running to the left. Cf *Ep Ind*, vol XX, plate V

which are also found in the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions belonging to the Mahāchetiya and in the first Apsidal Temple inscription *E*. This resemblance leads us to assume that the inscriptions on the pillars of the monastic hall, though somewhat different in their wording, were meant to record the same fact, namely, the foundation of the pillared hall or *mandapa* by the same lady Chāntisiri (or Chātisiri), who was the foundress of the adjoining Mahāchetiya and the Chetiya-ghara or Apsidal Temple. Like these two edifices, the pillared hall, too, was dedicated to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Buddhist sect of the Apāramahāvīnasehiyas<sup>1</sup>. The date of the foundation is preserved in the two combined fragments (*M 4*), it is the 15th year of the reign of Sīri-Vīrapurisadat(t)a, the 8th fortnight of the rainy season, the figure indicating the day being lost.

It would seem at first sight that the fragments which were recovered, do not indicate what kind of building it was, the foundation of which the inscriptions were meant to record. One of the fragments (*M 11*), however, retains the *alsharas -ta* and *-va* which can easily be restored into *mamtara*. It should be remembered that the first Apsidal Temple inscription *E* refers to a stone hall, surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya (*saranyuta[m] chātusāla-parigahitam sela mamtara[m]*). There can be little doubt that this stone *mandapa* is the stone-paved hall with its inscribed pillars of stone which had been built three years before. No trace was found of the *chātusālū* mentioned in the inscriptions.

The inscriptions found at Nāgārjunikonda enable us to draw up the following chronological list showing the order in which the various Buddhist buildings were raised.

#### Reign of King Mātharīputta Sīri-Vīrapurisadatta

*6th year*—Mahāchetiya founded by Chāmtisiri and dedicated to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Apāramahāvīnasehiya sect

*14th year*—Second apsidal temple founded by the nun Bodhisiri

*15th year*—Pillared *mandapa* founded by Chāmtisiri and dedicated as above

*18th year*—First apsidal temple founded by Chāmtisiri and dedicated as above

*20th year*—Carved pillar erected in memory of the late king Vāsethīputta Sīri-Chāmtamūla by his sisters, mothers and consorts

[*20th year*—Five *āyaka*-pillars erected near the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at the village of Velagiri (now Jaggayapeta) by the artisan Siddhattha]

#### Reign of King Vāsethīputta Sīri-Ehuvula Chātamūla

*2nd year*—Monastery (No 4) founded by Bhat(t)idevā, the mother of the reigning king, and dedicated by her to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Bahus(s)utiya<sup>2</sup> sect

*11th year*—Monastery (No 5), founded by Kodabalasiri, the sister of the reigning king and consort of the king of Vanavāsa, and dedicated by her to the Masters of the Mahāsāsaka<sup>3</sup> sect

#### Pillar-inscriptions M1-19

##### Transcripts<sup>4</sup>

##### Pillar-inscription M 1

- (l 1) Mahārājasa asamedha-yājisa (l 2) aneka-hirama-koti-padāyisa Sīri-Chāmtamūlasa  
(l 3) sahodarā bhagini mahāsenāpatisa (l 4) mahātālavara-Vasīthīputasa Pūkiyanam  
(l 5) Kamdasirisa bhari[yā] mahātālavari Chāmtisiri (l 6) [a]pano jāmātukasa ramño

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit *Apurāṣulīya* (?)

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit *Bahusṛutiya*, Pali *Bahussutiya*

<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit *Mahāsāsaka*, Pali *Mahāsāsaka*

<sup>4</sup> Owing to the very incomplete condition of these inscriptions we have abstained from giving translations



Mātharipu[\*ta]sa Ikhāku[nam] (l 7) [Siri]-Virapurisadatasa āyuvadhanike veja[y][ke]  
(l 8) [\*apano] cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukham [\*vānathanāya]

#### Pillar-inscription M 2.

(l 1) [Apatihata-sam]kapasa [Vā]si[th]iputa[sa] Pūkyānam (l 2) [Kamda]sirisā  
bhariyā Khamdasāgaramnaka-mātā (l 3) [Siri-Virapu]risadatasa āyuvadhanike vejayike  
cha (l 4) atichhitam-anāgata-vatamāna[ke] nikapanike cha (l 5) [mahāchetiya-  
pā]damūle Aparamah[ā]vinase[li]ānam pari-[gahe] (l 6) [bhikhu]samghasa  
patithapitam ti

#### Pillar-inscription M 3

(l 1) atichhi[tam-anāgata-vatamānake] (l 2) apano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-  
sukha-nivānathanāya (l 3) mahāvihāre mahāchetiya-pādamule pavajitānam (l 4) [nānā]desa-  
saman-āgatānam mahābhikhu-samghasa pa[rigāhe] (l 5) Siri-Virapurisadatasa vasasanāya  
samva 10 [\*+] 5 vā (l 6) [Aparama]hāvinasehyānam parigāhē sa-chātu[sā]la  
(l 7) [pa]tithapita[m]ti

#### Pillar-inscription M 4

(l 1) [m]utam chātusāla-parigahita  
(l 2) [Siri]-Virapurisadatasa samva 10 [\*+] 5 vā pa 8 [diva]

#### Pillar-inscription M 5

(l 1) [Kamdasirisā]  
(l 2) [-m]ātā Chāmtisiri apa[no jāmātukasa]  
(l 3) [ramñō Mitharipu]-tasa Ikhākunam  
(l 4) [āyu]-vadhanike vijaya-vijayike  
(l 5) [hita-su]kha-nivānathanāya bhagavato  
(l 6) mahāchetiya-pādamūle

#### Pillar-inscription M 6

(l 1) savathesu apat[hita-sam]kapasa ]  
(l 2) Ikhākusa Siri-Chamtamūlasa sa[hodarā ]  
(l 3) [ma]hātavarasa Vāsithiputasa  
(l 4) [mahā]talavari  
(l 5) Mātha[rīputasa]

#### Pillar-inscription M 7

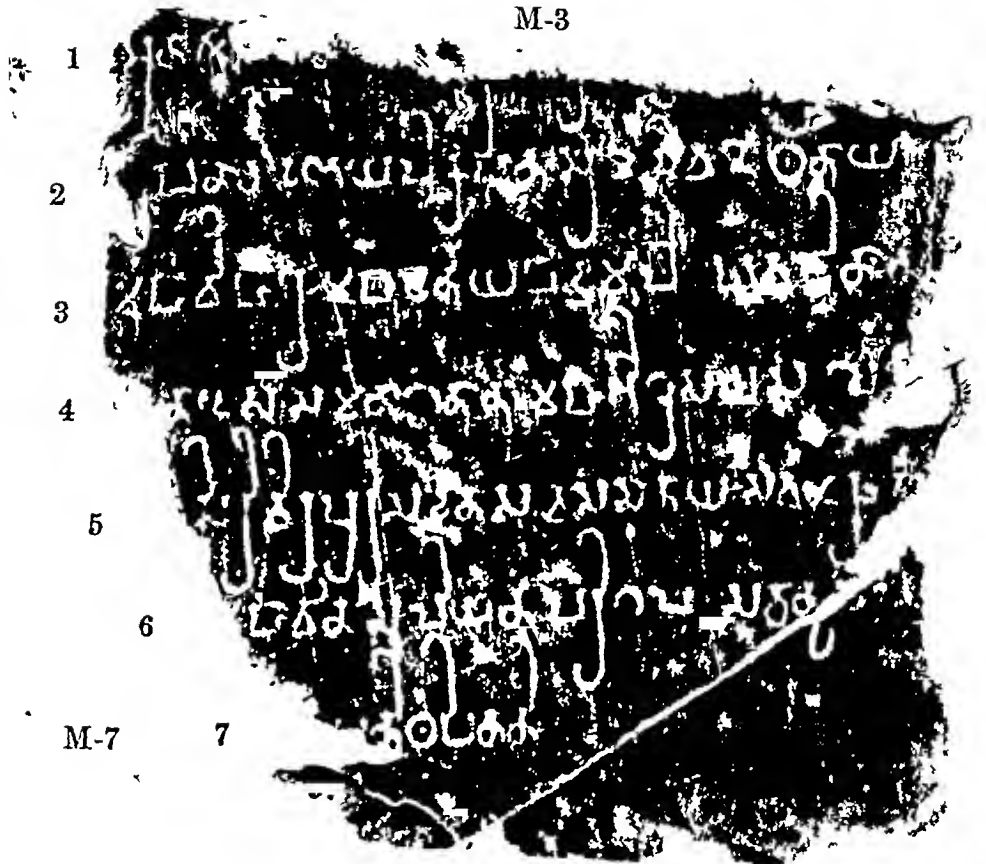
(l 1) ni  
(l 2) Kamdasirisā  
(l 3) Chā[m]tisiri apano

#### Pillar-inscription M 8

(l 1) [asame]dhavājisa  
(l 2) [sata]sahasa-hala-satasahasa-[padīyisa]-  
(l 3) [apav]hata samkapasa Vāsithipu[tasa]  
(l 4) [bha]gini mahā[sen]ipatisa]

<sup>1</sup> There are traces of another line before this. See above, Vol. XX, p. 16, line 4 of inscription O 3 —Ed

M-3

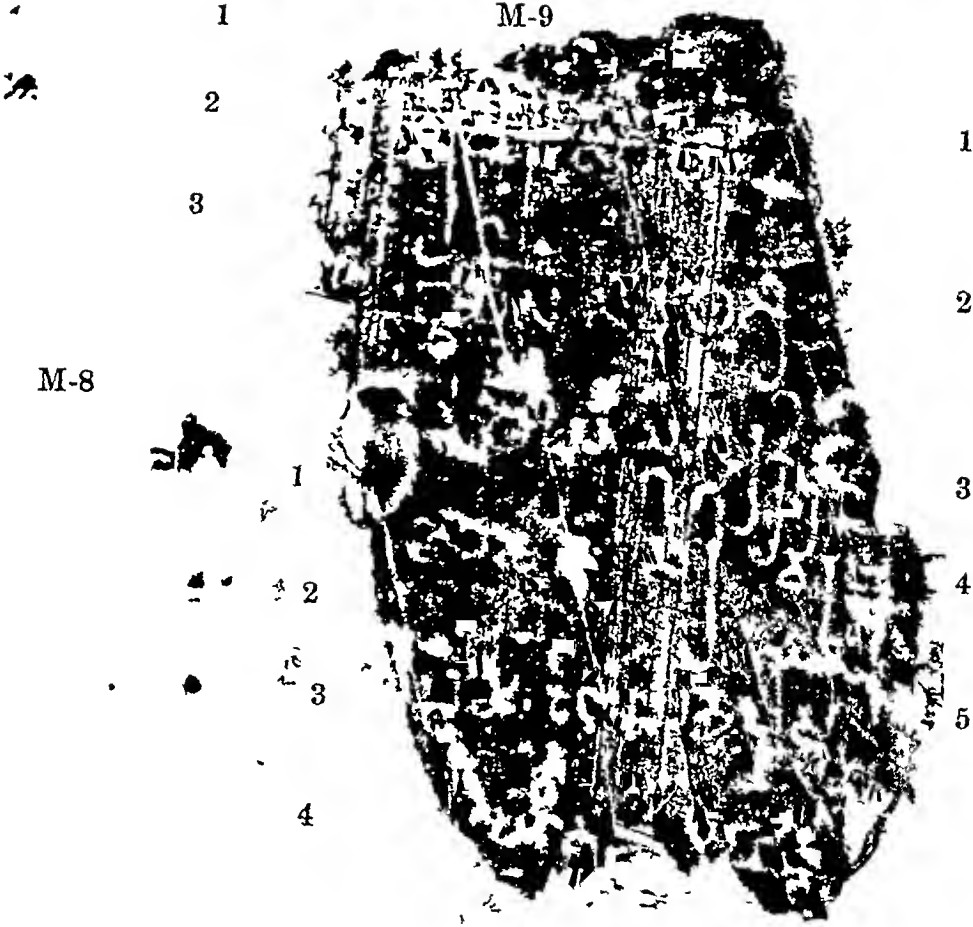


M-7

7

1

M-9



M-8



1

2

3

4

1

2

3

4

5



**Pillar-inscription M 9.**

- (l 1) agihot-[ā]githoma vā[japeya-] .  
 (l 2) padāyisa savathesu  
 (l 3) [Vā]sithīputasa Puki[yānam]  
 (l 4) Ikhākunam Sirī-Virapu[rīsadatasa]  
 (l 5) [a]pano ubhaya-kulasa <sup>1</sup>

**Pillar-inscription M 10.**

- (l 1) na[m] nānādesa-saman-[āgatānam] .  
 (l 2) api cha apāno ubhaya-kulasa at[icchita] . .  
 (l 3) nīkapanīke parināmetuna ma  
 (l 4) parigahē savanī[yutam]  
 (l 5) patithapitani

**Pillar-inscription M 11.**

- (l 1) nīvānathanāya  
 (l 2) tasa  
 (l 3) n-āgatānam  
 (l 4) dhiva  
 (l 5) nam  
 (l 6) [mam]tavam

**Pillar-inscription M 12.**

- (l 1) -sa vasā-  
 (l 2) nīkapa[nīke] .  
 (l 3) parigahē  
 (l 4) vā pa 8

**Pillar-inscription M 13.**

- (l 1) ma .  
 (l 2) agiho[t-ā] .  
 (l 3) neka-hīramṇa koti-go[-satasahasa] . .  
 (l 4) [-padā]yī[no]

**Pillar-inscription M 14.**

- (l 1) [sa]vajātanīyutam chatusāla] . . .  
 (l 2) atano ubhaya-kulasa .  
 (l 3) [ke] parināmetuna . .  
 (l 4) pu[ta]

**Pillar-inscription M 15.**

- (l 1) [putasa] .  
 (l 2) [mahācheti]ya-[pādāmūle] pavajī[tānam] . .  
 (l 3) [mahābhū]khu-sam[ghasa] . . . .  
 (l 4) . . na pari[nāme]tuna

**Pillar-inscription M 16.**

- (l 1) [-par]igahitasa

<sup>1</sup> Traces of another line are discernible below this line See line 11 of inscription O 3 above, Vol. XX,  
 p 16—Ed.

## Pillar-inscription M 17

- (1 1) [Siri-]Vira[purisadatasa]  
 (1 2) [ve]jjayike api[cha]

## Pillar-inscription M 18

- (1 1) mahāsenapa[tisa]

## Pillar-inscription M 19

- (1 1) [Si]ri-Virapu[rīsadatasa]

## Āyaka-pillar Inscription N belonging to Stūpa No 9

The Stūpa No 9, to which we have had occasion to refer above, must have been provided with *āyaka*-pillars in the same manner as the Mahāchetiya. But only one inscribed pillar was recovered on this site, and the inscription engraved on it is incomplete. The preserved portion contains nothing but a string of names, so that a translation is superfluous.

## Transcript

- (1 1) rīnamākinam Mūlasarīnaka[sa] Sīdhathā- (1 2) [ka]ṣṛ Chadamukhasa  
 Puddhānakaśa bāhka(ā) (1 3) Mahatuvānika Sīdhathammikā Jakhana

## Addenda and Corrigenda to the previous article

In the First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, translation, read 'stone hall' instead of 'stone shrine' (*sela-mamāra[m]*) and 'chaitya shrine' instead of 'chaitya-hall' (*chetiya ghara*)

The Second Apsidal Temple Inscription F, line 3, contains the following passage — *Kamtaḥasele mahāchetiyaśa pūra dāre sela-mamāra*. As explained in the 'Glossary' (p 35) the text has *Kamtaḥasole*, but as in the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions errors with regard to vowel-marks are very common, I ventured to correct the word into *Kamtaḥasele*, which would correspond to Sanskrit *Kantakāsailī*. Cf *Puvasele* (Skt *Pūrvāsailī*) in the same inscription.

At the time it had escaped my notice that an inscription from Amarāvati<sup>1</sup> contains the genitive singular of the noun *Kamtaḥasolaka*, meaning 'a resident of K°'. As here the vowel-mark attached to the *s* is clearly the *o* sign, we shall have to assume that, after all, the reading *Kamtaḥasole* is correct. The form with *ō* agrees, indeed, more closely with Ptolemy's *Κοντονοσσολο*. The entry in our 'Glossary of Geographical Names' viz *Kamtaḥasela* should be corrected accordingly.

In this connection it may be pointed out that another Amarāvati inscription makes mention of a locality, probably a town, of the name of *Vijayapura*<sup>2</sup>. It is, of course, impossible to decide whether this place is identical with the Vijayapurī referred to in the second Apsidal Temple inscription F, line 2, in the following passage *Siriparate Vijayapuriya-pūra-disā-bhāge vāhāre Chula-Dhammagiriyaṃ chetiya-gharam sa pata samthāram sa chetiyaṃ saraṇiyutam lāritam uvāsikāya Bodhisiriya*. It may, however, safely be inferred from this passage that the town once situated in the valley of Nāgārjunikonda was named Vijayapurī. For there can be little doubt that the *chetiya-ghara* mentioned here is the Apsidal Temple, on the stone floor of which the long inscription is engraved. All details tend to corroborate this assumption. Not only does this building enshrine a *chaitya*, measuring 5 feet in diameter, and is it paved with

<sup>1</sup> J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p 106, No 54

<sup>2</sup> *Op cit*, p 85, No 39, plate LVIII

stone slabs, but, what is more remarkable, it is associated with a monastery (*vihāra*) and both edifices are raised on the southern and higher end of a hill, now known by the name of Nāharāḷlabōdu, which rises on the eastern side of the valley in which the town of Vijayapuri was once situated

The 'Glossary' contains the word *Aparamahāvīnaseliya* which is the name of a Buddhist sect. It is of some interest that an Amarāvati inscription mentions a locality *Mahavanasala*<sup>1</sup>. The vowel-marks are not very certain and we may perhaps assume that the correct form of the name is *Mahāvanasela* or *Mahāvīnasela*. The inscription in question does not give any clue as to the position of the place, but in all probability it was situated in the lower Krishna valley

### GLOSSARY

- agihot-āgīthoma-vājapey-āsamedha-yāṇi* (G 2, l 2, G 3, ll 3-4, L, l 4, M 9, l 1, cf M 13, l 2)  
*achariya* (G 2, l 7), *ajariya* (G 3, l 11)  
*aticchitān-anāgata-vatamānaka* (M 2, l 4, M 3, l 1 ex conj)  
*aneka-hīramna-koti-go-satasahasā hala-satasahasā-padāyī* (G 2, ll 3-4, M 8, l 2, cf M 9, l 2 and M 13, l 3)  
*aneka-hīramna-koti-padāyī* (L, l 1, M 1, l 2)  
*Aparamahāvīnaseliya* (M 2, l 5, M 3, l 6)  
*Āyākotusiri* (L, l 9), a personal name  
*Āyasiri* (L, l 12), i e *Ayyasiri*=Skt *Āyāsīrī*  
*asamedha-yāṇi* (L, l 1, M 1, l 1, M 8, l 1 ex conj)  
*āyuvadhānīke* (M 1, l 7, M 2, l 3, M 5, l 4)  
*Ikḥāku* (G 2, ll 4 and 7, G 3, ll 6 and 8, L, l 2 ex conj, and l 6, M 1, l 6, M 5, l 3, M 6, l 2, M 9, l 4)  
*ubhaya-kula* (M 9, l 5, M 10, l 2, M 14, l 2)  
*ubhaya-loka-hita-sulha-mīnathanāya* (M 1, l 8, M 3, l 2, cf M 5, l 5 and M 11, l 1)  
*Edhisiri* (L, l 10), a personal name  
*Kamdasiri* (M 1, l 5, M 2, l 2 ex conj, M 5, l 1 ex conj, M 7, l 2)  
*Kusumalatā* (L, l 13), a personal name  
*Khamdakotusiri* (L, l 8)=Skt *Skandakotusīrī*, a personal name  
*Khamdasāgaramnaka mātā* (M 2, l 2, cf M 5, l 2)  
*Khamdasiri* (L, ll 7 and 10)  
*gimha-pakkha* (G 2, l 8, G 3, l 13, also G, l 10)=Skt *grīshma-pakṣha* 'a fortnight of Summer'  
*Golasiri* (L, l 9), a personal name Cf *Golā* in Bharhut inscription Luders' *List*, no 836, also no 596  
*Chādamukha* (N, l 2), i e *Chandamukha*=Skt *Chandramukha*, a personal name  
*chātusāḷa-parigahita* (M 4, l 1) Cf *sa-chātusāḷa*, and *chātusāḷa* in E, l 2  
*Chāmṭisiri* (M 1, l 5, M 5, l 2, M 7, l 3)  
*chhattha* (G 2, l 8, G 3, l 14 ex conj), i e *chhattha* 'sixth'  
*Jakkhana* (N, l 3), a personal name (?) Cf such proper names as *Yakkhadāsī*, *Yakkhadāna*, *Yakkhī* and *Yakkhā* Luders' *List*, nos 329, 211, 254, 500, 344, 376, 580, 546  
*jamātuka* (M 1, l 6, M 5, l 2)  
*thambha* (L, l 13)=Skt *stambha* 'pillar' Cf *selathambha* in C 2, l 8  
*deyadhā(n)ma* (G 2, l 6, G 3, l 10)=Skt *deyadharmā* 'a pious gift' Also in footprint slab inscription (*Ep Ind*, vol XX, p 37)

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, *op cit*, p 91, No 35, plate LVIII Cf p 105, No 49, plate LX

## No. 12 —THE CLAY SEALS OF NĀLANDĀ

By HIRANANDA SASTRI

Some sixteen years ago the archaeological exploration of the ancient site of Nālandā was taken up by our Department and it has been continued all these years. During this period very valuable seals or sealings have been found but they have not been fully described anywhere as yet. In the memoir which I am writing on Nālandā I intend to notice them in detail but as that will take some time to come out I propose to publish here a few of them as specimens. These relics of the past, minor though they might be called, are invaluable not only for the past history of Nālandā but of Northern India as well.

For the sake of convenience these seals or sealings—I shall call them seals—might be put under two main heads, namely, Religious or Ecclesiastical and Secular or Civil. Under the former head I would classify those seals which are either votive or are connected with some religious congregation, communities or monastic orders, and under the latter head I would put such of them as are personal, whether they belong to royalties, officials or private individuals or are related to offices, villages and village communities. The majority of these seals are votive and Buddhist, a number of them only giving in Sanskrit or in Pāli the well known formula

ये धर्मा जेतुमेषा जेतुन्तेषां तयागतो जयदत् ।

तेषाञ्च यो निरोध एव वादी महात्रयम् ॥

which, we are told, Aśvajit read to Śāriputra, and is usually interpreted<sup>1</sup> as

‘Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause

The cause has been told by Tathāgata,

And their suppression likewise

The Great Śramaṇa has revealed’

This formula is found written usually in the northern script of about the eighth century (A.D.), and even later, not only on the seals or plaques but also on a number of images, stones and bricks, excavated at Nālandā. Some of these seals or plaques only give a Buddhist text, while others bear the figure of the Buddha, single or accompanied by the attendant Bōdhisattvas, Mañicya and Avalokiteśvara, with or without the above mentioned creed formula. Some have a text or the representation of a stūpa or stūpas. Such seals or impressions were, evidently, meant for offerings, or for being taken as mementoes. Among the seals connected with Buddhist Congregations or *Saṅghas*, the majority belong to the Mahāvihāra of Nālandā and give the legend—

श्रीनालन्दासहाविहारोद्यमिचसङ्गस्य,

meaning

‘Of the Community of the Venerable Monks in the Mahāvihāra of *śrī-Nālandā*’ The symbol they bear is practically the same as the one connected with the ‘Preaching of the Law’ (धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तन) by the Buddha. They are mostly circular in shape and the device, which occurs in the upper field above a line of dotted ornament, consists of the Wheel of the Law flanked by two gazelles, recumbent, with heads upraised, looking towards the Wheel. This device is a copy of the insignia of the monastery at the “Deer Park” where the Buddha first turned the ‘*Dharmachakra*’ (=Wheel of Law). It is an appropriate symbol for both the places. At Śārināth or the Deer Park the Great Teacher preached the First Sermon. At Nālandā many *bhikkhus* were engaged in expounding or preaching the ‘Law’. To form an idea of what this device is,

<sup>1</sup> Kern, *Indian Buddhism* p. 95

reference is invited to the seal of Dēvapāladēva, attached to the copper-plate I excavated at Nālandā in 1921, which has already been published in this *Journal* <sup>1</sup> That the Pāla kings of Bengal had adopted this symbol as their insignia is evidenced by their grants, a number of which have now been published. These rulers were very liberal patrons of Buddhism and the insignia was quite appropriate for them. But whether they adopted it from the symbol of the monastic order of Nālandā or whether the 'Ārya-bhikṣu-sangha' of Nālandā took it from their royal patrons I cannot say for certain.

The other group, *i.e.*, the Civic or Secular seals, is historically much more important. A few of the seals or plaques coming under this category have already been noticed by the late Dr Spooner,<sup>2</sup> Mr Dikshit,<sup>3</sup> and the late Mr R D Banerji.<sup>4</sup> I need not recapitulate what has been stated by them in regard to these seals including the seal of King Bhāskaravarman of Prāgyyōtisha.<sup>5</sup> At present I want to make a special notice of the two seals of Śārvavarman Maukharī and of Harsha of Thānēsar which were recovered in a much better state of preservation than the other specimens of the seals of these potentates. The original of the Asīrgadh seal is not forthcoming, and the Sonpat seal, as represented by the facsimile<sup>6</sup> given by Fleet, is too worn to give a clear reading. Consequently, these clay plaques are very valuable in that they help us in settling the reading of the legends and vouch for the genuineness of those two documents.

#### The seals of King Śārvavarman Maukharī

One of the two seals of Śārvavarman, which I reproduce here, is almost entire, and might well be called, rather, a replica of the Asīrgadh seal. The other is cut into two parts, almost perpendicularly, but gives the whole of the legend, excepting some of the initial letters of lines 3-6 and, perhaps, of line 7 also. The transversal break about the middle has damaged all the eight lines of it though the damaged letters can be restored easily. It would appear that these two seals are the impressions taken from different moulds or dice. A close inspection of the facsimile published by Fleet would show this. For instance, if we compare the symbols for *lha* in the word *Maukharī*, occurring in the last line of the Asīrgadh seal, and the seal marked A, we shall see that they are not identical. Similarly, in A1, the symbol for *la* in line 6 is practically clear but it is not so in the Asīrgadh specimen. There are other differences also which it is needless to dilate upon here. But it is significant that the defects in the reading of the legend noticed by Fleet in the Asīrgadh specimen are to be met with in these two plaques also, as I shall show while giving the text below. The device is quite distinct in all these specimens. It shows a bull in the centre, walking to the proper right and decorated with a garland going round his body—though broken in A1. Over him there is, on the other side, an open umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers. In front we see a man leading the bull and carrying a curved double axe in the right hand and a standard with a wheel on the top in the left. Behind the bull we see another male figure having in the left hand a long handled double axe and a *chowrie* stick in the right hand, apparently to drive the bull on. The exact significance of the whole symbol is not clear. The bull usually stands for *dharma*, वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मः.<sup>7</sup> The two male figures are, perhaps, the *chāndālas*, who want to kill the

<sup>1</sup> Vol XVII, plate facing p 321. A S R, 1922 23, plate XV(d).

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India*, Eastern Circle, for 1916 17 p 43

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, for 1917 18, pp 446 ff

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. B O R Soc*, Vol V (1919), pp 302 ff

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, Vol V (1919), p 303

<sup>6</sup> *C I I*, Vol III, plate xxxii B

<sup>7</sup> Cf Fleet, *C I I*, Vol III, p 219

<sup>8</sup> *Manusmṛiti* (VIII, 16)



animal. The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the *dharma*.

As to the text of the legend, there is hardly any difference from that we given by Fleet. One might say, it rather confirms his reading and is, practically, alike in all the three specimens. It runs as given below, the slight difference which is seen here and there is pointed out in the foot notes.

#### TEXT

- 1 Chatur samudr ātīkṛtānta kīrtitāḥ prajāp āmrāg āpīmat ānya rājā(ā)<sup>1</sup> varanā ā rama-  
vyavasthā-
- 2 pāna pravṛtta-chakrāḥ Chakrārdharāḥ prajānām vṛttihara[ḥ]<sup>2</sup> śrī-Mahārāja Hari-  
varimma[ḥ]<sup>3</sup> Tasya
- 3 puttrāḥ<sup>4</sup> tat pūḍ-ānuddhyātō Jyāyānām<sup>5</sup>-bhātā<sup>6</sup> rīk<sup>7</sup> dīvyam utpannāḥ śrī-  
Mahārāj-Ādityavar-
- 4 imma[ḥ]<sup>8</sup> Tasya puttrāḥ tat pūḍ-ānuddhyātō Haribhagupta<sup>9</sup>-bhātā<sup>10</sup> rīk<sup>7</sup> dīvyam-  
utpannāḥ śrī Mahārā-
- 5 j-Āsvavarimma<sup>11</sup> [ḥ]<sup>12</sup> Tasya puttrāḥ tat pūḍ-ānuddhyātō Upasupta<sup>13</sup>-bhātā<sup>14</sup> rīk<sup>7</sup> dī-  
dīvyam utpannāḥ
- 6 Mahārāj-Āryādharāja-śrī Lakṣmavarimma[ḥ]<sup>15</sup> Tasya puttrāḥ tat pūḍ-ānuddhyātō  
Lakṣmīnava-<sup>16</sup>
- 7 ti-bhātā<sup>17</sup> rīk<sup>7</sup> Mahādīvyam<sup>18</sup> utpannāḥ paramam havyarāj<sup>19</sup> Ma-
- 8 hārājādharāja-śrī-Sarvavarimma<sup>20</sup> Maṇuḥharāḥ [ḥ]<sup>21</sup>

The genealogy shown in these seals up to Lakṣmavarimma is identical with that given in the Haraha inscription which I published in this journal long ago.<sup>22</sup>

#### The seals of Harsha or Harshavardhana

I may publish here only one of the seals of Harsha of Thānṣar. The Sonpat seal which Fleet reproduced<sup>23</sup> in 1888 must have belonged to some plate which is not forthcoming. The Nālandā specimens so far recovered seem to be the impressions taken from some independent moulds. As we see even nowadays, the originals are only the negatives which, when pressed at the time of sealing documents, give the positive. Several specimens of the seal of Harsha

<sup>1</sup> Like the Asirgadh seal both these specimens give *śrāya* for *rāja*.

<sup>2</sup> The *śrāya* is left out in these seals also.

<sup>3</sup> I think it is *śrī* in all the three documents. Cf. the symbol in line 8.

<sup>4</sup> The letters *puttra* and the *t* of *śrī* are lost in AI.

<sup>5</sup> It is clearly *dīvyam* in both these seals.

<sup>6</sup> Letters *rimma laṣya* are missing in AI.

The length mark is obliterated in both the seals.

<sup>7</sup> Both these seals give *°Mahā*.

<sup>8</sup> The *ālsharas j=Laṣarata* are missing in AI.

<sup>9</sup> In both these seals, too, the symbol after *u* is more like *ma* than *pa*; cf. Fleet *C I I*, Vol. III, p. 220, t n 3.

<sup>10</sup> The length mark is not to be seen in both the seals. The initial letters *maha(ā)ṛā* are lost in AI.

<sup>11</sup> Both these seals give *śrī*, cf. the *śrī* symbol in line 8. The hiatus in *śrī Lakṣmā*<sup>24</sup> is intentional, evidently.

<sup>12</sup> The *La* symbol is clear in both these seals and the reading Lakṣmīnava is pretty certain. Fleet's conjectural reading of this name is therefore correct.

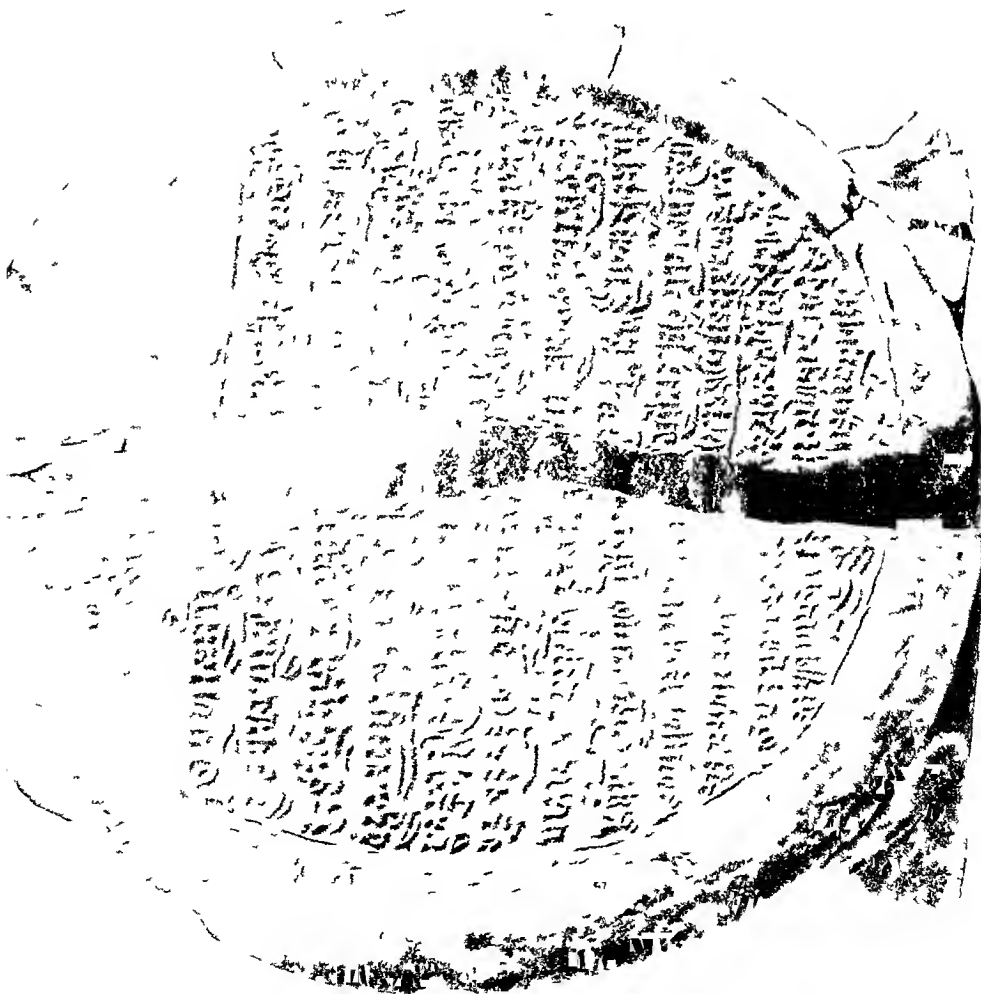
<sup>13</sup> A distinctly gives *Maha*<sup>25</sup> though the length mark is not so clear in AI.

<sup>14</sup> O mark is clear in both.

<sup>15</sup> Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *C I I*, Vol. III, pp. 231 f. and plate XXXII B.





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were excavated at Nālandā and are all broken or fragmentary. The one reproduced here, marked B on the plate, consists of two fragments which, when put together, seem to form a complete seal, excepting some letters about the middle of almost every line of the legend and the proper right portion of the upper field, containing the device together with the head of the recumbent bull. Owing to the transverse cut the specimen is broken in twain. The seal appears to have been oval in shape, the axes being about 4½" and 5⅞", measuring the surface encompassed by the first curve going round the written portion and the emblem. The legend consists of twelve lines of which the five lines at the end are written in letters smaller than those seen in the rest. Evidently, the engraver found that he would not be able to manage the whole legend in the limited space and had to reduce the size of the *alsharas* after writing out the first seven lines. Like the inscription on the Sonpat seal the legend in this specimen is written in the flowery script of the seals of Śarvavarman. The Sonpat seal is larger and the legend is written in bigger letters. Possibly that also had twelve lines of writing, though they are not distinct on the facsimile given in the *Corpus*. According to the transcript given by Fleet they also ended like the lines in the present specimen. The legend on the seal under notice is, practically, a genealogical table of the family of Harsha or Harshavardhana, the pedigree being identical with what is given in the Madhuban<sup>1</sup> and the Banskhera<sup>2</sup> copper-plates of this potentate.

## TEXT

- 1 Symbol<sup>3</sup> [||\*] Mahārāja-śrī-Nara[vardddhanas=ṭṭi]<sup>4</sup>[sya] puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātā[h\*]  
śrī-Vajrinī-
- 2 dēvyām=utpannah paramādityabhaktō Mah]<sup>4</sup>ārāja-śrī-Rājyavardddhanah[||\*]Tasya  
puttras=tat-pā-
- 3 d-ānudhyātah śrī-Apsarōdēvyām=utpannah[ḥ] para]<sup>4</sup>āudityabhaktō Mahārāja-srīmad-  
Āditya-
- 4 vardddhanah[||\*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātah<sup>5</sup> śrī-[Ma]<sup>4</sup>[hā]sēnaguptādēvyām=  
u[tpa\*]nnah chatuhsamu-
- 5 dr-ātikkṛānta-kīr[ttih] pratāp-ānurāg-ōpa[nat-ānya]<sup>4</sup>-rājō varnnāsrāma<sup>6</sup>-vyavasthāpana-  
pravṛtta-
- 6 chakkra ēkaśakkraratha iva prajānām=arttiha[rah]<sup>4</sup> paramādityabhakta[h] parama-  
bhattāraka-
- 7 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Prabhākaravardddhana[h\*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātah<sup>5</sup>  
atīśayita-
- 8 pūrvvarāja-charitō dēvyām=amala-vasōmatyām [śrī]-Yasōmatyām=utpannah[ḥ] parama-  
saugatah Suga-

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol I, pp 72 f

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol IV, pp 210 11

<sup>3</sup> Ōm or siddhih

<sup>4</sup> Such letters are taken from the Madhuban and the Banskhera copper plate inscriptions

<sup>5</sup> Fleet gives Ma(?)hā(?)dēvyām instead, but the question marks would show that he was not sure of his reading. The name is clearly Apsarōdēvi

<sup>6</sup> Possibly the length mark was shown in two ways by a stroke above the top line, and by projecting the top line onwards and giving a small bend to its end

<sup>7</sup> Fleet gives sarī[ra] varnnā<sup>6</sup> in his reading of the Sonpat seal

<sup>8</sup> The Madhuban and the Banskhera records show sandhi here—<sup>6</sup>ātīśa<sup>6</sup>

- 9 [ta i]va parahit-ānurataḥ paramabhattā[raka] Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Rājyavarddhana-  
[h]\*] ta-  
10 sv ānujas=tat pād-ānudhyātah paramabha[ttā]rikā-Mahādēvī śrī-Yasōma[tyām] dū-  
11 ११ īm=[īv¹-ō]tpannah paramamā[hū]śvaraḥ Mahīśvara iva sarva sa  
12 tv īmukampaka[h\*] paramabhattāraka [Mahā]rājādhirāja śrī-Harshah[||\*]

The text of this seal is not entirely identical with that of the Sonpat seal as deciphered by Fleet, nor with the genealogical portion of the above mentioned copper plate grants. The difference, however, is not material and the pedigree is practically the same. The name of the king as given in this and other specimens recovered from Nālandā is not Harshavardhana but only Harsha. The latter name is found not only in the two copper-plate inscriptions, but also in the Sign-Manual or autograph on the Banskhara plate. The facsimile of the Sonpat seal is very indistinct. A genius like Bhagwanlal Indraji or an epigraphist of the type of Fleet alone could make so much out of it. While giving the name Harshavardhana Fleet could not help remarking that the three *alsharas vardhanah* are rather small and cramped in the centre of the bottom of the seal. Other differences need not be pointed out here.

Out of the official seals the beautiful specimen bearing the legend—

- 1 Nagara-bhuktan kumār īmātī-īdhi-
- 2 karanasya [||\*]

which is written in the Gupta script of about the 6th century A.D. under the standing figure of Lakṣmī, flanked by an elephant, is reproduced as C in the accompanying plate.

Among the seals belonging to dignitaries or private individuals the one of śrī-Pasupatisimha, marked D on the accompanying facsimile, looks noteworthy. On palaeographic grounds it may be relegated to about the 7th century A.D. The legend on it reads as follows —

- 1 Vijit ārīti-gannasya nīyavatō rāja-
- 2 vuttī nipunasya śva-guṇ-ībharanasya
- 3 śrī-Pasupatisimhasya la[kṣm=edam] [||\*]

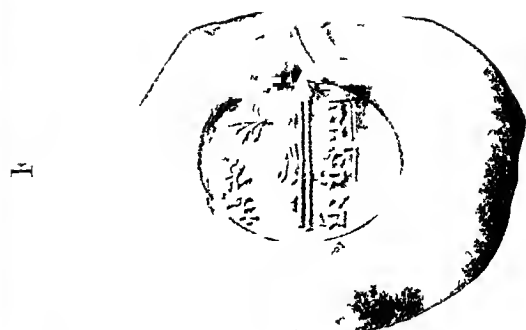
This may be rendered as —

‘The token of the illustrious Pasupatisimha, whose excellences are his ornaments, who was just and expert in (performing) royal service and who has completely conquered the group of (his) foes’. The use of the word *lakṣma*, meaning ‘token’, is significant, for it clearly proves that such seals were used as tokens sent in support of the genuineness or authenticity of documents despatched along with them.

Of the remaining two seals reproduced here one, marked E on the accompanying plate, is specially interesting in that it enables us to comprehend the import of the word ‘*gānapada*’. The device we see on this seal consists of a seated male figure, nimbate, with left hand holding, probably, a *ghata* or *mangalakalāśa*, the right, a rosary or *akṣhamālā* (?) and flanked by a tree in a railing or enclosure and on a platform. Below this device there is a short legend of two lines reading —

- 1 Purikā-grāma-jā-
- 2 napadasya [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> *Lia* is used for the sake of emphasis—both were *uterine* brothers



II



D



and means '(The seal) of the *Jānapada* or Community of the *Purikā*-village' Obviously, the word *jānapada* is not used here in the sense of '*dēśa*', which is the dictionary meaning of it, but has to be taken in the sense of community or unit or corporate body In the collection at Nālandā I have now found several other '*jānapada*' seals which are being described in the Memoir

The other seal, marked F on the accompanying plate, belongs to the village of *Pādapāk* (or °g) and the legend which it bears reads —

*Pādapāg-grāmasya* [||\*]

In several cases these seals, whether they belong to royalties, offices, communities or villages, either show long, flat or rectangular grooves, or have holes drilled right through from top to bottom Evidently, they were meant for being tied to documents by means of strings, cloth, or palm-leaves Some of these seals appear to be sun-dried and were probably fastened when they were still fresh or wet and then dried in the sun Others were probably burnt in some kiln and kept ready for future use No document has yet been found at Nālandā with any of these seals and it cannot be determined how they were fastened That such seals or tokens were tied to letters by means of a thick and strong *sūtra* or string may be inferred, however, from the following description of the *lēkha-hāra* or courier from Krishna, the brother of Śrīharsha, which Bāna gives in the *Harshacharitam* —

अथ तेनानीयमानम्, . अतिनिविडसूत्रबन्धनिमित्तान्तरालकृत-  
व्यवच्छेदया लेखमालिकया परिकलितमूर्धानम्, प्रविशन्त लेखहारक-  
मद्राक्षोत्

'Then he beheld the messenger entering as he was brought before him,—his legs tired and heavy with the long journey, with his tunic girt up rightly by a mud-stained strip of cloth, the knot hanging loose and fastened up by a rugged clout swinging behind him, and having his head wrapped with a bundle of letters, which had a deep division pressed into it by a very thick thread that bound it, ' Such seals as were found in their entirety, like the one of

*Pasupatisimha*, were probably fastened to strings whose ends were secured on the documents themselves either by being sealed with the same seal or by another seal or token The string might have been of hemp or of cotton In the hole of one seal I have recently seen a piece of white '*lkhādi*' cloth In the absence of any specimen it cannot be determined whether these documents or books, etc., were written on wood, leather, palm-leaves, paper or any other material But an idea as to how these seals must have been tied to them can be formed from the description of the remarkable documents which Sir Aurel Stein discovered at Niya and has described with good illustrations in his *Ancient Khotan* and *Serindia* These seals were usually broken when a document was read after its receipt to avoid forgery That is the reason why they are found more or less damaged This is done even nowadays In ancient India it was rather the potter's mud or clay which was generally used instead of the shellac or sealing wax, and the *lēkha-hāraka* was like the *harhāraka* of to-day

#### POSTSCRIPT

My recent examination of the whole collection has led me to the valuable discovery of several seals representing the Gupta kings *Narasimhagupta*, his son *Kumāragupta*, *Budhagupta* and *Vanyagupta*, and also the kings [*Bha*]gavachchandra, *Supratishthita-varman*, and others The Gupta seals would show among other points of historical interest that the name of *Kumāragupta*'s mother has to be read as *Mitrādēvī* and not *Śrīmatādēvī* or *Lakshmīdēvī*, and that of *Puragupta*'s mother, as *Vanyādēvī* not *Vatsadēvī* All these seals are being fully treated in my forthcoming monograph on Nālandā



## No. 13.—BAIGRAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE GUPTA YEAR 128

By RADHACOVINDA BASU, M.A., D.Litt.

This copper-plate was discovered in 1930 near a wooden structure which surrounded an old well opened by some tenants of Rai Subh Kumudnath Das, Zamindar of Hili, while excavating a tank at Baigram (P. O. Hili) in the District of Bogra, Raychûh Division, Bengal. One more copper-plate, which was found along with it, was taken away by the coheer, and has not yet been secured. The document under publication was kept with one Poñitu Mîndar till it was brought to Hili early this year by Bibu Krishna Chandra Saha, Manager of the Rai Sahib's estate. Afterwards Bibu Jyotirindranath Das, Advocate, High Court Calcutta presented it to the Gauda Research Society, Howrah, and it is now in the possession of that Society. Bibu Niradabirum Mishra Chakravarti, Secretary of the Society, brought it to my notice and gave me a set of its estampages on which my reading of the inscription is based. It is very gratifying, indeed, that within the last few years we have recovered eight valuable records of the Gupta period from North Bengal itself (i.e., ancient Pundrawardhana *bhûti*). Out of the eight documents seven have already been published, viz., the Dhamidaha copper-plate inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I, the year 113,<sup>1</sup> the Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscriptions<sup>2</sup> and the Pāhārpur copper-plate grant of the Gupta year 159.<sup>3</sup> The eighth form the subject of the present paper.

Like the seven charters already published, this inscription is also a deed of sale and relates to the purchase by private persons of *khala* (fallow) and *gāru* (home land) land belonging to the State for the purpose of donation to a temple. The Landpur copper-plate grants<sup>4</sup>, marked A, B and C by Fargyler are also of the same type. The general procedure followed in ancient Bengal for purchasing State lands by private persons as laid down in this grant is identical with that given in the Dāmodarpur grants or in the Pāhārpur copper-plate inscription. The intending purchaser of a State land had to submit an application to the administrative authority concerned and the Government had to refer the matter to the record keepers before giving the required sanction.

The plate measures 9" × 5", approximately, and bears writing on both the sides of it, the obverse side has fifteen lines and the reverse only ten. The left side of it is somewhat protuberant in the middle and this part is circular at its end with a portion cut off and lost. The hole here would show that a seal was probably attached to the plate, though it is not now forthcoming. The writing is well executed and the document is fairly well preserved.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and are almost similar to those used in the Dāmodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2, which also belong to the same period. As in the Dāmodarpur, the Dhamidaha and the Pāhārpur copper-plates, here, too, the medial *ā* is at times indicated by means of a hook-stroke attached to the lower right side of an *alshara* as, for example, in *grāmika* (l. 2). The form of *rā* in *rūpaḷān* (ll. 6 and 14) is also noteworthy. As one would ordinarily expect in the inscriptions of this period, the letter *b* is distinguished from *v* in this document also (see, for example, *Brāhmanā* l. 2 or *bōdhayanti* l. 3). The sign for the conjunct letters *hm* and *hy* appears to be almost identical. The form of the four-lettered conjunct *ñichchhy* occurring in the word *aparīñichchhya* (l. 19) may be noted. The form of the medial *ṭ* and *ṣ* in the letters *m*, *ṭ* and *ṣ* requires attention (see, e.g., *°mṭlam* in l. 9).

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 345 ff.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 69 ff.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 193 ff.

*mōdati* in l 23 and *pachyatē* in l 22) This form of *ē* is to be found with the letter *s* also, as, for example, in *iasē* (l 23) The sign for the lingual *l* is used in *nulābhyām* (ll 18-19) The form of the final *t* and *n*, often found joined with the preceding letters slightly below the top line, as, for example, in *iasūt* (l 23), *iasundharām* (l 22), is also noteworthy The numerical symbols for 100, 20, 8, 10 and 9 are found used in line 25 and those for 3 and 2 in line 18

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose excepting in the three imprecatory verses found in lines 21 to 25 As in some of the Damodarpur plates (Nos 1 to 4) and the Faridpur plates (Nos A, B and C) the superfluous *h* is found in this inscription also, as in *kān[la]ka* and *°ipittika* (l 4) *Sandhi* has been neglected in some places, as in *°naya āvadhruta* (l 10) and *°cha alshaya* in line 17

As regards orthography the following peculiarities require attention (1) Consonants are usually doubled before *y*, as in *°dīnārīkka* (l 6) (but in the same word in line 12 *k* seems to be single) and *pādānuddhyātah*, (l 1) (2) The consonants *k* and *t* are doubled before the subscript *r*, e.g., *ulīlayō* (ll 6 and 12) and *lshāttā* (ll 5 and 11) (3) The consonants *k*, *g*, *t*, *dh*, *d*, *u* and *v* are doubled after the superscript *r*, e.g., *°chandrārīka* (ll 5 and 11), *siaraggē* (l 23), *varitā mīna* (l 20), *rājāttha* (l 12), *chaturdha* (l 19), *samīyarahāyaya* (l 20) and *pūruva* (l 23) respectively

The inscription is dated in *Samvat 128 on the nineteenth of Māgha* This *samvat* evidently refers to the Gupta era and the record undoubtedly refers to the reign of the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I whose dates, known from coins and inscriptions, range from 113 to 136 G E Consequently the year given in the inscription must correspond to the year 447-48 of the Christian era It may be noted here that one of the Damodarpur plates of Kumāragupta I is also dated in this very year, viz., 128 of the Gupta era The use of the Gupta *samvat* was current in North Bengal during this period The name of the reigning king is omitted in this inscription as well as in the Pāharpur plate Evidently the words *Bhavāraka pāda* in lines 1 and 13 refer to the reigning sovereign, viz., Kumāragupta I

The object of the inscription under publication is to record the purchase of three *kulyavāpas* of revenue-free *khila* (fallow) fields and two *dīnas* of *sthala-vāstu* (homestead) land belonging to the State and lying in two localities connected with Vāyagrāma, viz., Trivritā and Śrīgōhālī, by two persons named Bhōyila and Bhāskara for the purpose of making a donation, to meet the expenses of flowers, perfumes, etc., required for daily worship and occasional repairs to the temple of Gōvindaśāmin which was founded by their father Śivanandin The name of the place whence the charter was issued was Pañchanagarī, possibly the district (*visahaya*) headquarters The administrative officer, who was in charge of the district court (*vishay ādhikarana*) and approached by the two intending purchasers of the State land, was named **Kulavṛiddhi** and had the title of *Kumārāmātya* The application was granted and the land was sold to them in accordance with the decision of the Government record keepers (*pustapālas*) arrived after the land was properly surveyed and measured by means of the *nalas* in use there The members of the *vishay ādhikarana*, the other Government officers, as well as the chief householders of the villages concerned were addressed by the head of the *visahaya* regarding this sale of the land by the Government after having received its price at the fixed rate of 2 *dīnas* per *kulyavāpa* which was in vogue in that *visahaya* These persons were directed to maintain the grant as a permanent endowment according to the principles of *alshaya-nūi*

It is not unlikely that like the Kōtivarsha of the Damodarpur grants and the Khādā(tā)pāra of the Dhanadaha plate, the Pañchanagarī of the inscription under publication was one of the *visayas* of the old Pundravardhana-bhukti, but I am unable to identify it, nor am I able to locate Trivritā and Śrīgōhālī I cannot say for certain if the village named here as Vāyagrāma

is the village of the same name that is mentioned in No. 4 of the Damodarpur grants. If they are identical, the village must have been situated somewhere on the boundary line between Kōtivarsha and Pañchanagarī. That Baigram, where this plate was unearthed, is the ancient Vāyigrāma mentioned in this plate (l. 2) cannot be doubted. Consequently it may reasonably be assumed that the localities mentioned in the inscription were situated somewhere near Hih in Bogra. The name Śrīgōhālī, however, reminds us of the names Vata-Gōhālī and Nitva-Gōhālī of the Pāhārpur inscription.

A note on the relation in value between a *dīnāra* and a *rūpaka* coin as met with in this inscription may well be added here. The name *dīnāra* is of foreign origin and is derived from the Latin *denarius*, as we all know. The word *rūpaka* occurring in this inscription, I think, requires an explanation. As two *drōnavāpas* of land are priced at 8 *rūpakas* in lines 6 and 14 of the inscription it appears certain that 8 *rūpakas* are equivalent in value to 2 *dīnāras* because 1 *hulyavāpa* (=8 *drōnas*) is explicitly priced at the rate of 2 *dīnāras* according to the prevailing custom of sale described in the inscription. Hence 1 full *dīnāra* will be equal to 16 *rūpakas*. We may, therefore, surmise that the term *rūpaka*, which may ordinarily stand for a coin of any variety, refers to silver coins in this charter. In Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* the word *rūpa* seems to mean a coin which may be of silver or copper, *i.e.*, *rūpya-rūpa* (silver coin, *e.g.*, *panas*) and *tāmra-rūpa* (copper coin, *e.g.*, *māsha*). The officer who examines coins or controls currency is called *Rūpa-darśala* in that work.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the different rate of price of *hīla* and *vāstu* land we find that in some of the Damodarpur plates the rate was three *dīnāras* for a *hulyavāpa* (*tridīnārīkya-hulyavāpa*), but in our inscription as well as in the Pāhārpur one, we have the rate of two *dīnāras* for a *hulyavāpa* (*dvīdīnārīkya-hulyavāpa*), whereas in almost all the Farīdpur plates the rate is that of four *dīnāras* for a *hulyavāpa* (*chaturdīnārīkya-hulyavāpa*). This difference may have been due to the difference of localities and also, probably, to the character of the land sold.

From the Pāhārpur inscription it has become clear that one *hulyavāpa* of land is equal to 8 *drōnavāpas*, for there 12 *drōnas* are totalised as one and a half *hulyavāpas* and the same result is also obtained even by reference to the money value proposed in the grant in accordance with the prevalent rate. The formula found in some Sanskrit lexicons for one *hulyavāpa* being equal to 8 *drōnas* is, therefore, established.

The most striking point of historical importance that can be mentioned in this connection is that in our inscription also, as in the other North Bengal grants of the Gupta period, we find the same administrative system in force during the age, *viz.*, that the *viśhayapatis*, who enjoyed the use of the usual title of *Kumārāmātya*, were appointed to be in charge of the *viśhay ādhikarānas* by the Gupta emperors, undoubtedly on the advice and approval of the higher officer of the larger unit, the *bhukti*, or the *uparīka mahārāja*. The prevalence of such a procedure of administrative relation between the different Government authorities is supported more by the other North Bengal inscriptions of the period than by the present one, as Kulavṛddhi, the *viśhayapati*, is here described as directly mediating on the feet of His Majesty (*Bhattāraka-pāda*). But this probably alludes to the fact that the appointment of such an administrative head of a *viśhaya* by the *bhukti* governor required the sanction of His Majesty, the imperial Gupta monarch. The position of *Kumārāmātya* Kulavṛddhi here must be exactly the same as that of *Kumārāmātya* Vātravarman of Kōtivarsha appointed to his responsible post by *uparīka* Chitrādatta, who himself enjoyed the favour of the imperial ruler, *paramadāyata*, *paramabhattāraka Mahārājā-dhīrāja* Kumāragupta I, as mentioned in Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 of 124 and 128 G.E., respectively. Kulavṛddhi and Vātravarman must, therefore, have been contemporary officers under the same sovereign in the two separate *viśhayas* in North Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Shamesastry's Translation, p. 95. Cf. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's remarks above, Vol. XX, p. 81.—Ed.

## First Side

*[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme fading and blurring.]*



Attention may be drawn to the curious fact that in this new grant we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisers mentioned in the Damodarpur grants Nos 1, 2, 4 and 5, *as* having aided the *viśhayapati*s of Kōtivarsha in the administrative work of the *viśhay-ādhyakṣarāṇa*, the four members forming that Board being (1) the *nagara-srēṣṭhīn* (the President of the town-guild), (2) the *prathama-sārthavāha* (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the *prathama-kulika* (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the *prathama-lāyastha* (probably, the chief scribe — the head of the Government officials) The absence of such a reference in a document of the year 128 G E (Damodarpur grant No 2 of Kumāra-gupta I's reign being also of the same date) belonging to a different part of Pundravardhana *bhukti* is difficult to explain, excepting on the tentative theory that Kōtivarsha (of Damodarpur grant No 2) was perhaps a more important *viśhaya* where Government had to keep better administrative arrangement for the *viśhay-ādhyakṣarāṇa* than in Pañchanagari of this grant, which may have been a newly formed district at the time It may also be noted that in this inscription we do not come across the name of the *bhukti* Governor known from two of the Damodarpur grants (*vide*, Nos 1 and 2)

## TEXT

## First Side

- 1 Svasti [I\*] Pañchanagaryyā Bhattāraka-pād-īnuddhyātah Kūmārāmītya-Kula-  
vriddhir=ētaḍ-viśhay-ādhyakṣarāṇa=cha
- 2 Vāyagrāmika-Trivṛita(tā)-Śrīgōhālyōh Brāhmanōttarān=samvyavahārī-pramukhān=  
grāmī-kutumbīnāh kuśalam=anu-
- 3 varnya bōdhayanti(tī) [I\*] Viññāpayatōra(tō)=traya-vāstavya-kutumbī-Bhōyila-  
Bhāskarāv=āvayōh pitrā Sivanandi-
- 4 nā kārī[ta]ka-Bhagavatō Gōvinda svāminah dēvakulas(am)=tad=asāv=alpa(tad=  
adō=lpā)-vittikah(am) [I\*] Iha viśhayē samudaya-
- 5 bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshētrānām=akūchit=pratīkarānām śaśvad=āchandr-ārkkha-  
tāraka-bhōjyānām(nām)=akshaya-nīyā
- 6 dvi-dīnārikya-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō=nuvittas=tad=arhat = āvayōs = sakāśāt=shad=dīnārān=  
ashta cha rūpakān=āyī-
- 7 [kri]tya Bhagavatō Gōvinda svāminō dēvakulē [kha]nda-phutta<sup>1</sup>-pratisamska(skā)ra-  
karanāya gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-
- 8 sumanasā[m\*] pravarttanāya cha Trivṛitāyām Bhōgi(ya)lasya khila-kshētra-  
kulyavāpa-trayam Śrīgōhālyās(ā)=ch=āpī
- 9 tala-vātak-ārtha[m\*] sthala-vāstunō drōnavāpam=ēkam Bhāskarasy=āpī sthala-  
vāstunō drōnavāpāñ=cha dātu-
- 10 m=ī[ti] [I\*] Yatō yushmān=bōdhayāma[h\*] 'Pustapāla-Durgādatt-Ārkkadāsayōr=  
avadhāranayā<sup>2</sup> avadhīta-
- 11 m=ast=īha viśhayē samudaya-bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshētrānā[m\*] śaśvad=  
āchandr-ārkkha-tāraka-bhōjyānām dvi-dī-
- 12 nāriky-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō=nuvittah [I\*] Ēvamvidh-āpratīkara-khila-kshētra-  
vikkrayē cha na kāschi=d-rāj-ārttha-
- 13 virōdha upachaya ēva Bhattāraka-pādānām dharmma-phala-shad-bhāg-āvāptis=  
cha tad=dīyatām=īti ētayōh

<sup>1</sup> Read *sphutita* *Phutta* is evidently a Prākṛit form<sup>2</sup> Read ° *nay-avadhīta* °

- 14 Bhōyila-Bhāskarasyōs=sak[ī]t[ī]<sup>1</sup> t=shad-dimūr in ashita cha rūpakān=āyīkṛitva Bha-  
gavatō Gōvindasyāmūṇō  
15 dēvākulasy=ārīthāt Bhōyilasya Trivritāyām khila-kshēttara-kulyavāpṛa trayam  
talā-vūtak-ādī artham

Second Side

- 16 Śrīgōhālyā[m\*] sthala vāstunō drōnavāpam Bhāskarasy=āpṛ=atṛ=ayā sthāl[ī](-  
va(ī)stunō drōnavāpa-  
17 m=āva[m\*] lulyavāpṛa-trayam sthala drōnavāpṛa dīvaān-cha<sup>1</sup> akshaya-nīvāyās(ā)  
tūmra pattīna dattam muna<sup>2</sup>  
18 ku 3 sthala drō 2 t[ī]<sup>3</sup> vāyam sva karshan trivṛdhi sthān<sup>4</sup> Dārvil armira-  
hrstcū=īshṭaka-nayaka nalābhā-  
19 m-apavānchichyā chura-kāla sthāyī tushī tūgār ādī(dī)u[m\*] chahnaīs=chīturdīsō  
myamya dīvāth=īkshaya  
20 nīvī dharmūna(na) cha kalyāt=kīlām-anupīlavishyathā varttāmūra-bhaviśhyas=  
cha samvavahāryā ādibhū-āt-  
21 d=dharmun īpēkshay=īmpālavitayam-iti [I\*] I ktañ-cha Bhagava[d] Vēdayī-  
mahātmanā [I\*] Sva dattām para dattām  
22 vā(ā) vō harētā vasundharām [I\*] sva vishṭhivām kṛmīr-bhūtā  
pitribhīs-saha pacivātī [I\*] Shishitum varsha sra-  
23 srīmi sarggē mōdatī bhūmīdah [I\*] ākshiptī ch=āmmantī cha tīvy=  
īva naraī vācēt [I\*] Pārva-  
24 dattīm dīvātībhīyō vatnād=raksha Yudhishthira [I\*] mahā[m\*] mahumatīm  
krēshṭha dīnīch=chhrīvō-nupāl-  
25 mauti(m || i)ti sam 100 20 8 Māgha dī 10 9

TRANSLATION

[Ll 1—3] Bliss<sup>1</sup> from Pañchanagarī Kumāāmūṭya Kulavṛiddhi, who meditates on the feet of the Bhattiraka (i.e., the king), informs, after enquiring about their health, the *adhīlarana* (court) of the *vishaya* and the village householders, along with the Brāhmanas and others and the Chief-officers (*Samayarahūmā*) of (the two localities named) *Trivritā* and *Śrīgōhālī* connected with the village named *Vāyagrāma*

[Ll 3—6] *Bhōyila* and *Bhāskara*, two family headmen residing in this locality, thus apply,—‘The (building) of the temple of Lord Gōvindasyāmūṇ founded by Śivanandīn, father of us both, is poorly endowed. In this *vishaya* prevails (the procedure) of sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* for each *lulyavāpṛa* of shrubless fallow fields, which do not yield any revenue (to the State), (the lands being purchased) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment, to be

<sup>1</sup> Read *ch=āśha*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This word put before the abbreviated totalisation of the amount of land purchased does not appear to me explicable. [*Phutṭa* (=Skt *sphuṭita*) in line 7 would suggest that it might stand for Skt *mūṇa* meaning low land—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The Pāhūrpur plate gives *tad* (l. 19) which is a much better reading—Ed.

<sup>4</sup> [This must be the reading in the Pāhūrpur plate also, where in the place of *śalārmana*<sup>o</sup> (l. 19) it would be better to read *śalārshana*<sup>o</sup> as in this plate.]

<sup>5</sup> This word seems to be the name of the *vishaya* in charge of Kulavṛiddhi. It may also be suggested that it may have been the name of the district headquarters where the court (*adhīlarana*) of the *vishaya* was situated

enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure, and free from (the liability of payment of) any kind of taxes

[Ll 6—10] So deign to make a grant to (me), **Bhōyila**, of three *kulyavāpas* of *khila* (i e, waste) land in **Trivritā** and one *dṛṇavāpa* of *vāstu* (i e, homestead) land, for (dwelling) site (*tala*) and paths (*vātaka*) in **Śrīgōhālī**, and to (me), **Bhāskara**, one *dṛṇavāpa* of homestead land for the purpose of repairs to the temple of Lord Gōvīndasvāmī when damaged or dilapidated and for the performance of the daily worship with perfumery, incense, lamp and flowers, by getting from us an income of six *dīnāras* and eight (silver) coins

[Ll 10—13] Since we inform you that it has been determined by the record-keepers, Durgādatta and Arkkadīsa (thus),—there exists in this *vishaya* (the procedure of) sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* of shrubless fallow fields, which are beyond the possibility of yielding revenue (to the king), to be enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure. Moreover, there can be no objection (out of fear of any loss) on the king's behalf in the matter of such sale of *khila* fields, free from taxes, (rather) there is (possibility of) some income for the *Bhattānaka pāda* (or the king) and also of the acquisition of one-sixth of the religious merit (accruing from such an act). Hence the (land) should be given (by sale)

[Ll 13—18] Thus on making an income of six *dīnāras* and eight (silver) coins (*rūpalas*) from **Bhōyila** and **Bhāskara** for the sake of the temple of Lord Gōvīndasvāmī, three *kulyavāpas* of *khila* fields in **Trivritā** and one *dṛṇavāpa* of *vāstu* land in **Śrīgōhālī** were granted (by sale) to **Bhōyila** and one *dṛṇavāpa* of *vāstu* land in the very same place (i e, **Śrīgōhālī**) to **Bhāskara**, by the execution of a copper-plate (*charter*) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment (*akshaya-nīti*), thus the total measurement of land (sold) being three *kulyavāpas* and two *sthala dṛṇavāpas* (stated in figures as *ku* 3 and *sthala*drō 2, respectively)

[Ll 18—21] (So) you shall make over (to the two applicants the portion of land) by fixing their boundaries on four sides with marks of chaff and charcoal which will be permanent, after having defined (the area) by the measurement of 8×9 reeds by the hands of *Darvīkamma*, in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, and shall preserve it for all time to come by the principle of perpetual endowment. The present and the future administrative agents and others also should preserve it out of regard for religious merit

[Ll 21—25] (Here follow three imprecatory stanzas)

[L 25] (Here the charter) ends. The year (*sam*) 128, the 19th day of Māgha

## NO 14—MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN

By D R BHANDARKAR

This interesting inscription in Mauryan Brāhmī was discovered at Mahāsthān on the 30th of November 1931, by one Baru Faqir of the Mahāsthāngarh village in the Bogra District of Bengal. Mr G C Chandra, who was then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, acquired it for the Department, and it was for some time lying in his office at Calcutta. Under the orders of the Director-General of Archaeology, it has now been deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Soon after the discovery of this plaque, a very brief account of its contents, I am told, was printed in the columns of a Bengali daily of Calcutta, the *Banga-bānī*, though I have not seen it at all. The account which has appeared in the *Liberty*, dated Friday, 22nd April, 1932, p 4, I was able to see, but it does not touch any important detail of this epigraph. My transcript



and account of it are based upon an impression sent to me by Dr Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, and a photograph forwarded later by Rai Bahadur Dava Ram Sahni, Director-General of Archaeology in India. Recently when the plaque was deposited in the Indian Museum, I was able to inspect it personally, and found, what I knew long ago, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of carefully examining the original whenever possible, as impressions and photographs are often not enough to enable a scholar to prepare an accurate transcript.

The inscription is incised on a piece of hard limestone which measures  $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$ . Though it is in a fragmentary condition, yet it is possible to determine, more or less approximately, what was its original extent. That no complete line was engraved after the last line of this fragment can reasonably be inferred from the space remaining blank at the end, which is not less than what we find between any two actual lines of this epigraph. Again a careful examination of the stone shows that the original surface of its sides is still traceable here and there and that many letters, consequently, cannot have been destroyed from the sides. Thus while *etam* is the last word of l 2 *dhāmyam* is the first word of l 1. It is thus clear that the sides of the inscription have not been much damaged. One or two letters, at the most may have been obliterated from each line whether at the beginning or at the end. Line 1 of our fragment cannot however be really the first line of the original inscription. But even here we may be pretty sure that more than one line could not have been so effaced.

The fragment, as it is, contains six lines of writing in Brāhmī character of the Mauryan period. The alphabet remarkably resembles that of the Aśokan records. The only difference that is perhaps worthy of note is that the vertical part of the letters *t*, *p*, *h*, *v* and *s* is a bit more prolonged than is generally seen in Aśokan inscriptions. Our record again has one peculiarity which it shares in common with the Kālsī recension of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka. It is in regard to the letter *s* which occurs also in a form resembling *sh*. That these two forms do not mean two different letters in our inscription, namely *s* and *sh*, is quite certain. The word *samagiyānam* occurs twice, once in l 1 and once in l 3 and whereas the first letter in the first case is a clear *s* it has the form of *sh* in the second. There can however be no doubt as to *samagiyānam* being the word intended. The *sh*-looking letter must therefore be regarded as a cursive form of *s* and has consequently to be read as *s*, and not *sh*. Similarly in regard to *sulāhite* (l 2) and *su-atyāyikāsi* (l 5), the first letter in each one of these words is evidently *su*, but whereas the former character is distinctly *s*, the latter looks like *sh*. This *sh* like form is noticeable, as remarked above, in the Kālsī copy of Aśokan Rock Edicts. Up till and including Rock Edict IX, the regular form of *s* is alone noticeable. In Rock Edict X the *sh* like form occurs side by side with the regular one but the former is almost invariably prevalent in the subsequent Edicts. Perhaps Hultzsch is not right in reading it invariably as *sh* as it seems to be but a cursive form of the regular *s*.

As regards the language of our inscription, it is the same as the one used in the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka. It was the language of the Madhavadīya influenced by Māgadhi or rather the court language of Magadha. Here we have to notice the change of *i* to *l* and of the ending *o* to *e*. These are the peculiarities of Māgadhi. We have, on the other hand, the dental *s* only as in the Pillar Edicts, and not the palatal *ś* which is the third characteristic of Māgadhi according to the Prakrit grammarians. The locative singular ends in *vi*, and never in *e*. As regards Orthography, we have to note first that the doubling of consonants caused by assimilation is not graphically shown. We have also to note the constant use of the perpendicular stroke as a *viraṃa* or stop to mark the words and the clauses of the record. Instances of such upright *viraṃas* may be found in the Kālsī and Sahasrām Edicts of Aśoka though there they are sometimes inserted meaninglessly. To give one instance, Kālsī Rock Edict XIII has the following *Atha- [1a] śhā 1*



From an estampage

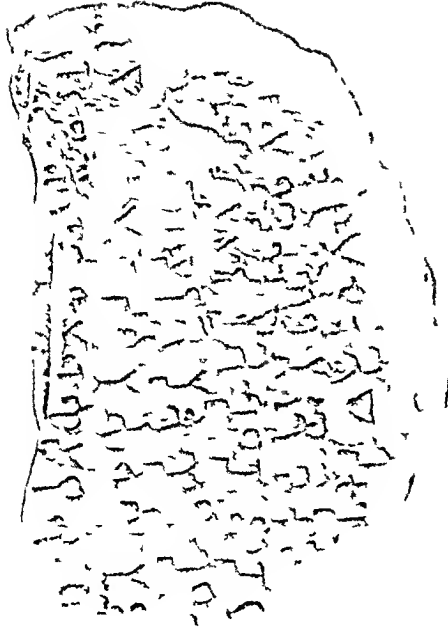


2

4

6

From a photograph



1

3

5

7

ACTUAL SIZE

SLIGHTLY LARGER THAN ACTUAL SIZE

*bhūṣita-* | *sha* [De] | *anampiyasha Piyadashine* | *lāṇne* | (Hultsch, *C I I*, Vol I, p 45) In our inscription, however, it seems to have been properly employed to punctuate divisions or sentences

The transcript of our record is as follows —

- 1 *nenā* *Sa*[m\*]*va*[m\*]*giy[ā]nam* [*Galadanasa*] | *Dumadina*-[*mahā\**]
- 2 *māte* | *sulakhite* *Pudanagalate* | *e[ta]m*
- 3 [*m\**]*va**hiṇṇaṣaṭi* | *Samva*[m\*]*gīvānam* [*cha* *dī\**]*ne* [*tathā\**]
- 4 [*dhā\**]*myam* | *nivahisaṭi* | *da*[m\*]*g[ā\*]ṭiyāy[ī\*]h[e]* *d[evā\*]-*
- 5 [*tiyā\**]*[yī]kasi* | *su-atīyāyika[sī]* *pī* | *gamda*[*kehu\**]
- 6 [*dhām\**]*[yī]kelu* *esa* *kothāgāle* *kosam* [*bhara\**]-
- 7 [*nī* *e*]

We have seen that the inscription is a fragmentary one. We cannot therefore entirely do without some amount of conjecture while interpreting it. The record, however, can be treated best by considering it line by line and word by word. The fragment begins with the two letters *nenā*. The word originally must have been either *sāsanena* or *vachanena*, more probably the former. If we carefully examine l 1, at the most one letter could have preceded *nenā* with which our fragment opens. Thus whether this word was *sāsanena* or *vachanena*, the first letter of it could not have been engraved in the present l 1 of the fragment but rather in the line preceding it which has now been lost. Similarly, the words [*sāsa\**]*nenā Sa*[m\*]*va*[m\*]*giy[ā]nam* [*Galadanasa*], punctuated by the *virāma* of l 1, make no complete sense as they stand. They surely must have been preceded by some words in the line previous which is now broken and which told us what was the exact nature of the *sāsana* and who the ruler was that issued it.

The next word is *Saivagīyānam*, as it stands. The same word occurs in l 3 as *Samvagīyānam*, where the *anusvāra* after *sa* is distinct. The word may be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Samvagiya-nām*, which, however, yields no good sense. It may stand for *vagiya-nām*, 'of the class-fellows, or the clansmen', with *sam* prefixed to it. But this prefix *sam* remains meaningless and inappropriate. Besides, what is meant by saying that something was given by *sāsana* to 'Galadana of the clansmen'? Who were these clansmen? Why is their name not specified? It will be better to insert another *anusvāra* this time after *va*, and read the whole word as *Samvamgiyānam*, 'of the Samvamgiya (tribe)'. The insertion of an *anusvāra* after *va* cannot be unjustifiable in view also of the fact that in l 2 we have *Pudanagalate*, which obviously stands for *Pumdanagalate*. That *Vamgiya* is, like the *Vajjis*, the name of a tribe can scarcely be doubted. And just as the confederation of the different *Vajjī* clans is sometimes called *Samvaggi*, it is not impossible that the various *Vanga* clans were similarly summed up under the name *Samvamgiya*. We shall dilate upon this point later, but what we have here to note is that the second word in l 1 is in all likelihood intended for *Samvamgiyānām* which yields good sense and which can also be read as such, having regard to the fact that in old inscriptions an *anusvāra* is not unfrequently omitted.

The third word in l 1 cannot be read with certainty as the upper part of its letters is damaged. It reads like *Galadanasa*=(*Sh*) *Galārdanasya*. It seems that *Galadana* was a leader or chief of the *Samvamgiyas*, to whom something was granted by *sāsana*. The next word, though a little damaged, is pretty certain and reads *Dumadina*. Then followed two letters, the first of which is partially preserved and the second completely lost. Thus first is either *s* or *m*. These two letters together with the first two, namely, *māte*, of the second line formed one word which is marked by a *virāma*. Thus the letters intervening between this and the preceding *virāma* may be read either as *Dumadina*[*sa*] (*a*)*māte* or *Dumadina-mahāmāte*. The former alternative is less preferable, because the force of *sa* after *Dumadina* is undetermined. Is it a genitive termination, or a part of an individual's name, whatever that may mean? If the former is the case, it makes no

sense. If the latter is the case, according to the language of the record we should have expected *Dumadimase* = *Dumadimese* = *Dumadimāsah*. Thirdly, *amāle* cannot here be equivalent to *amātyā* which in this inscription would run into *amātye*. All things considered it is safer to accept the second alternative, and read the two words together as *Dumadina mahāmāle* 'the Mahāmātra (called) Dumadina'."

The next letters of the second line placed between two *māmas* can be read without doubt as *sulalāte Pu[m\*]ḍanagalate*. There can similarly be no doubt as to *Pu[m\*]ḍanagalate* standing for the Sanskrit *Pundranagatala*, "from Pundranagara." The change of the Sanskrit *tā* (= *tal*) into *te* need not puzzle us. It may be compared to *Leante* and *Laḥasāte* of Dhauh Separate Rock I dist I (Sections AA and BB in II 2) f. of Hultzsch's *Isola Inscriptions*. But what does *sulalāte* mean? Here too the ending *te* must be equal to *tā* (= *tal*). But what about *sulalā*? Does it stand for *sulalā-shi(n)* or for *sulalā-shma(la)*? The latter will suit excellently. The next clause indicated by the *māmas* contains the two words *{ta}p {m}pāhāpaysati* = *clām vir-āhāpeshyati* will cause it to be accomplished. The word *clām* here in all likelihood refers to the *sāsana* or grant which must have been specified in the first general line, which has now been obliterated. What the exact nature of this grant was we do not know. But we will hazard a conjecture about it when we come to treat of the ending portion of our epigraph.

The next clause is rather difficult to handle. The first word, however, can be read with certainty. It is *Samu[m\*]ḡyānam*. The letter following is either *r* or *ch*. The next letter is lost, but the third is most probably *m*. This last seems to have been followed by two letters which are now lost. The last word of this clause is *dhānyam*, which occurs in I f. No letter seems to have preceded it in this line at least as remarked above. *Dhānyam* may thus be taken as one word and as equivalent to *dhānyam* = paddy. The whole clause may perhaps be restored to *Samu[m\*]ḡyānam [cha] [dī\*]ne [tathā\*] dhānyam* and likewise paddy has been granted to the Samvāngīvas."

The letters intervening between the next two *māmas* read *virahisati*, which does not form a clause but is one word, so that we have to take it along with what is placed in the next pair of *māmas*. This last comprises letters, some of which have been destroyed and baffle well nigh all ingenuity in restoration. It consists of two words, the first of which is pretty certain, namely, *dagatīyā[ī]le*. The other word also ends with *tiyāpāsi* of which *tiyāsi* is to be found in the next line, i e, I 5. *Tiyāsi* must have been preceded by *yā* in the same line, though it is now effaced. The remaining *ti* must have been engraved in the preceding line and formed the ending letter of that line. Before this *ti* there must have been two letters, of which one only has been partially preserved. This last looks like *d* and comes immediately after the word *dagatīyā[ī]le*, noted above. But in the case of this letter the joining bar between the two uprights of *d* is very narrow and not as broad as that of *d* in *Pu[m\*]ḡanagalate* in I 2, or in *ganu[m\*]lā[ā\*]* in I 5. Possibly, what looks like *d* is the preserved portion of *d*, and this word may perhaps be restored to *d[erā]tyā[ī]kasi*. The whole may thus read *virahisati dā[m\*]ḡ[ī\*]yāy[ī\*]l[ī] d[erā]tyā[ī\*]y[ī]kasi* (*virahishyatī dāmagātyāyikam dāntīyāyikā*) and may be translated as follows: "the excess (*atīyā-ṇika*) (of adversity) to the town (*dānga*) during the excess (caused) by the superhuman agency will be tided over." It seems that there is a reference here to a *dāntīyāyā*, that is, to a transgression or adversity caused by the gods or superhuman agents. Further, it seems that this *atīyāyā* had overtaken the *dānga* of the Samvāngīvas. This *dānga* may be Pundranagara itself or some place not far removed from it where the Samvāngīvas were settled. Thirdly, it seems that one measure that was devised to combat this adversity was the doling out of *dhānya* or paddy. This shows that the *dāntīyāyā* that had befallen the Samvāngīvas must have been no other than a famine.

The next batch of interpunctuated letters is *su-atīyāyikāṣi pi*. But these two words by themselves do not form a clause, and have therefore to be taken along with those that follow. Of these only *gamda* has been preserved in l 5. At least two more were originally inscribed in this line, but they have now been destroyed. The next line, which is the last preserved one, has lost at least two letters at the beginning and three at the end, but those that have been preserved can be clearly read as *[y]īkheṣa koṭhāgāle losam*. The lacunae may be tentatively filled up as follows *gamda[leḥi\*] [dhāni\*]yīkheṣa koṭhāgāle losam [bhāniye\*]*. The whole may thus be rendered into English "when there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury may be replenished with paddy and the *gamdalas*". Here two things are mentioned, (1) *loṭhāgāle*=*koṭhāgāṇam*=granary, and (2) *losa*=*kosa*=treasury. Corresponding to *kosa* we have the mention of *gamdala*, which means "a coin of the value of four cowries". The *yīkheṣa*, with which the last line begins, can thus be easily restored to *[dhāni\*]yīkheṣa*=*dhānyakāṣa*, as it corresponds to *loṭhāgāle* and as we know it has already been mentioned as being distributed among the Samvāṅgīyas. What we have thus to understand here is that as soon as the time of superabundance returned, they were to remit *gamdala* coins into the royal treasury and paddy into the royal granary.

LI 3-4 refer to the doling out of paddy to these people. It is thus perfectly intelligible why at the end of the record they have been asked to return the corn. But why should there be any mention of *gamdala* coins at all at this place, as they have not been referred to above? Were the *gamdala* coins anywhere mentioned as being distributed among the Samvāṅgīyas which they were expected to pay back into the treasury with the return of prosperity? We have said above that the first original line of this inscription has been lost, which told us about the nature of the *āsana* granted to Galadana (Galārdana) of the Samvāṅgīyas, who is mentioned in l 1 of the preserved portion. And it is not at all unreasonable to surmise that this *āsana* referred to the *gamdala* coins which were handed over to Galadana for disbursement among the Samvāṅgīyas and which they were asked to refund as soon as the day of plenty dawned upon them.

The inscription may thus be briefly summed up as follows. It appears that some ruler of the Mauryan period, if not of the Mauryan family, had issued an order to the Mahāmātra stationed at Pundranagara with a view to relieve the distress caused, apparently, by famine to the people called Samvāṅgīyas, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures appear to have been adopted to meet this contingency. The exact nature of the first is not clear as the first original line of our record has not been preserved. But it may be surmised that this measure consisted of the advance of a loan in *gamdala* coins to Galadana who, presumably, was a leader of the Samvāṅgīyas. The Mahāmātra of Pundranagara was entrusted with the execution of this order. The second measure consisted of the distribution of *dhānya* or paddy from the granary. A wish is then expressed that as soon as these measures are carried out, the Samvāṅgīyas will be able to tide over the calamity. With the restoration of profusion and affluence they have been asked to return the coins to the treasury and the corn to the granary, in other words, to pay the State back in kind and cash.

We may therefore translate the text as follows —

"To Galadana (Galārdana) of the Samvāṅgīyas (was granted) by order. The Mahāmātra from the highly auspicious Pundranagara will cause it to be carried out (And likewise) paddy has been granted to the Samvāṅgīyas. The outbreak (of distress) in the town during (this) outburst of superhuman agency shall be tided over. When there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury (may be replenished) with paddy and the *gamdala* coins."

We now turn to other matters revealed by the critical consideration of our epigraph. The inscription stone, Mr Chandra told me, was originally picked up near a tank not far removed

sense. If the latter is the case, according to the language of the record we should have expected *Dumadinuse* = *Dumadinuse* = *Dumadinusa*. Thirdly *amū* cannot here be equivalent to *amūṭa* which in this inscription would run into *amūṭa*. All things considered it is safer to accept the second alternative, and read the two words together as *Dumadina mahāmū* = the Mahāmūtra (called) Dumadina."

The next letters of the second line placed between two *virāmas* can be read without doubt as *sulakhite Pu[m]danagalate*. There can similarly be no doubt as to *Pu[m]danagalate* standing for the Sanskrit *Pundranagatala*, "from Pundranagara." The change of the Sandrit *tā(-tā)* into *te* need not puzzle us. It may be compared to *Upate* and *Lakhsātē* of Dhanu Sripate Rock I dist I (Sections AA and BB in pl. 234 of *Hultzsch's Inscriptions*). But what does *sulakhite* mean? Here too the ending *te* must be equal to *tā(-tā)*. But what about *sulāhi*? Does it stand for *sulāhi(v)*, or for *sulāhi(m)*? Either will suit excellently. The next clause indicated by the *virāmas* contains the two words *āṭṭam* [*ap*] *dhānyasā* = *amara rāhapa hyati* will cause it to be accomplished. The word *am* here in all likelihood refers to the *āsana* or grant which must have been specified in the first given line, which has now been obliterated. What the exact nature of this grant was we do not know. But we will hazard a conjecture about it when we come to treat of the ending portion of our epigraph.

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The letters intervening between the next two *virāmas* read *mrakṣate* which does not form a clause but is one word, so that we have to take it along with what is placed in the next pair of *virāmas*. This last comprises letters some of which have been destroyed and hence well nigh all ingenuity in restoration. It consists of two words, the first of which is pretty certain, namely, *dagatīyā[ī]ṭe*. The other word also ends with *tyāṭe* of which *ṣaka* is to be found in the next line in l. 5. *Ṭaṣi* must have been preceded by *ṣi* in the same line though it is now effaced. The remaining *ti* must have been engraved in the preceding line and formed the ending letter of that line. Before this *ti* there must have been two letters, of which one only has been partially preserved. This last looks like *d* and comes immediately after the word *dagatīyā[ī]ṭe*, noted above. But in the case of this letter the joining bar between the two upstrokes of *d* is very narrow and not as broad as that of *d* in *Pu[m\*]danagalate* in l. 2 or in *gudde[ṭa\*]* in l. 5. Possibly, what looks like *d* is the preserved portion of *ḍ*, and this word may perhaps be restored to *ḍ[evātyā]ṣaka*. The whole may thus read *mrakṣate da[m\*]ṣ[ā\*]ṣatyā[ī]ṭe* *ḍ[evātyā\*]ṣaṣi* (*mrakṣatyāt dāmagātyāṣam dāṇītyāṣi*) and may be translated as follows: "the excess (*atyāṣaka*) (of adversity) to the town (*dāmagā*) during the excess (caused) by the superhuman agency will be tidied over." It seems that there is a reference here to a *dāṇītyāṣa* that is, to a transgression or adversity caused by the gods or superhuman agents. Further, it seems that this *atyāṣa* had overtaken the *dāmagā* of the Samvaṅgīas. This *dāmagā* may be Pundranagara itself or some place not far removed from it where the Samvaṅgīas were settled. Thirdly, it seems that one measure that was devised to combat this adversity was the doling out of *dhānya* or paddy. This shows that the *dāṇītyāṣa* that had befallen the Samvaṅgīas must have been no other than a famine.

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Ll 3-4 refer to the doling out of paddy to these people. It is thus perfectly intelligible why at the end of the record they have been asked to return the corn. But why should there be any mention of *gamdaka* coins at all at this place, as they have not been referred to above? Were the *gamdaka* coins anywhere mentioned as being distributed among the Samvāṅgīyas which they were expected to pay back into the treasury with the return of prosperity? We have said above that the first original line of this inscription has been lost, which told us about the nature of the *sāsana* granted to Galadana (Galārdana) of the Samvāṅgīyas, who is mentioned in l 1 of the preserved portion. And it is not at all unreasonable to surmise that this *sāsana* referred to the *gamdaka* coins which were handed over to Galadana for disbursement among the Samvāṅgīyas and which they were asked to refund as soon as the day of plenty dawned upon them.

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We now turn to other matters revealed by the critical consideration of our epigraph. The inscription stone, Mr Chandra told me, was originally picked up near a tank not far removed



from a high mound, where excavations were being conducted and which is presumed to contain the remains of a *stūpa*. Whether any characteristic parts of a *stūpa* were recovered in this work of exploration is not known. I am informed that no such definite results have been achieved. On the other hand, we have to note that the words *esa lothāgūle* occur in the last line. The word *esa* shows that the stone plaque was originally stuck into the granary itself from which paddy was doled out. And if our inscription stone, when it was discovered, was lying not far from its original place, the monument which is being cleared of debris at present may after all turn out to be, not a *stūpa*, but the royal granary into which the plaque was originally fixed.

Our historical gain from a critical study of this record is by no means inconsiderable. In the first place, it places beyond all doubt the identification of Pundravardhana with Mahāsthān, which was proposed by Cunningham half a century ago. In his account of Bhasu Bihar, four miles to the west of Mahāsthān, he remarks that the Buddhist remains at that place corresponded both in description and position with those noted by Hsuan Chwang at the *Po ship p'o* monastery, which was situated just twenty li or four miles to the west of the capital of the country of *Pun-na-fa tan-na* which transcribed itself into Pundravardhana but is intended for Pundravardhana.<sup>1</sup> "This city," says Cunningham, "the pilgrim places at 600 li, or 100 miles, to the east of the Ganges, near Rājmahal. Now, this description corresponds exactly with the relative positions of Rājmahal and Mahāsthān, the latter being just 100 miles to the east of the former."<sup>2</sup> The suggestion of Cunningham was shortly thereafter confirmed by the *Karatōyā māhātmya*, which was first published forty years ago. This *Māhātmya* mentions many holy spots which are all found at present in Mahāsthān. But the *Māhātmya*, though it calls itself *Karatōyā-māhātmya*, purports to describe the sacred sites of Pundra or Paundravardhana kshētra. It is thus evident from it that the present Mahāsthān is identical with the old Pundravardhana. Now, Mr Prabhas Chandra Sen, who has edited the *Māhātmya* for the second time and for the Varendra Research Society, rightly points out that one verse from it is cited by Sarvāmānda (1159 A D) in his *Tilā-sarvasya* on the *Imarakōsha* and two in the *Smṛticandrikā* by Dīvanabhatta who is himself quoted by Hcīmūdrī (12th century).<sup>3</sup> This shows that the *Karatōyā māhātmya* is a composition which could not have been later than 1100 A D. We may thus take it that the identity of Mahāsthān with Pundravardhana was known before the twelfth century A D. But this identity is now placed beyond all doubt by what our inscription tells us. It tells us that two remedial measures to alleviate the distress of a famine were contemplated and that the Mahāmātra of Pundranagara was charged with the execution of them. One of these measures consisted in the distribution of paddy from the royal granary, which, as shown above, must have been situated in Mahāsthān itself as the inscription speaks of it as *esa lothāgūle*. As the *lothāgūle* was thus in Mahāsthān and as the Officer who was to dole out paddy from it to the Samvāngīyas was the Mahāmātra of Pundranagara, it is quite clear that Mahāsthān is identical with Pundranagara. And this identity between the two is now established by evidence not of the twelfth century A D to which the *Māhātmya* belongs, but of the fourth B C to which our record has to be assigned.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in Ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. In this connection one is reminded of what Kautilya says in his *Arthasāstra*—*\*durbhikṣhē rājā bīja-bhakti-ōpagraham kṛti = ānugraham kuryāt. Duṛga-sētu-lama iā bhakti-ānugrahēna, bhakta samutbhāgam iā,* 'During a famine, the king may show favour by giving *gratis* seeds (*bīja*) and food (*bhakta*). Either he (may carry out) work in forts and on dams with the distribution of food, or he may distribute food *gratis* (without exacting work).'" It will be seen from this passage that the state in ancient times

<sup>1</sup> Watter's *On Hsuan Chwang*, Vol II, pp 184-5

<sup>2</sup> *A S I R*, Vol XV, p 110

<sup>3</sup> *Varendra Res Soc's Monograph*, No 2, p 25

encountered the contingency of famine either by starting works of public utility or by a free distribution of food. Neither of these, however, seems to be adverted to in our inscription. There is absolutely no mention of any public work being started in the interest of the famine-stricken people in Pundranagara. Mention is no doubt made of the distribution of paddy, but this paddy seems to have been given neither *gratis* nor in lieu of any work in the fort or on an embankment but on the distinct understanding that it shall be returned to the State District Granary as soon as the days of plenty and prosperity were restored. Here again what was given to the Samvagrīyas was not *annam* or boiled rice, but rather *dhūnyam* which is unhusked rice. This paddy obviously must have been used as seed for sowing operations and, also, when husked, must have served the purpose of food. It may now be asked: Why money was at all distributed among the Samvagrīyas? In this connection we have to remember that in East Bengal where nature is so plentiful a famine can take place only through the inundation of a river. Mahāsthīn or Pundranagara is situated on a river, namely, the Karatōyī. And when a town is settled on a river, the floods cause devastations not simply to the crops in the fields but also to the buildings and huts which are perched on its borders. To meet this contingency, a money grant has to be made to the people whose belongings have been washed away or seriously affected by the floods. This is perhaps the only explanation that can be given of the disbursement of *gamdaka* coins among the Samvagrīyas. What again we have to note here is that this disbursement of money and this distribution of unhusked rice were made to this people without any interest. If they had been charged with any, there would have been some reference to it in our record. Or it may be that they were tacitly understood to return the money at the usual rate of interest.

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a fortification against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is a copper-plate found at Sohagaura "about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur." This was first edited by Bühler in the *Vienna Ori Jour*, Vol X, pp 138 ff and *Ind Ant*, Vol XXV, pp 261 ff, afterwards by Fleet in *JRAS*, 1907, pp 510 ff, and lastly by Prof B M Barua in *Ann Bhand Ori Res Ins*, Vol XI, pp 32 ff. A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but two granaries. But the inscription, in spite of the fact that it has been revised thrice, has not yet been properly punctuated, read and interpreted. The last line should have been read *atīyāyikāya no gahitaya* 'nothing should be taken in excess (of plenty)'. Our record speaks of two *atīyāyikas*, one of which is *su-atīyāyika*. It is this *atīyāyika* which is probably understood at the end of the Sohagaura copper plate. Similarly, this last epigraph speaks of the granaries being stored with various provisions. In fact, if any fourth scholar makes an attempt to again revise the Sohagaura inscription in the light of our record, he may be able to show that the former also is an order to some Mahāmātra, probably of Śrīvastī, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of counter-acting the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and store-houses is pretty ancient in India and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the Mahāsthīn inscription also adverts to the measures commonly employed by the state to combat the devastations caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

Let us now see what further light our record throws on the ancient history of Bengal. It is unfortunate that the first line of the inscription has not been preserved. The name of the ruler, if any was mentioned, is thus lost irretrievably. But as the alphabet and the language of our record are exactly like those of the Aśokan edicts, it is not impossible that he was a prince of the Mauryan dynasty. We have already seen that the language of this epigraph is the language of Madhyadēśa influenced by the Mīgadhi<sup>1</sup>. It was really the language of the Mauryan Court

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed consideration of this point, see D R Bhandarkar's *Aśoka* (2nd Ed) p 200 1

in Magadhā, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadśa but also over parts conterminous to it. Places like Kīlśi in the Dehra Dun District, Dhaulī in the Purī, and Jaugadā in the Ganīm District, where also the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Asoka have been found, were never included in Madhyadśa, and yet we notice that these recensions are couched in the Madhyadśa-Magadhī dialect which had become the *lingua franca* of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this *lingua franca* had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the third century B C as our inscription conclusively proves it. It is true that Brahmanism took a long long time to spread over Bengal. In fact, there is no evidence to show that Brahmanism had any firm hold over this province earlier than the Gupta period. The *Ātarēya-Bṛāhmana*, no doubt, speaks of the sage Viśvāmītra as having adopted Śunahśēpa as his son and caused much chagrin to the first fifty of his hundred sons, who were therefore cursed by him "to live on the borders of the Aryan country."<sup>1</sup> The descendants of these exiled sons of Viśvāmītra, we are further informed, formed the greater bulk of the Dasys, and one of these Dasyu tribes specified in the Bṛāhmana was the Pundras, who at that time must have been settled round about Māhāsthān and can be still recognised in the Pūros, an aboriginal caste in Bengal.<sup>2</sup> The utmost that this tradition mentioned in the *Ātarēya-Bṛāhmana* indicates is that some scions of the Viśvāmītra family carved tiny kingdoms in the countries of the alien tribes. This does not, however, show that Aryan culture had spread to the Pundra or any other country, far less imbibed by the people there. The Aryan culture seems for the first time to have been disseminated in Ancient Bengal by the Jainas. This is clear from the fact that the Kalpasūtra, an ancient scripture of the Jainas, mentions, not one, but three *śākhās*, of the Godāsa Gana of Jaina monks, named after the three places in Ancient Bengal, namely, Tāmarahpti, Kōtivarsha and Pundravardhana. Of these Tāmarahpti is the same as Tamruk in the Midnapur, Kōtivarsha, the same as Bāngarh in the Dinājpur, and Pundravardhana, the same as Māhāsthān in the Bogrā District of Bengal. It is curious to note that while Bihār and Kosalā were taken up by the Buddha and his adherents, Bengal was selected by Mahāvīra and his followers for their proselytising activities. It is true that no traces of this original Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late as the middle of the seventh century A D the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgrantha Jainas being numerous in Pundravardhana. Very recently a copper-plate charter was discovered during excavation at Pāhārpur in Bengal, which is dated G E 159=477 A D and registers a grant for the worship of Arhats at a Vihāra situated not far from this place and presided over by the disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor Guhanandin.<sup>3</sup> No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Jainism, especially Nirgranthism, having been prevalent in Bengal up till the 7th century A D. And it is these Jainas settled in Tāmarahpti, Kōtivarsha and Pundravardhana, who for the first time and in the pre-Mauryan period appear to have carried Aryan culture to ancient Bengal. This, however, at the most, may explain the employment of the Brāhmī alphabet in our inscription, but the use of the court language of Pitaliputra is a clear indication of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have now to consider is—Who were the Samvāmgīyas, supposing that was the name really intended? Samvāmgīyas in the first place reminds us of Samvājī. We know that to the account of *Fu-li-chih* (=Vijai) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the commentator, saying that "*Fu-li-chi* was in 'North India', and the north people called it the *Sam fa-chih* (or Samvājī) country."<sup>4</sup> On this point Beal makes the following per-

<sup>1</sup> I or a full discussion of this subject, see *Ann Bhand Ori Res Inet*, Vol XII, pp 104 ff

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that the Pundras of even so late a period as that of the Purānas are placed in Chhota Nagpur in *Cambridge Hist of Ind*, Vol I, p 317 and Map 5

<sup>3</sup> *Alore*, Vol XX, pp 61 ff

<sup>4</sup> Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol II, p 81

minent comment 'The country of the Vrijjīs or Samvrijjīs, i.e., united Vrijjīs, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vrijjīs or Vajjīs, one of which, viz., that of the Licchavis dwelt at Vaisālī' <sup>1</sup>. Just as the eight confederate clans of whom the Vajjīs were once the most important were called collectively the Samvajjīs or the United Vajjīs, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that there were some confederate clans in East Bengal who were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of Samvangīyas. This shows that the most prominent of these at the beginning was the Vangīyas, after whom the confederation was styled the Samvangīyas or the United Vangīyas. The second point to be noted here is that the people of East Bengal are now called Vangas, and it may be asked where was the necessity of coming a name which is an obvious derivative from it, namely, Vangīya. If we now turn to the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purānas* and study the chapters dealing with *Bhuvana-vinyāsa*, we find that they mention the two allied clans, Prāvangas and Vangīyas. But be it noted that there is none which has been called Vanga. Secondly, the second of these names, namely, Vangīya comes so close to the Vangīya of our inscription, that our inscription being earlier than any one of these *Purānas* and being a genuine record of its time, Vangīya must doubtless be considered to be the original name, and the reading Vangīya of the *Purānas* thus becomes a corrupt form of it. Again, the fact that Prāvangas are coupled with Vangīyas (wrongly called Vangīyas) in these early *Purānas* shows that they were confederated clans and fell under the Samvangīyas. And further the reference to the Samvangīyas in connection with Pundranagara goes to indicate that the Pundras also belonged to the Samvangīya confederacy. And just as in the time of the Buddha the capital of the Samvajjī confederacy was Vesālī which was the headquarters not of the Vajjīs but of the Licchavis who were then prominent, it seems that in the time of our inscription the capital of the Samvangīyas was Pundranagara, which was the headquarters, not of the Vangīyas but of the Pundras after whom it was undoubtedly called Pundranagara.

## No 15 —JUBBULPORE KOTWALI PLATES OF KING JAYASIMHADEVA KALACHURI YEAR 918

By RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A., KATNI

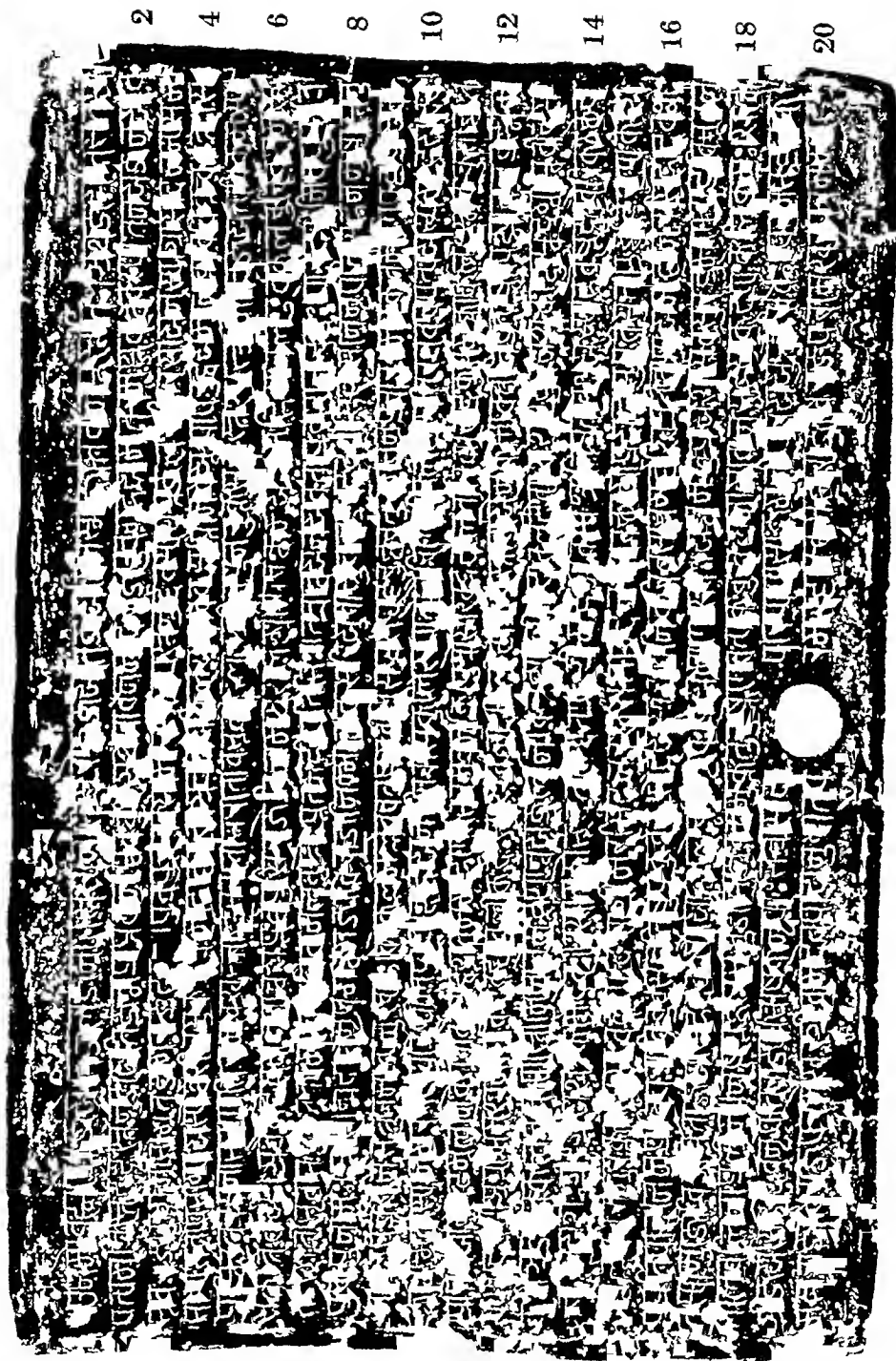
While digging for the foundations of a new Kotwali building at Jubbulpore two copper-plates were found in a stone box and were, in the ordinary course, sent over to the District Superintendent of Police, Mr A. G. Scott, who gave them to me for decipherment. The letters were so thickly covered with accretions of ages that they were not visible except a few here and there. The crust had become exceedingly hard and could not be removed locally. I, therefore, sought the aid of the Archæological Chemist through the Director General of Archæology in India with the result that Mr Mohammad Sana Ullah, M.Sc., F.C.S., thoroughly cleaned the plates without injuring any letters, but he could not help where the copper had corroded. Thus many letters, especially in the first plate, have been damaged, as would appear from the accompanying plate. The original plates are now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum. The first plate gives the genealogy of the donor in verses many of which are common to other records of the family. The second records the grant and also gives the usual imprecatory and benedictive stanzas.

The plates measure 14' × 9½", each weighing 6 lbs. There are altogether 40 lines in the record, 20 on each plate, both of which are written on one side. It appears that the writer did not care

<sup>1</sup> *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 77, n. 100

- 3 भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडोगराजहस. ॥ [२ ॥] पुन पुरुवसमौरसमाप  
सूनुर्वस्य सप्तजलराशिरसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसम-
- 4 भागशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्वशी च सुकालनमिहोर्वशी च ॥ [३ ॥\*]  
अत्रान्वये किल [शता]धिकसप्तमेधयूपोपश्रयसुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्तिः । स-
- 5 ताव्वि[स्वि]रत्नरसनाभरणामिरामविश्वभराशुभरतो भरतो व[व]भूव ॥ [४ ॥\*]  
हेला[गृहीत]पुनरुक्तस[स]स्तशस्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य
- 6 स कार्तवीर्य. । अत्रै[व] हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्वपुसि राजेति नाम शशलक्ष्मणि  
चक्षमे य ॥ [५ ॥] [स] हि[माच]ल इव कलसुरिवंशमसू-
- 7 त जगतीभृता भर्त्ता ।] सुक्तामणि[मि]रिवोमलहत्तै. पूत महीपति-  
मि. ॥ [६ ॥\*] तत्रान्वये नयवता प्रवरो [नरेन्द्रः] पौरंद[री]मिव  
पुरी त्रि-
- 8 पुरी पुनोन । आसीन्मदान्वनृपगन्धगजाधिराजनिर्मायकोसरियुवा युवराज-  
देवः ॥ [७ ॥\*] सि[हा]सने नृपतिसिंहममुप्यसूनु-
- 9 [माहुर]पन्नवनिमर्तुरमात्यमुख्या । कोकलमर्षवच[तुष्टय]वी[चि]संधसंधदृष्ट[द्व]चतु-  
[रंग]चमूपचारं ॥ [८ ॥\*] सरकातमणिपदप्रौढव-
- 10 चा [स्मिता]क्षो नगर[परि]चदैर्घ्यं लघयन्दोर्वयेन[ । शिरसि] कुलिश-  
पातो वैरि[णा वी]रलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥ [९ ॥\*]-
- 11 प्राप्ते [प्रयागव]टभूल[नि]वेश[व[व]न्धौ सार्धं] शतेन गृहि[णोमि] रमुच मुक्तिं ।  
पुत्रोस्य खड्गदलितारिकारीद्रकुंभमुक्ताफलैः [स्म] ककुभोर्वति
- 12 [कर्ण]देव ॥ [१० ॥\*] अथ [घा]म अ[यसो] वे[दवि]द्याव-  
[क्ली]क[न्द. स्वःस्रवंत्याः] किरीटं । [व्र(व्र)ह्मस्तम्भो] येन [कर्ण]-  
वतीति प्रत्यक्षा[पि] ज्ञात[ल]व्र(व्र)ह्मलो-
- 13 कः ॥ [११ ॥\*] अ [जनि] क[लसुरी]णा स्वामिना तेन हृणा-  
न्वयजलनिधि[लक्ष्म्या श्रीमदा]वसदेव्या । श[शमृदुदय]शङ्काक्षुब्ध[स्व]-  
दुग्धाव्वि[स्वि]वीचीस
- 14 ह च[रित]रशःश्री. [श्री] य[शःकर्ण]देवः ॥ [१२ ॥\*] [तस्यात्मजो]-  
भूद[तुलप्रतापः] श्रीमद्वयाकर्ण इति प्रतीत. - । यस्याहवेधूषतवैरि-  
कठ(काण्ठ)च्छेदा-

*First Plate*



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Of

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Second Plate SECOND SIDE

Second

- 15 स्र[पूर्णेव ध]रानुरक्ता ॥ [१३ ॥<sup>५</sup>] असावल्लह्यदेव्या श्रीनरसिंहनरे-  
श्वर । सवेदन[मि]वेष्ट्याया प्रयत्न सुधुवे सुत ॥ [१४ ॥<sup>५</sup>]  
उच्चैर्हिरण्यकाशि-
- 16 प प्रतिपादनेन प्रीति परा विवु(वु)धसं[ह]तिषु प्रकुर्व्व[न्] । सौदर्यसार-  
विनिवारितसारगर्व्वश्चित्र तथाप्ययमहो नरसिंहदेव. ॥ [१५ ॥<sup>५</sup>]
- 17 तस्यानुजो विजयता जयसिंहदेव' शौर्योऽप्यलैरपि नृपैः क्रियमाणसेवः ।  
यद्दामनुसयशसेव सुरद्रुमेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-
- 18 तले व(व)लिना प्रलीन ॥ [१६ ॥<sup>५</sup>] नष्टं गुर्जरभूभुजा भुजव(व)लं सुतं  
तुरष्केण च त्यक्तं कुतलश्रासकेन सहसा कदर्थकलिक्रमः । श्रुत्वा
- 19 श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेराज्याभिषेक नृपाः सत्तासादपरिप्यपास्य जगती पारं ययु-  
र्व्वारिधे. ॥ [१७ ॥<sup>५</sup>] परममद्वारका-
- 20 महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यात परममद्वारका महाराजाधिराज-  
परमेश्वर परममाहे-

*Second Plate, first side*

- 21 श्वर त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति निजभुजोपार्जिताश्वपति गजपति नरपति राजनयाधि-  
पति श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव एते विजयि-
- 2 नः ॥ महाराज्ञी श्री केशवदेवी । महाराजपुत्र । महासात्य । श्री-  
मद्राजगुरु विमलशिव । महापुरोहित । धर्मप्रधान
- 23 प । श्रीराधव । महाप्रवानार्थलेखि ठकुर<sup>१</sup> श्रीदशभूलिक । सांघि-  
विग्रहिक ठकुर श्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्रतीहार श्रीकमलसिंह ॥
- 24 दुष्टसाध्य श्रीपद्मसिंह । महासामन्त । अक्षपटलिक । प्रमत्तवार ।  
अश्वसाधनिक । भाडागारिक । इत्येतानन्यांश्च प्रदास्यमा-
- 25 न ग्रामनिवासि जनपदाश्चाह्वय ययार्हं मोनयन्ति वो(वो)धयति समाज्ञापयन्ति च ।  
विदितमस्तु भवताम् । सवत् ८१८ आश्व-
- 26 न सुदि पौर्णमास्या तिथौ स(श)निदिने त्रिपुर्या सोमग्रहणे रेवायां  
विधिवत्त्वात्वा श्रीमहादेवं समम्यर्च्य मातापिनी-
- 27 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिद्वष्टये अश्वरौदसमीपे अग्रा ग्राम स्वसोमापय्यंतश्चतुरा-  
धाटविशुद्ध. सगोप्रचार. ।
- 28 सजलस्थल. साम्प्रमधूका. सलवणाकारः सगर्तोषिर सनिर्गमप्रवेशः सजाङ्ग-  
लानूपो वृक्षारामोद्भिदोद्या-
- 29 नट्यादिसन्धित. सनदीपर्वत. भागकार प्रवण्णिवाड चरी रसवती कामंत  
विसेण्णिमादाय पदकिलादाय दुःसाध्यादा-

<sup>1</sup> The name of Vatsarāja seems to have been omitted here through oversight or modesty, Vatsarāja being himself the writer of the charter as mentioned below, l 40 of the text



- 30 य विपयिकादायादिहात करिष्यामाणादाय सत् अगस्त्यगोत्राय त्रिप्रवणाय  
पडित श्रीदामोदरपुत्राय पडित श्रीदेवदत्त-  
31 गम्भीरे ब्राह्मणेनोदकपूर्वकत्वेन शासनोक्त्य प्रदत्त ॥ गन चाभ्ययना  
दातुर्भवति यथा ॥ सर्वान्निताग्भाविन पात्रिये-  
32 न्दानभूयो भूयो याचते गमभट्ट । सामान्योय धर्मभेदुद्गृह्णान्पाणा  
काले काले पालनीयो भवन्ति ॥ [१८ ॥] वच/रुभिर्ध्वम्धा भुक्ता  
राज-  
33 भि मगरादिभि । यस्य यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्य स्र तस्य तदा फल ॥ १८ ॥  
सुवर्णमेक शर्मका भूमिस्तस्य स्र तस्य तदा फल ॥ १८ ॥  
34 दामृतमपय ॥ [२० ॥] तज्जगता मन्त्रेण अस्मिन्धर्मेन च । गवा  
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिर्त्ता न श्रव्यति ॥ [२१ ॥] स्रदत्ता परदत्ता  
वा यो रस्त व-  
35 मुत्तरा । स विद्याया कर्मभूत्वा पितृभि मन्त्र मञ्जति ॥ [२२ ॥]  
पष्टि वर्षमज्ञाणि स्वर्ग पतति भूमिद । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च  
तान्ये-  
36 व नरके वसेत् ॥ [२३ ॥] वारिजीनस्वरगेषु शुष्ककोटरवासिन ।  
क्षयमर्प्यान्तु जायन्ते देवप्रान्न/धर्मचारिण ॥ [२४ ॥] अन्यायिन  
37 हता भूमिन्यायेन तु चारिता ॥ रस्तो रायतय दत्त्वात्मम  
कुल ॥ [२५ ॥] भूमि य प्रतिगृह्णाति यन भूमि प्रयच्छ-  
38 ति । उर्ध्वा तौ पुण्यकर्मणि निवृत्त स्वर्गोत्तमिनो ॥ [२६ ॥]  
शस्त्रो भद्रासन [च] व वराग्वा वरावरगा [१] भूमिदानस्य चिह्ना-  
39 नि फलमेतत्पुरंदर ॥ [२७ ॥] अस्मिन्वर्गे परिचीर्ण य कविद्वृपति-  
र्भवेत् । तस्याह नस्तुलनोस्मि शासन न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ [२८ ॥]  
40 अभ्युपस्य पौत्रेण श्रीमद्वर्मास्य सृष्टुना । लिखित वत्सराजेन चेटोरा-  
दशभूलिना ॥ [२९ ॥] सज्जल ॥ सज्जी ॥

Second Plate, second side

- 41 सिद्धम् [॥\*] अस्य श्रीजयसिंहदेववृषते येयोगेव प्रीणयन्पूजा, शोत-  
मरीचिरचिततमैरभ्यर्चित सहुर्गे । विद्या  
42 कंदनयस्तमासि दलयन्निव्य पतिर्यज्वना भूयाद्भूतिसुखोदयाय विदुषा द्राघोवमे  
राधव. ॥ [३० ॥]  
43 श्रीकोकासवशपाण्डसुतरूपकारतोहणेनोत्कीर्ण ॥

\* Expressed by symbol as in l 1 above

## No 16 —NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF VIPULASRIMITRA

BY N G MAJUMDAR, M A, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

The stone bearing this inscription, which is now in the Museum at Nālandā in the Patna District, was recovered in two fragments from the latest stratum of Monastery No VII at Nālandā in the course of excavations carried on there in 1928-29 and 1929-30. I edit the inscription from the original stone and from a set of excellent estampages kindly furnished by Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, B A, Officiating Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle. For a number of suggestions I am indebted to Dr N P Chakravarti, M A, Ph D, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Ootacamund.

The writing, which is very neatly executed, covers a space of about  $19\frac{3}{4}$ " by  $8\frac{1}{4}$ " and consists of 15 lines. The average size of letters is  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters are a form of Nāgarī that was current in North-eastern India towards the end of the Pāla period. The only point that calls for notice is the way in which the superscript *r* is indicated, namely by a short slanting stroke attached below the *mātrā*, which, in many cases, is difficult to recognize. Palaeographically the inscription should be placed between the Gayā inscriptions of the time of Nāyapāla (cir 1030 A D)<sup>1</sup> and the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Jayachandra (cir 1183 A D)<sup>2</sup>. The record to which it bears the greatest resemblance is the Govindapur inscription of the poet Gangādhara in the Indian Museum, dated in Śaka year 1059, i e, 1137 A D<sup>3</sup>. The inscription, although not dated, may, therefore, be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the phrase *Om namō Buddhāya* at the beginning, the text is in verse throughout. There are thirteen stanzas in all, composed in a variety of metres.

The inscription calls itself a *prāsaśī* (l 15), recording the benefactions of a Buddhist ascetic named Vipulaśrimitra. It opens with an obeisance to the Buddha which is followed by a hymn (V 1) addressed to the divine Dharmachakra and Tārā. Then it tells us of an ascetic named Karunāśrimitra of Sōmapura, who went to heaven when his house was set on fire by an army of Vangāla (V 2). His disciple was Matrisrimitra (V 3) whose disciple again was Aśokaśrimitra (V 4) and Aśokaśrimitra's (disciple) was Vipulaśrimitra (V 5). Vipulaśrimitra made an offering of a casket (*mañjūṣhā*) at a temple of the god Khasarppana, for the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript and four images at its alms-houses on the occasion of a festival (V 6), carried out repairs to the monastery of *Putāmaha* (i e Buddha) at Chōyandaka, and installed an image of Jina Dīpankara (i e Dīpankara Buddha) at Harshapura (V 7). At Sōmapura, he built a temple of Tārā, with an attached court and a tank, effected the reconstruction of cells (V 8), and, evidently at the same place again, presented a gold ornament for the embellishment of a Buddha image (V 9). Lastly, he erected a monastery which he made over to the Mitrās (V 10), that is the line of ascetics to which he himself belonged. Where this monastery was erected is not stated, but there is no doubt that it was at Nālandā and identical with the building in whose *dēbris* the inscription has been discovered. In Verse 13 the eulogy is stated to have been manifested by Kanakasrī and Vacishtha, the former being apparently the composer and the latter the writer or engraver.

Of the geographical terms mentioned in the record, Chōyandaka and Harshapura are not known from any other sources and for the present remain unidentified. Sōmapura is identical

<sup>1</sup> *Mem A S B*, Vol V, No 3, Pls XXV and XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Pl XXVII and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol V (1929), p 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol II, p 330.

with the place of that name occurring in the inscription *Śrī Sōmapurī Śrī Dharmmapāladīva-mahāvihārē*, etc, on certain terracotta sealings<sup>1</sup> discovered by Mr K N Dikshit in his excavations at Pāhārpur in the Rājshāhi District of Bengal. According to the evidence of the sealings, there was a monastery named after the Pala king Dharmmapāla at Sōmapura which has been identified by Mr Dikshit with Pāhārpur. This place must have gained considerable repute as an important seat of Buddhism in Northern India during the Pāla period. A Bodhi-Gayā inscription<sup>2</sup> mentions the *mahāvihāra* or 'the Great Monastery' of Sōmapura. In Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*<sup>3</sup> it is stated that King Dīvapāla, the son of Dharmmapāla, built a Buddhist temple at 'Sōmapura', and, according to the *Paq sam-jon zang*,<sup>4</sup> the same king built the Great Monastery of 'Sōmapurī' after his conquest of Varendri or North Bengal. It however appears probable from the information supplied by the Pāhārpur sealings that the monastery owed its foundation to Dharmmapāla, and not to his son. Further references to the monastery at Sōmapura are found in the Tibetan translations of certain Buddhist Sanskrit works, e.g., the *Dharmalāyadīpavali* and the *Madhyamālarāṇyapradīpa*.<sup>5</sup> The latter was translated by the great scholar Dipaṇṇara Śrījñāna (11th century A.D.) with the help of Vajrasūkhī and Javāhira at the Sōmapurī vihāra. The cells renovated by Vajrapāṇimitra at Sōmapura must have belonged to the great monastery consisting of some 177 cells, which have now been laid bare at Pāhārpur. Vāṇāla, which is probably East Bengal is mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendraśūlī<sup>6</sup> and in the Buddhist Sanskrit text *Dālāṇmā*.<sup>7</sup>

### TEXT

[Metres — vv 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, Śārdūlavikrīḍitī, v 3, Mandākṛīṇṭā, v 4, Śulherinī, v 5, Māhī, vv 6, 11, Vasantatīlakā, v 7, Indravajrī, v 9, Upajāti, v 13, Anuśtubh.]

1 Ōm<sup>8</sup> namō Buddhāya|| Astu svastīsvanīva yahi sa bhagavatī śrī Dharmma-chakraḥ kīvad=yan nāma śrītat=īn=Bhavō<sup>9</sup> 'sthira-vapur=urjyam=uttāmanī | tatra Śrīghana-śāsan-āṃpita-rasah samsukhya

2 Bauddhī padē tam dhīyād=apunarbhavam bhagavatī Tārī jagat-tārini || [1\*] Śrīmat-Sōmapurē yabhi[ū]ya Karuṇīśrīmitra nāmū yatih kūrūvād=guṇa-sampadō hita-sukh-ādhiśīd=apī prīni-

3 nāmī yō Vangāla balair=upētya dahana kshēpāj=javāhira=ūlayāt samāgnaś=charan-āravinā-yugalē Buddhāya vītō divam || [2\*] Tasy=īchchhidra-vrata-parichitasy=ōchuta-smāra-kīrttēh śishyō<sup>10</sup>-'dhrishyah

4 sukṛta-ghatitō buddhīmān buddhīmatṣu | Matrīśrīr=itj=uparī vītō mitra-vat<sup>10</sup> Mitra nāmū [sa]tvasy=īrttēh svam=udayam=upāditsur=utsāhavan yahi || [3\*] Prāśishyō=py=anvishy=ūśraya-

<sup>1</sup> A R, A S I, 1927 28, pp 105 6

<sup>2</sup> Bloch, A R, A S I, 1908 9, p 158, and Majumdar, *Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Calcutta, 1323 B. S., p 71

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol IV, p 366

<sup>4</sup> Ed Sarat Ch' Das, pp 111 and 116

<sup>5</sup> [It is possible that Dīvapāla built the monastery and named it after his father — Ed]

<sup>6</sup> Gossier, *Catalogue des Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Part II, p 166 and Part III, p 209

<sup>7</sup> *Atc*, Vol IX, p 233

<sup>8</sup> H. P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol I, 1917, p 92

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>10</sup> Read -tan Mitra-

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१ न। अ। नि। न। व। शी। य। न। श। म। न। अ। न। र। मिः। मं। मि। अ।  
 २ धी। क। ण। ङ्ग। मं। य। द। दि। न। म। र। वा। वा। न। द। यि। य। णिः।  
 ३ न। नि। य। वि। चि। न। श्या। चि। न। श्म। व। की। त्र। हं। मि। श्या। र। वृ। श्या। हं।  
 ४ मं। द। त्म। व। त्मा। द्र। वा। न। म। ण। य। मि। श्या। या। वि। श्या। स। मा।  
 ५ मं। द्र। व। म। मं। त्रि। व। क्षा। निः। य। नि। व। म। नि। मं। वृ। द्ज। न।  
 ६ नो। लि। ना। प्र। य। थ। य। हं। म। न। न। म। य। चि। न। श्री। हं। षु। क्क। य।  
 ७ क्क। श्चि। नि। मा। श्च। न। स। हं। मं। वृ। ष। य। वृ। णि। मं। मं। य। य। नि। श्म।  
 ८ मं। य। नि। मां। वा। व। न। ण। श्च। श्च। मं। मं। द्र। न। मा। नि। ऊ। य।  
 ९ नो। वं। त्रि। हं। स्व। णु। श्या। य। श्च। व। त्र। न। वी। न। क। श्च। ऊ। य। नो।  
 १० न। का। लं। वं। श्री। व। दी। यं। न। मं। नि। श्म। न। वा। क्क। वा। नो।  
 ११ न। पु। न। वा। नि। वा। मं। र। मि। कं। श्च। मं। वि। ला। की। य। निः।  
 १२ श्च। मं। नी। क्क। मं। य। ण। स। हं। ना। वा। च्च। वं। ऊ। य। नि। न।  
 १३ वं। य। णं। मं। वृ। ष। न। ब। ल। ल। न। या। वं। य। वि। वं। मं।  
 १४ मं। श्चि। य। य। मं। श्च। णो। वा। व। ना। ऊ। गं। नो। द्वा। दि। कं। क।  
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- 5 m=alabhamānair=iva gunair=adhītaḥ samślishtō yatir=amala-śīlah samabhavat I  
Asōkasrīmītrō guna-samudayē yasya hridayē sahasrair=ashtābhūh prativasatī  
Sambuddha-jana-
- 6 -nī || [4\*] Tad=anu cha Vipulasrīmītra ity=āvīrāsīd=vipula-vimala-kīrttāḥ  
saj-jan-ānanda-kandah | amṛitamaya-kalābhūh kshālīt-āsēsha-dōshah satatam=upa-  
chīta-śrīh śukla-pa-
- 7 kshē śās=īva || [5\*] Śrīmat-Khasarppana-mah-āyatanē prayatnāt<sup>1</sup> mañjūshayā  
vihitayā janani Jinānām | yēna bhramaty=aviratam pratimās=chatasrah  
sattreṣhu parvvanī samarppayati sma
- 8 vaś=cha || [6\*] Chōyandakē yaś=cha Pitāmahasya viharikāyām nava-  
karmma chitram | Harsh-ābhūdhānē cha purē Jinasya Dipankarasya  
pratimām vyadhātā || [7\*] Ashtau yaś=cha mahā-bhayānī jaga-
- 9 tām nirmūlam=unmūlitum Tāriyā bhavanam vyadhātā sukritī śāla-hrad-  
ālamkritim | sṛmat-Sōmapurē chaturshu layanēshv=antar-vahih-khaṇḍayōr=yaś=  
ch=ādhatta navīna-karmma jagatām
- 10 nētr-aika-vīśrāma-bhūh || [8\*] Adatta hēm-ābharanam vichitram Buddhāya  
bōdhau janatām vidhātum | ity=ādī punya kriyayā sa kālam vaś=īva dir-  
gham nayati sma tatra || [9\*] Kīrtvā tē-
- 11 na viharikā kṛtavatā=lankāra-bhūtā bhuvō Mitrēbhyō='dbhuta-Vaijayanta-  
jayinī datt=ēyam=unmīlatī | yayyām vismṛitavān=nivāsa-rasikah Śāstā tri-  
lōkī-patīh
- 12 Śuddhāvāsa-nivāsam=arthi-janatā-duhsaṅchara-prāntaram || [10\*] Hartum Harēh  
padam=iv=ājani tatra tatra kīrttir=jayā vasumatī kṛta-bhūshanā bhūh |  
tāvach=chiram jayati nē-
- 13 tra-sudhā sravanti vāvat=samridhyati na Mamjurava-pratijñā || [11\*] Tat-  
tat-kīrtti-vidhau sudhā-nidhau=iv=āmbhōdhau samunmūlitam puṇyam yad=  
bhuvan-āntarāla-tulanā-pātram pavitram ma-
- 14 ma | astu prastuta-vastuvat kara-talē paśyanti viśvam Jinā yatr=āsīma-  
padē sthītās=tri-jagatām tat-prāptayē tach=chiram || [12\*] Tarkka-śilpa-prasangē  
yau dhāvatō jagatām hridi | Kanaka-
- 15 śrīr=Vasīshthō vā prasasti-vyakti-kārakau || [13\*]

## TRANSLATION

Om ' Adoration to the Buddha '

(Verse 1) May the divine and illustrious Dharmma-chakra bring you prosperity hearing whose name, even to some extent, Bhava (i.e., worldly existence), restless in body, gets exhausted and lifeless, thereafter besprinkling him with the nectar juice of the Law of Śrīghana (i.e., Buddha),<sup>2</sup> may the goddess Tārā, the Deliveress of the world, place him, free from re-birth, at the foot of the Buddha

(Verse 2). In the illustrious Sōmapura there was the ascetic Karunāsṛīmītra, so called on account of his compassionate disposition<sup>3</sup>, abundance of merits, and his efforts towards

<sup>1</sup> Read *prayatnān=mañjūshaya*

<sup>2</sup> For this name of Buddha see H P Sastri, *Catalogue of Sans Mss in A S B*, Vol I (1917), p. 55

<sup>3</sup> The three qualities indicated in the three components of the name, viz., *karuna* (compassion), *śrī* (splendour) and *mitra* (benevolence) are here referred to

the welfare and happiness of living beings, who, when his house was burning, (*being*) set on fire by the approaching armies of Vangūla, attached (*himself*) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha, (*and*) went to heaven

(Verse 3) The disciple of him, who was celebrated for his uninterrupted religious observances and possessed bright and appropriate fame, was known as *Maitrīśrīmītra*. He was invincible (*in argument*), endowed with merit and the talented amongst talented men, and possessed of energy and desirous of his own prosperity for the sake of living beings,<sup>1</sup> like the Sun himself

(Verse 4) The disciple's disciple (of *Karunāśrīmītra*) was the ascetic *Aśōkaśrīmītra* of blemishless character. Good qualities, not finding, as it were, an abode which they sought for, had (at last) taken refuge in him and remained inseparably attached. There in his heart full of good qualities dwells 'the mother of the Buddhas' in eight thousand<sup>2</sup> (*10000*)

(Verse 5) After him there came *Vipulaśrīmītra* of extensive and bright fame, the very source of the delight of righteous men. He was of ever increasing beauty like the moon in the bright half (*of the month*), washing away (*i.e.*, brightening) the entire night by nectarine digits [or who wiped away all blemishes by (*his knowledge of*) the elegant arts]

(Verse 6) With the casket, executed by him with skill, at the great temple of the illustrious *Khasarppana* (*i.e.*, *Avalokiteśvara*), the mother of the Jinas (*i.e.*, *Prajñāpāramitā*) incessantly moves about.<sup>3</sup> He also presented in the alms houses<sup>4</sup> four images on the occasion of a festival

(Verse 7) He also carried out varied repairs to the monastery of *Putamāla* (*i.e.*, Buddha) at *Chōyandaka*, and (installed) an image of the Jina *Dipankara* at *Harshapura*

(Verse 8) In the illustrious *Sōmapura*, with a view to dispel entirely the Eight Great Fears<sup>5</sup> of the people, that meritorious person built a temple of *Tārā* (*i.e.*, *Tīrā*) adorned with

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be a pun on the words *mitra* and *udaya*. The former would mean 'the sun' and 'friend' and the latter 'rise' and 'prosperity'.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is evidently to the fact that he was thoroughly conversant with the text of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. The goddess *Prajñāpāramitā* is 'the mother of all the Buddhas', *c.g.*, in *Śhītasāraṅga* (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 529. She is often identified with *Tārā*, *c.g.*, in verse 2 of the inscription of *Chalukya Vikramāditya VI* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 185). That is why *Tārā* is also called 'the mother of the Buddhas'.

<sup>3</sup> The casket offered by *Vipulaśrīmītra* at the temple of the god *Khasarppana* (who is the husband of *Tārā* or *Prajñāpāramitā*) must have been so nice that it never left the deity (*i.e.*, the manuscript) in other words the holy manuscript was thenceforth invariably exhibited in the casket. It is not clear where the temple of *Khasarppana* stood.

<sup>4</sup> For the use of *sattra* in a Buddhist inscription see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. V, p. 29, l. 15. For other references see P. K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 615 ff. The alms houses must have been those adjoining the temple.

<sup>5</sup> The term *Putamāla*, which is usually applied to *Brahmā*, here stands for the Buddha and is used in this sense in an inscription of the time of *Kanishka* on the pedestal of a Buddha image from *Mathurā* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97) and in another *Kushān* inscription also engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image noticed by *Cunningham* at *Bhūtā* near *Allahabad* (*J. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 48, Pl. XVIII, O, Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 94, *Indices*, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 910). The appellation *Putamāla* is suggestive of the idea of *Ādi Buddha* who in the Buddhist pantheon occupies a position almost analogous to that of *Brahmā*.

<sup>6</sup> The goddess *Tārā* is supposed to have the power to save humanity from eight kinds of fears (*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 67, *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 20, p. 18). In *Sarvajñamitra's Śragdhara stotra* eight stanzas are devoted to the description of these eight 'fears' which are shipwreck, lightning, elephant, robber, lion, serpent, fetters and demons. These are also enumerated, but with some difference, in two hymns to *Tārā* in an inscription of the *Chalukya King Vikramāditya VI* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 185, 187) and illustrated in a bas-relief in the *Darbār Cave* at *Kanhori* (*Cave Temples of India*, p. 358, and Pl. LV, fig. 1).

a court and a tank, and further effected the renovation of the inner and outer parts of four cells<sup>1</sup>,—(a work) in which alone the eyes of the world found repose

(Verse 9) He offered a charming gold ornament to the Buddha with the object of keeping men in (the path of) Enlightenment, and there (i e, at Sōmapura) (engaged) in such meritorious deeds he lived like an ascetic for a long time

(Verse 10) That meritorious person having made this monastery an ornament of the world, which manifests itself, surpassing in a wonderful manner the palace of Indra, made it over to the Mitras<sup>2</sup> The Teacher, the lord of the three worlds, who has a special taste for (good) residences, forgot while here, (even) the abode in Śuddhāvāsa heaven, whose interior is difficult of access owing to the multitude of seekers

(Verse 11) (His) fame, by which the earth was decorated, arose in various places as if to deprive Hari of his (exalted) position May that flowing nectar of the eye (viz, his fame) remain triumphant so long as the vow of Mañjurava (i e, Mañjughōsha or Mañjuśrī) is not fulfilled<sup>3</sup>

(Verse 12) May the pure merit, the (only) measure of comparison (with which is) the ethereal space, that may accrue to me<sup>4</sup> out of these famous achievements, even as the receptacle of nectar that came out of the ocean, eternally contribute to the attainment by the denizens of the three worlds of the unique place<sup>5</sup> from which the Jinās (i e, Buddhas) can visualize the whole universe (as distinctly) as an object under discussion placed on the palm

(Verse 13) Kanakasrī and Vāsīshtha who, (respectively) in the matter of dialectics and arts, purify the hearts of men, have given expression to (this) eulogy (one by composing and the other by engraving it)

[P S —Recent excavations at the Satyapir Bhitā at Pāhārpur outside the great monastic quadrangle have brought to light a Buddhist shrine of about the 11th-12th century A D in the courtyard of which several circular sealings impressed with the effigy of eight-handed Tārā and the Buddhist creed have been found This is very likely to be the temple of Tārā built by Vipulaśrimitra referred to in verse 8 of the present inscription The courtyard has a number of small votive stupas —Ed ]

## No 17 —TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA (II)

By K V SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B A, M R A S, COIMBATORE

The inscription edited below comes from Tiruchchendūr in the Tinnevely District Only a few lines of it contained on the first face of the first slab were copied in 1903 and the inscription was registered as No 155 of that year's collection and as being engraved on a slab, set up in the

<sup>1</sup> [I should prefer to take *chaturshu layanēshu* in the sense of 'on the four groups of cells (forming the monastery)' Actually there are about 45 cells on each side of the monastic quadrangle at Pāhārpur and we have clear evidence of a wholesale renovation taking place about the commencement of the 12th century A D, both in the inner and outer sides of the monastery It is some such work carried out on a magnificent scale that must have been 'a singular feast to the eyes of the world' —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The line of ascetics to which Vipulaśrimitra belonged

<sup>3</sup> In a work called the *Mañjuśrī Buddha śāstra guṇa vyūha*, Mañjuśrī is supposed to have taken his 'Bodhi sattuva vow' "I do not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last in this world to save its beings" —Poussin, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Art 'Mañjuśrī'), Vol 8, p 405 and n 2 The idea which, therefore, the writer seems to convey in the above verse is that the donor's fame should last as long as the world endures Cf *Kārandavyūha* —Y(T)āvat Avalokiteśvarasya dṛḍha pratijñā na paripūrītā bhavati, sarva sattvāḥ sarva duḥkṣēbhyaḥ parimōkṣitāḥ yāvat anuttarāyām samyag sambōdhau na pratishṭhāpitu bhavanti, etc,

<sup>4</sup> The speaker is evidently Vipulaśrimitra himself

<sup>5</sup> This is Sukhāvati Cf *Sragdharā śloka*, verse 37.



second *pālāra* of the Subrahmanya temple in the village. During the field season of 1912, when I happened to inspect the village, I examined this inscription carefully and found that it was an extensive record incised on two sides of two large stone slabs. On this occasion I took the impressions of the entire record and transcribed it *in situ* satisfying myself that it was complete. The inscription was again registered as No. 26 of the year's collection for 1912 and an abstract of its contents given on pages 48 and 70 of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year. The written faces of the slabs measure 1' 7" by 2' 6" and 4' by 2' 3".

The left top corner of the first slab is broken and the commencing portion of the first three lines has suffered some damage. But for this, the record is well preserved.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription is engraved in the Vatteluttu alphabet of the 9th century A.D. and is in the Tamil language. The only Grantha letters found used in it are *Śrī* (ll. 1, 111, 135, 160 and 169) and *śai* in *upāsaiyūr* (l. 3). The following palæographical peculiarities are worth noting.—The rare letter *āydam* (equivalent to a *visarga*), which is indicated in modern Tamil by three dots, is represented in this record by a horizontal line with a dot marked above and below, like the division-sign (see *ahyam āga*, l. 35). Two forms of *ya* occur, one with an inward and the other with an outward loop—for the former see the *ya*s of *yāndu* (l. 1), *upāsaiyū* (l. 3) and *yūr-aiyū* (l. 5), and for the latter see *ya* in *Māiāya* (l. 1). Long *ū* is generally distinguished from the short *u* as in *nū* of *nūru* (l. 8), or *nū* of *tonnūrr ūru* (l. 10) and *nū* in *nūrru* (ll. 12 and 21), but in the case of *lu* and *lū*, no such distinction is made. One and the same symbol is employed to represent *po* and *pō* except in l. 43. In line 51, short *pō* gets the length stroke. The vowel *u* is hardly distinguishable from *nū*. The cross stroke of *la* is generally indistinct (see *mūn adu* l. 1-*āga* in l. 61 and *paḷan-kāsu* in l. 71) and there are several instances where it is completely absent, as in *śiru-ladug amdu* in l. 42. *Nā* is written as a wavy horizontal line, as in *nūli* at the beginning of ll. 25 and 93. In a large number of words found in this inscription, vowels have been used in the middle ignoring the rules of *sandhi* as is the case in the early epigraphs like the Vcikkudi plates of Nedunjadaiyūr. In all places where the word *vargal* occurs the *r* is elided and this elision is quite common in epigraphs from the Malabar Coast.

The document under notice contains some words of etymological interest. One of them is *kāyam*. I think it may be derived from the Sanskrit word *lāhāra* (pungent) which becomes *lāhāra* in Prakrit and *lāram* in Tamil. As *ya* is often substituted for *ra*, *lāram* becomes *kāyam*, cf. *veṅgāram* and *veṅgāyam*, *peruṅgāram* and *peruṅgāyam*. The change of *ra* into *ya* is illustrated by the Tamil adaptation of the Sanskrit words *dvār* and *vāri* *uliyū* which change into *vāy* and *vāyikkāl* in Tamil. The word *kāyam* has hitherto been taken to mean exclusively 'asafoetida', but our inscription clearly says that the five spices, pepper, turmeric, cumin, small mustard, and ecrunder formed the five *kāyams*<sup>2</sup> and thereby proves that the popular meaning of *kāyam* as 'asafoetida' does not cover the full connotation of the word. The word *kānam* has to be derived from *kārshāpana* through its Prakrit form *kaḥāpana*. *Pol* is the contracted form of *polśa* (interest) which occurs in modern Malayalam as *paḥśa*—these words are derived from the root *poli*, "to increase". Another somewhat puzzling word is *pōttara* (l. 6). It seems to me to be a compound formed from the roots *pō* and *tā* and a contraction from "*pōgumbadī tara*" meaning

<sup>1</sup> [The three blanks to be seen in the accompanying plate (i) at the close of ll. 41 to 45, (ii) at the close of l. 96, (iii) at the commencement of ll. 102-105 seem to have been accidentally caused by the falling off of small pieces of the inked estampage.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The phrase *mīta māranda pala kāyattal ku* occurs in No. 148 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894. Here the phrase "*pala kāyattal ku*" shows that the word *kāyam* was used as a general name for "more than one" article and not for 'asafoetida' alone. Compare the use of the word in "*upp odu ney pa rayir kāyam peyd adinum laipp arā pēy chchurayin-kāy*"

“having given to be taken” This mode of forming compounds would seem to be rather rare in Tamil. The word *ahgam* (ll 35, 58, etc) is seldom met with in inscriptions, but it may be noted that it has been correctly employed to denote the exchange value of money in grain. Another noteworthy form of a word is *ēri* used in place of *āga*, “in all together” In this sense the word is rarely used though its significance is quite clear in the common expression *ēri-luraittu*, “adding together or subtracting” *Nūru* of *nūru-amidu* occurring in line 64 along with the items betel leaves (*veṟṟilai*) and areca-nuts (*adaikāy*) is another unusual word. It may be considered a *diśaichchol* (‘a dialectical word’) in Tamil taken from Malayālam where it is still used in the sense of ‘slaked lime’. A variant of this word is *nīru* which means “powder, ash” (cf *nīru-pūṭṭa-neruppu*, ‘fire covered over with ash’). *Nārāyam* is still another word of etymological interest. It is used in this and many other Tamil epigraphs in the sense of ‘a grain measure,’ generally made of iron and is akin to Tamil *nārāsam*<sup>1</sup> denoting an iron nail, used for stringing together leaves of palm leaf manuscripts, an iron style or an arrow made entirely of iron (cf Sanskrit *Nārācha*=an arrow). Another similar word is *nārāṅgi*, generally spelt as *nādāṅgi*=‘the iron bolt’. The restriction of the terms *nārāsam* and *nārāṅgi* in Tamil to articles made of iron and a subsidiary use of *nārāsam* in the sense of ‘molten lead or iron’ indicate that all these words must have a common old Tamil stem *nārū* meaning “iron” or “metal”. The commentary on *nārācha* in the Sanskrit lexicon *Amara* explains it as ‘*lōha nayō bānah* (=an iron arrow)’. Childers explains *nārācha* as “an iron weapon of some sort, an arrow or light javelin”. Apparently we have here one of the loan-words for which Sanskrit is indebted to the parent Dravidian tongue. The words *ṁḡaḡi* and *ṁṣaḡi* used in this inscription are analogous to the forms *ṁṣaḡam*, *ṁḡaḡam* and *ṁṭṭam* in other inscriptions, all of which seem to be derived from Sanskrit *nityam*. Still another rare word, also occurring in the Ambāsamudram epigraph of Varaguna-Mahārāja, is *tum* of which the meaning can be ascertained from certain references in the Tamil *Sangam* works. In line 266 of *Perumbānāruppadai* occurs the phrase *punṇai tumittu*, which has been rendered by the commentator as “cutting the branch of the *punṇai* (tree)”. It also occurs in l 72 of *Mullaiṁpāṭṭu* in the same sense. As such, the phrase *ṁṭṭi tumikkavum porikkavum* (l 26) may be taken to mean “vegetable to be cut into pieces and fried”.

The object of the inscription is thus stated in order to meet the annual requirements of the temple of Subrahmanya-Bhātāra, which was the deity in the central shrine (*Tirumūlattiāram*) at Tiruchchendūr, Varaguna-Mahārāja made a grant of 1,400 *kāṣu* and entrusted the amount to three of his officers, viz Iruppaikkudi-kūṭavan, Śāttamperumān and Alarṁrṁnāttukūḡ, with the stipulation that the money should be lent out and with the interest accruing therefrom, the annual requirements of the temple should be met, the capital always remaining intact.

The items of expenditure included rice for offerings to the god and for *bali*, plantains, sugar, vegetables (the last according to this inscription were sold by weight), *ṭāyam* for seasoning articles, green gram required for the special kind of preparation called *ṭumṁṭāyam* and for *pori*, betel leaves and areca-nuts (which were priced), and lime (not priced), ghee required for perpetual lamps, chain of lights, for seasoning curries and for the anointment of the god, milk, curd and the water of the tender coconut including tender kernel which were necessary for the bathing of the god, honey, unguent and barks of certain trees and crude camphor used as incense; turmeric, *pachchai-karpūram* and sandal required for the smearing of the deity, cloth required for covering images and for use in the kitchen (as towels), and flowers, etc. The preparation called *ṭumṁṭāyam*, for which the chief requirement is stated to be green pulse is not in present use. On the other hand, the word is now used to denote a mixture of slaked lime and sand.

<sup>1</sup> In some of the Tamil inscriptions, this word seems also to be employed to denote “a channel” or “loose”. Cf *Subrahmanya nārāsaḡin vaḡakkūṁ* (No 155 of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol III, p 326).

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Pāndya king Varaguna-Mahārāja (II). The date portion occurring in the second line of the record is lost, but so much of it is seen that the year opposite is found to be thirteen. In the seventh line, the day of the regnal year of the king is given as 5001 in words which yields 13 years of 365 days and 256 days. We may take the days as referring to "the year opposite" and not to the entire regnal year. Examples of similar dating are found in a few inscriptions. No. 502 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 is dated in the 13th year and 3090th day as well as in the 8th year opposite to the 13th. Similarly also No. 534 of the same collection is dated in the 4th year and 1745th day as well as in the 4th year opposite to the 4th. Again in No. 509, the year given at the commencement of the record is "13th year and 1445th day" while in the body the same is indicated by "3rd year opposite to the 13th". These instances are sufficient to make it clear that the days given refer only to the number of years and days passed after the first mentioned year and not to the entire regnal year.

The inscription is silent regarding the ancestry of the king, as stone records in the Tamil country generally are. There is nothing in the name of the king to enable us to say to which of the two Pāndya sovereigns, who bore the name Varaguna, this record must be ascribed. The Vatteluttu script employed in the record shows that it must belong to the ninth century A.D. and since both the Varagunas lived in this century and were separated only by a single reign, palaeographical indications are not of much value. There are, however, internal indications to prove that the record belongs to Varaguna II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription and the divisions to which they belonged, occur Vaḷudi-vaṇanādu, Kaḍungōmangalam, Mīraṇangalam, Parāntaka-vaṇanādu, Varaguna-mangalam, and Śrīvallabha-vaṇanādu which at once indicate that they must have been called after the Pāndya kings Palyāga-śālai-Mudukudumi-Peru-Vaḷudi,<sup>1</sup> Kaḍungōn, Māṇavarman (of which name there were more kings than one), Parāntaka (also called Neduñjadaiyan and Śrivarā), Varaguna-Mahārāja (I) and Śrīvallabha respectively, all of these being reputed names in the genealogy of the Pāndya kings furnished by copper-plates. The inscription also mentions a village Avanipaśēkharamangalam which must have been called after the name or title of a king and as I have shown in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1929-30 (p. 72), this Avanipaśēkhara is identical with Śrīvallabha, the son and successor of Varaguna-Mahārāja I. The mention of the names Śrīvallabha-vaṇanādu and Avanipaśēkhara-mangalam precludes the possibility of the inscription being one of Varaguna I. We can, therefore, definitely assign the present inscription to the reign of Varaguna II. The Aivarmalai rock inscription places this king's accession in A.D. 862. The date of this record must be a little later than A.D. 874, that being the equivalent of the 13th year of his reign.

A word may now be said about Iruppaikkudi-kūḷavan, one of the trusted servants of king Varaguna-Mahārāja through whom the gift amount of 1,400 (gold) *kāsu* was sent. His proper name appears to be Etti Śāttan from a stone epigraph recently secured from Erukkangudi (No. 334 of 1929-30). He is stated to have been honoured with the title of Iruppaikkudi-kūḷavan by king Śrīvallabha. The inscription gives a long and interesting account about him, mentioning several acts of charity including the construction, repair and improvement of several palaces, temples, tanks, embankments, water-channels, sluices, etc. It is clear that he must have been a great and energetic administrator and the programme of his charities and public works testify alike to his catholicity and tolerance, as to his solicitude for the rural population in an arid tract.

We know of no other Vaḷudi in inscriptions except this king. It is, however, possible that there was more than one king of this name, e.g., Ugra Peruvaḷudi.

The present inscription resembles in many respects the Ambāsamudram<sup>1</sup> record of Varaguna-Mahārāja. Both grants were made with the express object of defraying all the expenses that have to be incurred from day to day and year to year in connection with the religious services in a temple and go into minute details about these. There is a striking similarity in the phraseology of the two. Both state that the principal should remain undiminished and that only the interest should be utilised for meeting the expenses. The annual rate of interest in both cases is identical, viz two *kalām* of paddy for one *kāśu*. From the Ambāsamudram inscription, just as in the Tiruchchendūr epigraph, it can be gathered that a *kalām* of interest paddy consisted of 90 *nāl* and a *kurum* was equivalent to 6 *nāl*. But the prices of articles varied considerably during the interval between the two grants, some of which have been noted below for easy reference. It is noteworthy that whereas the prices of certain commodities obtaining at the time of the Ambāsamudram inscription had fallen by a third at the time of the Tiruchchendūr record, in certain others (e.g. vegetables) there was a sharp rise of 350 per cent. And since it cannot be said that these fluctuations were due to difference of locality (the two localities not being far removed from each other) the inference is inevitable that the difference is to be attributed to the difference in time between the two records which cannot be less than 40 years.

*Prices of articles* (A=Ambāsamudram T=Tiruchchendūr)

1	1 <i>nāl</i> of paddy for 2 plantain fruits	A
	1,000 plantains for 10 <i>kalām</i>	T
2	30 <i>nāl</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāl</i> of ghee	A
	20 Ditto	T
3	3 <i>nāl</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāl</i> of curd	A
	2 Ditto	T
4	1 <i>palam</i> of sugar was obtained for 1 <i>nāl</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of paddy	A
	7 <i>tulām</i> and 65 <i>palam</i> for 10 <i>kalām</i>	T
5	10 <i>palam</i> of vegetables cost 1 <i>nāl</i> of paddy	A
	20 <i>tulām</i> of vegetables cost 10 <i>kalām</i> of paddy	T
6	6 <i>nāl</i> of paddy for 1 <i>ulalku</i> of <i>kāyam</i>	A
	1 <i>kāśu</i> (10 <i>kalām</i> ) fetched 60 <i>nāl</i> of <i>kāyam</i>	T

We may now note a few facts concerning the geographical terms that occur in the inscription. At the outset it may be said that all the villages and divisions mentioned are situated in the Tinnevely District. Tiruchchendūr is 18 miles east-south-east of Śrīvaikuntham on the sea.<sup>2</sup> Korṭai and Māramangalam are in the Śrīvaikuntam taluk and Nallūr and Kattāramangalam are in the Tiruchchendūr taluk. Of these, Korṭai was an important place in the Pāndya kingdom noted for its pearl fishery. Both the author of the *Periplus*<sup>3</sup> and Ptolemy<sup>4</sup> mention it, the former under the name of Kolehī or Korkoy. Mr R. Sewell states<sup>5</sup> that Māramangalam is the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol IX, p 90

<sup>2</sup> Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol I, p 313

<sup>3</sup> Schöff's edition, pp 46 and 237 8

<sup>4</sup> Majumdar *McCrindle's Ancient India of Ptolemy*, pp 57 8, 78

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p 312. No 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 agrees with this inscription in stating that Korṭai was in Kuda nādu. From an inscription at Al kāśālai (No 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903) we learn that it formed part of Korṭai and had in it Al kāśālai Iśvaramudaiyār. It is further stated that Korṭai was surnamed Madhurintakanallūr and that it was in Kuda nādu, a sub division of Uttamaśūla valanādu which was a district of Rājārāja Pīṇṇinādu.

site of ancient Korakai and that Akkāsūlai is a place not far from it. From the inscriptions of the former place it is seen that it was situated in Parāntaka-vaḷanādu.<sup>1</sup> As such, it must be identical with the place mentioned in our inscription as being located in the same division. The division Parāntaka-vaḷanādu itself must have been called after Mārañjadaiyan *alias* Neduñjadaiyan Parāntaka (circa A D 770). It is a point worthy of note that while Korakai belonged to the sub-division Kuda-nādu, Māramangalam, a place quite in the vicinity of it, belonged to a different sub-division. Both Māranēri and Māramangalam in the Tinnevely District were called in ancient times Māramangalam. While the former was situated in Tīruvaḷudi-vaḷanādu, the latter was in Parāntaka-vaḷanādu.<sup>2</sup> Since Māramangalam of our record is stated to have been a place in Parāntaka-vaḷanādu, we have to identify it with the one near Korakai, and not with Māranēri Vaḷudai-vaḷanādu in which were situated Varagunamangalam, Iranavālmangalam, Tiyambakamangalam, Gangamangalam and Mānavirapattinam, was also called Tīruvaḷudi-vaḷanādu or Vaḷudi-vaḷanādu or Vaḷudi nādu and had in it Ālvār-Tirunagari, the birthplace of the Vaishnava saint Nammālvār, and Śrīvaikuntham.<sup>3</sup> Varagunamangalam is one of the 18 sacred places of the Vaishnavas in the Pāndya country.<sup>4</sup> It is celebrated in the hymn of Nammālvār<sup>5</sup> and is known from his days as Varagunamangai,<sup>6</sup> that being a shortened form of Varagunamangalam. It is 18 miles north east of Tinnevely. We have already shown that this place must have been called after Varaguna I. Another place mentioned in the inscription is Kīranūr. It was the headquarters of a division in later times.<sup>7</sup> The sub-division Amitaguna-vaḷanādu occurs in another inscription of Tiruchelendūr<sup>8</sup> under the name Amudaguna-vaḷanādu.

<sup>1</sup> Nos 157 to 161 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. These inscriptions state that Māramangalam was called Dēvendraṣallabha chaturvīdimangalam and that it was a *brahmadēya* in Parāntaka-vaḷanādu, a sub-division of Mudikondaśōla-vaḷanādu which was a district of Rājariya Pāndinādu.

<sup>2</sup> See No 467 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909, and Nos 483 and 487 of the same collection for 1916.

<sup>3</sup> Nos 174 of 1895 and 480 of 1909.

<sup>4</sup> The 18 places are — (1) Tirumālirūṣṭōlai, *i.e.* Aḷagarmalai, 12 miles north east of Madura, (2) Tirukōṭṭiyūr, 27 miles north east of Mānā Madura, (3) Tirumayyam, 45 miles to the south of Trichinopoly in the Pudukkottai State, (4) Tiruppullāni, 6 miles to the south of Ramnad, (5) Tiruttankal, 13 miles west of Śāttūr, (6) Tirukkūdal, half a mile east of Madura, (7) Śrīvilliputtūr, 22 miles west of Śāttūr, (8) Tirumōgūr, 7 miles north east of Madura, (9) Tirukkurugūr, *i.e.* Ālvār Tirunagari, 10 miles east of Tinnevely, (10) Tularvālmangalam, *i.e.* Iraṭṭaittiruppati, 25 miles north of Tinnevely, (11) Śrīvaramangai, *i.e.* Vanamāmalai, 18 miles south of Tinnevely, (12) Tiruppuḷṅgudi, 7 miles east of Tinnevely, (13) Tiruppērai, 24 miles east of Tinnevely, (14) Śrīvaikuntham, 16 miles east of Tinnevely, (15) Varagunamangai, 18 miles north east of Tinnevely, (16) Tirukkuḷandai, *i.e.* Perunguḷam, 26 miles north-east of Tinnevely, (17) Tirukkurugudi, 26 miles south of Tinnevely, and (18) Tirakkōḷūr, 26 miles east of Tinnevely.

<sup>5</sup> This is the 4th stanza of the second ten of the 9th hundred commencing with the words *Puḷṅgudī kkiṇḍandu Varagunamanzṇuṇṇu vundu Vairuṇḍam nanzṇu*, etc. The date of birth of Nammālvār as calculated by the late L. D. Svāmikanu Pillai is 4th May, A D 798, corresponding to Pramāthi, Vaigāsi, śn 15, Viśākhā, Friday (See his *Indian Ephemeris*). He must thus have been a contemporary of Varaguna I, after whom the place was named.

<sup>6</sup> In the case of Varagunamangai and Śrīvaramangai (Nos 15 and 11 of the above list) it is obviously out of place to take *maṇḍai* as a feminine suffix like *vallī* and to derive them from deities bearing the names Varaguna and Śrīvara. They are undoubtedly named after the Pāndya kings Varaguna and Śrīvara.

<sup>7</sup> No 470 of the same collection for the year 1916.

No 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

## TEXT

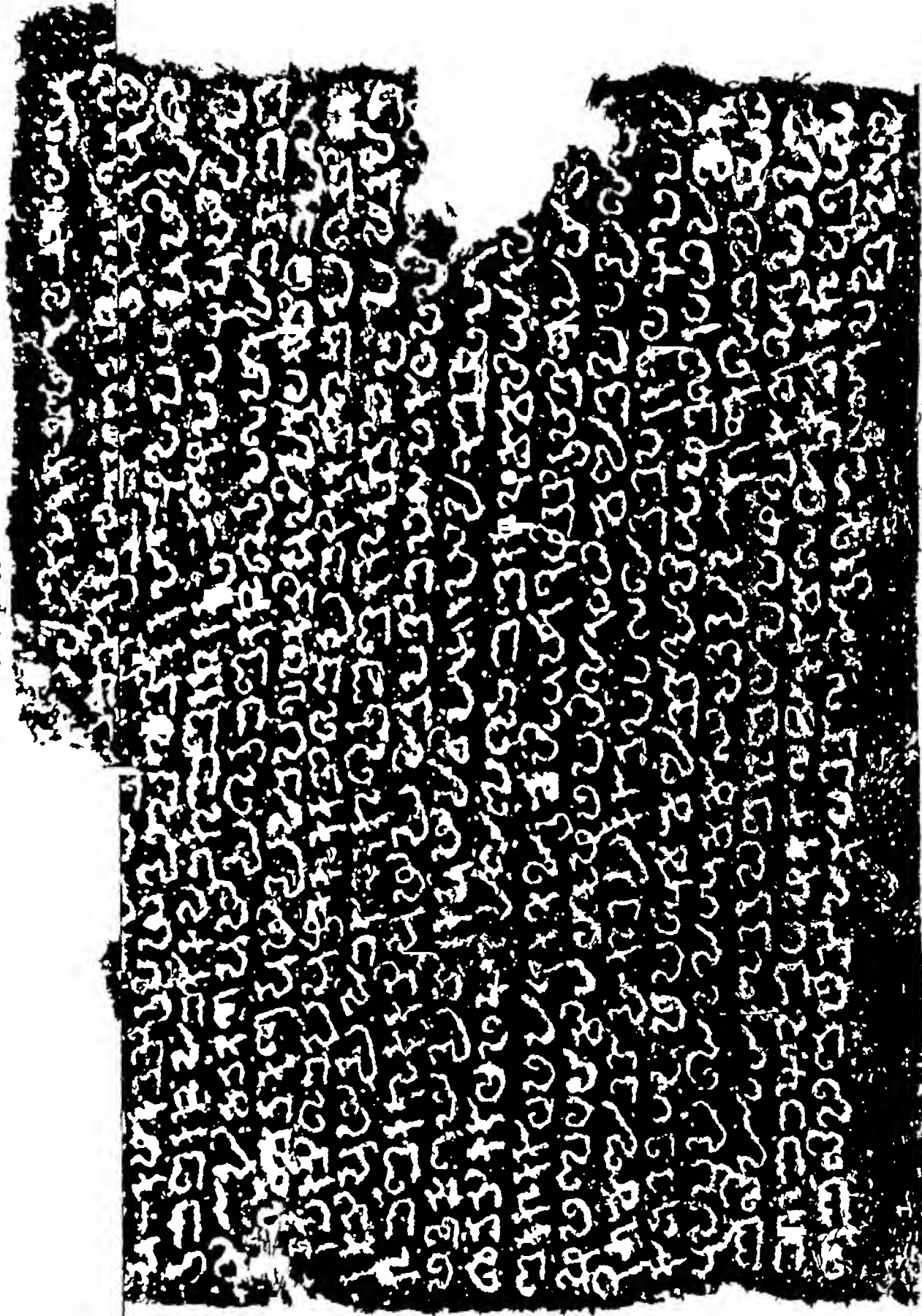
## First slab, First face

1           Śrī Kō Varaguna-Mārāyarku yāndu  
 2           dan-eḍir paḍin-mūṅgu ivv-āndu Tīru-  
 3           Suppiraman(n)iya-Batārar-upāsaiyā-  
 4       ina Tirumūlattānattu=ppat[ā]rarkku mudal-kedāmai=ppoliūt<sup>1</sup> ā-  
 5       ga kondu śeluttuvad-āga uḍaiyār-adiyār-āina<sup>2</sup> Varaguna-Mārāyar pō-  
 6       ttara Iruppaikkudī-kūḷavanum Śāttamperumānum Alarrū[r\*]-[nā]-  
 7       ttu-kkōnum aiyāiratt<sup>3</sup>-onrā-nālār=kondu-vanda nīrai-kuraiyā=ppa-  
 8       ḷan-kāśu āirattu<sup>4</sup>-nā-nūru [[\*] 1-kkāsīr=Kuda-nāttu=kKorkai-ūrār kaṇṇ  
 9       mudal-kedāmai=ppoliūt<sup>5</sup>tu=kkondu śeluttuvad-āga vaitta nīrai-  
 10      kuraiyā=ppaḷan-kāśu tonnūrr-ā[ru] ponn=ettu [1\*] 1-kkāsāl oru-kā-  
 11      śukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-maḍi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga va-  
 12      nda nellu nūrru-ttonnūrru-mukkalanēy onbaḍin kurunī [1\*] 1-n-  
 13      nellāl niyadippaḍi iva[r\*]ḡal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana [1\*] nāḷi  
 14      arīśikku mu-nnālī nell-āga=ttiruv-amuḍinukku arīśi[1\*] senner-rīt-  
 15      tal oru-pōḍaikkku nā-nāḷiy-āga nāngu pōḍaikkku arīśi senner-rītta-  
 16      l paḍin-arū-nāḷi [1\*] Mārgaḷ-tTiruvāḍiraiu<sup>6</sup>=Māśi-Maḷamum Vaiyyāśi-  
 17      Viyākamum paḍi irattī śeluttuvadu [1\*] 1-ppariśu śeluttādu ku-  
 18      ttuklārpāḍil 1-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-aīṇṇu kāśu dandamum pa-  
 19      ttu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=irattiyun=kuduppādu [[\*] 1-nnāttu Na[1]-  
 20      lūr-ūrār kaṇṇ<sup>7</sup> mērpāḍi<sup>8</sup> polīūt<sup>9</sup>-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppaḷa-  
 21      n-kāśu nūrr-arubatt-ettum poṇ[n-ārēy]-kāl [1\*] 1-kkāsāl=ānduvarai po[ḷi]-  
 22      nellu nīrai-maḍi-nārāyattāl mu-nnūrru-muppatt-eḷu-kalanēy mu-[kku]-  
 23      runi nā-nāḷi urī [1\*] 1-nnellāl niyadippaḍi tiruv-amuḍinukku iva[r\*][ḡa]-  
 24      l kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana nāḷi neyy-amuḍinukku irupaḍi-  
 25      [nāḷi] nell-āga=ttiruv-amuḍu nivēḍikka=ppaśuvin=naru-neṇ oru-  
 26      pōḍaikkku uḷakk-āgavum [1\*] kari tṇmikkavum porikkavum oru-pōḍaikkku ā-  
 27      ḷākk-āgavum [1\*] nāngu-pōḍaikkku neyy-amuḍu nāḷi urī [1\*] nāḷi-ttar<sup>10</sup> -a  
 28      muḍinukku iru-nāḷi nell-āga=ttiruv-amuḍu nivēḍikka=ttair<sup>11</sup>-amuḍu  
 29      oru-pōḍaikkku nāḷiy-āgavum kūttukku=ttair<sup>12</sup>-amuḍu oru-pōḍaikkku u-  
 30      niy-āgavum nāngu-pōḍaikkku=ppaśuvin=rōy-tair<sup>13</sup> aru-nāḷi [1\*] oru-kāśu-  
 31      kku nīrai-maḍi-nārāyattār=paḍin-kala-nell-aḡam-āga [1\*] āiram<sup>14</sup>  
 32      vāḷai-ppaḷattinukku oru-kās-āgavum [1\*] eḷu-tulātt-arubatt-aimba-  
 33      la-chcharkaraikkku oru-kās-āgavum [1\*] irupaḍin-tulām kari-amuḍinukku  
 34      oru-kās-āgavum [1\*] arupaḍi-nāḷi kāyattinukku oru-kās-āgavum  
 35      aḡam-āga [1\*] =ttiruv-amuḍu nivēḍikka vāḷai-ppaḷa-amuḍu o-  
 36      ru-pōḍaikkku nāṅ-āga nāngu-pōḍaikkku=kkaru-vāḷai-ppaḷa-amuḍu pa-  
 37      ḍin-āṇṇu [1\*] śaṅkarai-amuḍu oru-pōḍaikkku oru-palam-āga nāngu-pōḍai-  
 38      kku=chcharkarai-amuḍu nār-palam [1\*] kari-amuḍu kāy-kkaṇṇ onru pu-  
 39      ḷin gaṇṇ onṇu puḷukku-kkaṇṇ onru porī-kkari onru ēṇṇi<sup>15</sup>=  
 40      kkari-amuḍu nāṅinukku oru-pōḍaikkku [p]aḍin-[palam-āḡa]<sup>16</sup> nān-

<sup>1</sup> Read *poliūt*<sup>2</sup> Read *ayina*<sup>3</sup> Read *aiy-āyiratt*.<sup>4</sup> Read *āyirattu*<sup>5</sup> Read *kaiy*<sup>6</sup> Read *raiyyum*.<sup>7</sup> Read *kaiyil*<sup>8</sup> Read *taiyir*<sup>9</sup> Read *āyiram*<sup>10</sup> After *ēṇṇi*, the letters *lla* seem to have been engraved and erased<sup>11</sup> The phrase *paḍin palam āga* is a correction from *llaṇṇi amuḍu*



TIRUCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II)  
First slab. First piece



34

36

38

40

42

44

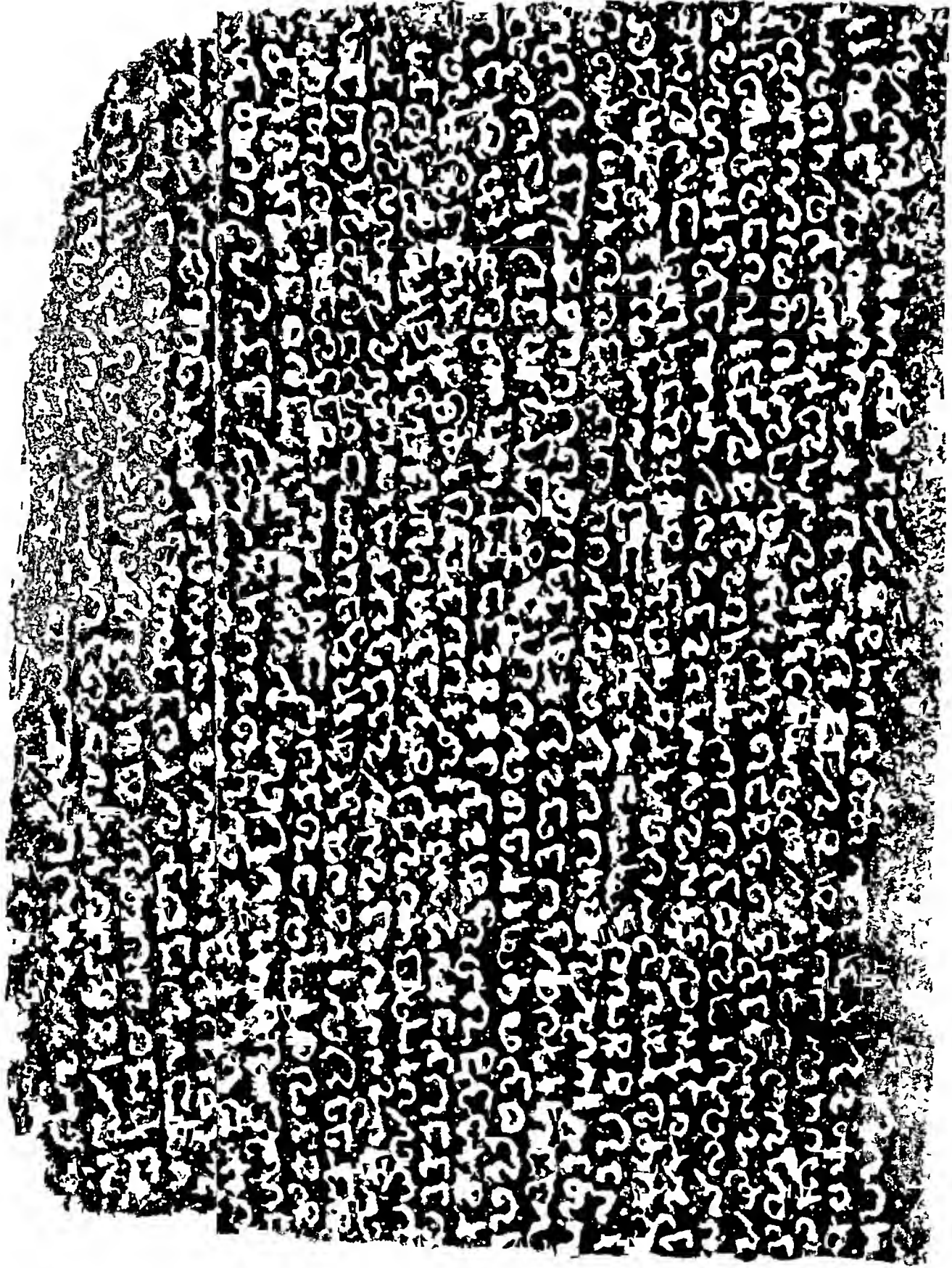
46

48

50



Second slab Second piece



83 ttēvadāna-ppiramadēyam Tiyambakamaṅgalaṁ Ira-  
 84 [na]vālimāṅgalattu=chēhavaṁyūr kaṁn<sup>1</sup> mērpadi po-  
 85 [li]ūt-āga<sup>2</sup> vaitta nīrai-kurāyā=ppalan-kāśu mu-  
 86 ppatt-irandu i-kkāsāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai pol[i] nīrai-  
 87 madi-nārāyattāl iru-kāla-nell āga vanda nellu arupā-  
 88 ttu-nār-kalam [i\*] i-nnellāl iṣa[r\*]gal niyadippadi kon-  
 89 du-vandu śelutta-kkadavāna [i\*] nāli<sup>3</sup>=ppālukku iru-nāli ne-  
 90 li-āga=ttirumaṅjanam ādi arula=ppaśuvin-pīl niya-  
 91 di nā nāli [i\*] nāli-ttairukku<sup>4</sup> iru-nāli-nell-āga=tti-  
 92 rumaṅjanam ādi-arula=ppaśuvin-rair<sup>5</sup> niyadi nā-  
 93 nāli i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpadī-  
 94 l i-ttēvarakkēy amdu kāśu daṇḍamum pattu=ch-  
 95 eheluttādu vaitta mudal=irattin<sup>6</sup>=kuduppadu

*Second slab, First face*

96 i-nnāttu kKengamaṅgalattu-ppadum Ālampattattu ū-  
 97 rār kaṁn<sup>1</sup> mērpadi poliūt-āga<sup>2</sup> vaitta nīrai-kurāyā=ppalan-kāśu pa-  
 98 di[n-ā]ru i-kkāsāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl i-  
 99 ru-kāla-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-iru-kalam [i\*] i-nnellāl iṣa[r\*]gal  
 100 [niya]dippadi [kon]du-vandu śelutta-kkadavāna [i\*] ōr-ilanī[ru]kku nāli nell-ā-  
 101 ga=ttirumaṅjanam ādi-arula ilanīr vaḷuvai utpadā niyadi iru nāli u-  
 102 lakku [i\*] nāli ilanīrukku nāl-ilanīr-āga niyadi idum ilanīr ettu [i\*] i-  
 103 ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpadī i-ttēvarakkēy amdu kāśu da-  
 104 ndamum pattu=cheheluttādu vaitta mudal=irattin<sup>6</sup>=kuduppadu [i\*] i-nnā-  
 105 [t]tu Mūnāvirapa[tti]nattu nagirattār kai[i]n<sup>1</sup> [in]rpadī poliūt-āga<sup>2</sup> vai-  
 106 tta nīrai-kurāyā=ppalan-kāśu nūr-irupadu i-kkāsāl oru-kāśuk-  
 107 ku ā[n]duvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kāla-nell-āga vanda ne-  
 108 llu iru-nūr-ā nārpadu-kalam [i\*] i-nnellāl iṣa[r\*]gal niyadippa-  
 109 di kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavāna [i\*] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattār=  
 110 padin-kāla-nell-aḷgam-āga [i\*] nūr-āmbadi-pīl narum-pūvinukku oru-  
 111 kās āga [i\*] śrī-paḷittāmatinukku niyadi aḷakka-kkadava narum-pū=ppadi-  
 112 [nāli] [i\*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpadī<sup>7</sup> i-ttēvarakkēy irubāt-  
 113 t-amdu-kāśu da[n]damum pattu=cheheluttādu vaitta mudal=irattin<sup>6</sup>=kudup-  
 114 paḷdu [i\*] Śrīvallabha-valanāttu=ppiramadēyam Kattiraimaṅgalattu=chēhavaṁyā-  
 115 r kaṁn<sup>1</sup> mērpadi poliūt-āga<sup>2</sup> vaitta nīrai-kurāyā=ppalan-kāśu ton[nū]rru-  
 116 nāngu ponn=amdu [i\*] i-kkāsāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattā-  
 117 l iru-kāla-nell-āga vanda nellu nūr-enbatt-onpadin-kalam [i\*] i-n[ne]-  
 118 llāl iṣa[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavāna [i\*] nāli-chēhu[ru]-payarru-ppo-  
 119 rikku nāli-uḷakku=ppayar-āgavum [i\*] nāli=ppayarukku iru-nāli-nell-ā-  
 120 ga=ppori ida mīśadam śiru-[pa]yar-ppori niyadi u[ri][nu]kku<sup>8</sup> aḷakka-kkadava  
 121 śiru-payaru ur-āḷakku oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattār=padin-kāla-nel-  
 122 l-aḷgam-āga [i\*] oru-kānattukku=ppadi[n-o]ru-nāli uḷakku māṅjal-āga=ttirū-  
 123 mēni pūśi-arula mē-rōl śiraitta par-ā-māṅjal niyadi mūlakku [i\*]  
 124 [o]viya[lu]m pāvādaium<sup>9</sup> ōr-anai oru-kāśu perrana oru-murai mu-ttin-

<sup>1</sup> Read *kaṁn*<sup>4</sup> Read *ttairukku*Read *padī*<sup>2</sup> Read *liyūt āga*<sup>5</sup> Read *layir*<sup>6</sup> Read *urvinukku*<sup>3</sup> The *h* of *nāli* looks like *li*<sup>8</sup> Read *gun*<sup>9</sup> Read *yum*

- 125 galukku nāl-anaiy-āga ōr-āndu nāngu-muraikku ven-kūrai padin-ār-anai [\*] 1-  
 126 pparisu śeluttādu kuttukkārpadi 1-ttēvarkkēy irupatt-aindu  
 127 kāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=irattun<sup>1</sup>=kuduppadu [\*]  
 128 Parāntaka-valanāttu=ppiramadēyam [Parai]śumangala[ttu=ite]n-kūlakku Ti-  
 129 [nni]-chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppala-  
 130 n-kāśu irubatt-aindu [\*] 1-kkāsāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madi-nā-  
 131 rāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu aimbadin-kalam 1-nnellā-  
 132 l iva[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana [\*] nāl-arisikku mu-nnāl nel-  
 133 l-āga=ttiru-ppalukku niyadi arisi sennar-rittal oru-pōdaiḱku nāliy-āga 1-  
 134 randu pōdaiḱku arisi sennar-rittal iru-nāl [\*] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl  
 135 padin-kala-nell-aḱgam-āga śrī-madaippalli-kkattu mērkattikku=ppudavai inai 1-  
 136 rand-arai-kkānam perrana oru-murai aṅu-tingalukku īr-anaiy-āga ōr-āndu irandu-mu-  
 raik-  
 137 ku=ppudavai nāl-anai [\*] kal-puraikku=ppudavai inai irandu-kānam perrana oru-  
 murai mu-ttin-  
 138 galukku īr-anaiy-āga ōr-āndu nā gu-murai[k\*]ku=ppudavai ett-anai [\*] 1-pparīśu  
 śeluttādu kut-  
 139 tukkārpadi 1-ttēvarkkēy aindu-kāśu dandamum pattu-chcheluttādu vitta muda-  
 140 l=irattun<sup>1</sup>=kuduppadu 1-nnāttu=ppiramadēya[m\*] Māramangalattu=  
 141 chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppa-  
 142 lan-kāśu nūr-ambatt-iraṇḱ-arai [\*] 1-kkāsāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai  
 143 poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu mu-nnūr-  
 144 r-aiṇ-kalam [\*] 1-nnellāl iva[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana [\*]  
 145 oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl padin-kala-nell-aḱgam-āga [\*] śrī-tūpam  
 146 śidārunukku<sup>4</sup> vēndum uṇu[ppu<sup>5</sup>] aḱil-utpada=kkarpūramun=tēnu[m] ni-  
 147 yadi arai-kkānam vīlai pera iduvadu [\*] śrī-karpakka-agaṭtu-kkattu mēṅkat-  
 148 tikku ven-kūrai inai ēi-arai-kkānam perrana oru-murai āru-tingalukku  
 149 nāl-anaiy-āga ōr-āndu irandu muraikku ven-kūrai ett-anai [\*] nāl-ttair<sup>6</sup>-amudinuk-  
 150 ku iru-nāl nell-āga=ttiru-ppalukku=ppaśuvin=rōy-tair<sup>6</sup> niyadi nāl [\*]  
 151 tattaḱ kottigalukku=hkoṅṅu nellu=ttiṅgal [nā]r-kala[ne]y padin<sup>7</sup>-ku-  
 152 ruṇi nāl uriy-āga ōr-āndu pannirandu tingalukku vēndum nellu nīrai-  
 153 madi-nārāyattāl aimbatt-eḱu-kalam<sup>8</sup>

*Second slab ; Second face*

- 154 1 nnāttu=ppiramadēyam Tenrakku . . .  
 155 llūr-chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta ni-  
 156 rai-kuraiyā=ppalan-kāśu arupadu [\*] 1-kkāsāl oru-kāśukku āndu-  
 157 varai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu  
 158 nūr irupadin-kalam [\*] 1-nnellāl iva[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-  
 159 kkadavana [\*] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl padin-kala-nell-aḱgam-ā-  
 160 ga [\*] śrī-uḱaiy-āḱai inai mūṅgu-kāśu perrana oru-murai mu-ttiṅgalukku

<sup>1</sup> Read *ḱyun*

<sup>2</sup> Read *kaṅyin*

<sup>3</sup> Read *poliyūt-aga*

<sup>4</sup> Read *śidāṅṅinukku*

<sup>5</sup> The letters in brackets look like *ḱu*

<sup>6</sup> Read *taṅṅir*

<sup>7</sup> To make up the total of 57 *lalam* in this item the word *padin* ought to be *padin-oru*

<sup>8</sup> There is some blank space in this line after *eḱu lalam* and space for another line below, in which should have been incised the words 1 *pparīśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpadi* 1 *ttēvarkkē aimbadi kāśu dandamum pattu* 1 *chcheluttādu* 1 *ḱḱa mudal=irattun=kuḱuppadu*.

161 ōr-anaiy-āga ōr-āndu nāngu-muraikku śrī-udaiy-āдай nāl-anai [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-p-  
 162 pariśu śeluttadu kuttukkārpādil i-ttēvarkkēy panni-  
 163 rand-arai-kkāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=iratti-  
 164 un<sup>1</sup>=kuduppadu [||<sup>\*</sup>] 'Amitaguna-valanāttu=ppiramadēyam Avani-  
 165 paśēkaramangalattu=chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta  
 166 nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalan-kāśu arupadu [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku ānduva-  
 167 rai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūrr-iru-  
 168 padin-kalam [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-nnellāl iva[r<sup>\*</sup>]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kka-  
 169 davana [i<sup>\*</sup>] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattār=padin-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga śrī-  
 170 udaiy-āдай inai mūnru-kāśu perrana oru-murai mu-ttingalukku ōr-anaiy-ā-  
 171 ga ōr-āndu nāngu-muraikku śrī-udaiy-āдай nāl-anai i-ppariśu śeluttādu kut-  
 172 tukkārpādil i-ttēvarkkēy panni-rand-arai-kkāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttā-  
 173 du vitta mudal=irattiun<sup>4</sup>=kuduppadu [||<sup>\*</sup>] Kuda-nāttu=ppiramadēyam Puluv-  
 174 dai-chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppala  
 175 n-kāśu nūrr-irupadu [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāya-  
 176 ttāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu iru-nūrru-nārpadin-kalam i-nne-  
 177 llāl iva[r<sup>\*</sup>]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana [i<sup>\*</sup>] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāya-  
 178 ttāl padin-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga śrī-udaiy-āдай inai mūnru-kāśu perrana oru-  
 179 murai mu-ttingalukku ir-anaiy-āga ōr-āndu nāngu-muraikku śrī-udaiy-āдай [e]-  
 180 tt-anai [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpādil i-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-  
 181 t-andu-kāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=irattiun<sup>4</sup>=kuduppa-  
 182 du [||<sup>\*</sup>] i-nnāttu=ppiramadēyam Kīranur-chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poli-  
 183 ūtt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalan-kāśu iru-nūrr-ōrubattu-nāngu [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-  
 184 kkāśāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-ā-  
 185 ga vanda nellu nā-nūrr-irubatt-en-kalam i-nnellāl iva[r<sup>\*</sup>]gal niyadi-  
 186 ppadi kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana nāli-neykku irupadi-nāli-nell-āga  
 187 tirumañjanam<sup>5</sup> ādi-arula=ppaśuvin=naru-ney niyadi nā-nāli [i<sup>\*</sup>] oru-kāśukku  
 188 nīrai-madi-nārāyattār=padin-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga=ttulā-chchandanattu-  
 189 kku oru-kāś-āga=ttirumēni pūsum sandana-kkulambu-chchandanam niyadi  
 190 mu-ppalam [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpādil i-ttēvarkkē-  
 191 y aimbadu-kāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=i-  
 192 rattiun<sup>4</sup>=kuduppadu [||<sup>\*</sup>] i-nnāttu=ppiramadēyam Śadanga-ikkurich-  
 193 chi-chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalan-kā-  
 194 śu tonnūru [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl  
 195 iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūrr-enbadin-kalam [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-nnellāl niyadi-  
 196 padil iva[r<sup>\*</sup>]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavadu [i<sup>\*</sup>] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nā[rā]  
 197 yattār=padin-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga=ppadin-aṇ-kalañju karpūrattukku o[ru]-  
 198 kāś-āga=ttirumēni-pūsun=tiruchchandanattōdu kūtṭi araikku karpū-  
 199 ram niyadi ēl-arai-kkānam [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpādil  
 200 i-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-andu-kāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vit-  
 201 ta mudal=irattiun<sup>4</sup>=kuduppadu [||<sup>\*</sup>] i-nnāttu=ppiramadēyam Kadungōman-  
 202 galattu=chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalan-kāśu  
 203 padin-āru [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-m-  
 204 di-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-iru-kalam [i<sup>\*</sup>] i-nne-  
 205 llāl iva[r<sup>\*</sup>]gal niyadi-ppadi kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana ōr-ilanīrukku

<sup>1</sup> Read *yun*=<sup>2</sup> Read *kaṇṇ*<sup>3</sup> Read *poliūt-āga*<sup>4</sup> Read *irattiun*=<sup>5</sup> Read *Puṇṇi*

No	No of lines	Division	Name of village	The body of persons with whom money was invested	AMOUNT INVESTED	
					Kaṣu	Pon
1	8—19	Kuda nāḍu . .	Korlai	Ūrār	96	8
2	19—48	Do .	Nallūr . .	Do	168	6½
3	48—69	Do	Śāhyam . . .	Do	24	5½
4	69—82	Valudī vaṇanāḍu	Varaṇamangalam	Sabhai	110	0
5	82—95	Do	Iranavālmangalam in- cluded in Triyambaka- mangalam	Do	32	0
6	96—104	Do . .	Ālambrīṭṭam included in Gangaimangalam	Ūrār	16	0
7	104—114	Do . .	Mānavīrapaṭṭinam	Nagarattār	120	0
8	111 127	Śrīvallaḥḥa vaṇanāḍu	Kaṭṭāraṁmangalam	Sabhai	94	5
9	128—140	Parāntaka vaṇanāḍu	Tinnī included in Parānta mangalam	Do . .	25	0
10	140—153	Do	Māramangalam .	Do	152½	
11	154—164	Do .	Tonraḥka Hūr	Do	60	0
12	164—173	Amitaguna vaṇanāḍu	Avanipaśṭharamangalam	Do	60	0
13	173—182	Kuda nāḍu .	Puḥyidaī .	Do	120	0
14	182—192	Do	Kīranūr	Do	214	0
15	192—201	Do	Śadangavīkurichchi	Do	90	0
16	201—210	Do	Kadungōmangalam	Do	16	0

Rate per <i>kaṣu</i>	AMOUNT				Object for which the interest was utilised	Time in case of default
	<i>kalam</i>	<i>kururu</i>	<i>nāli</i>	<i>uri</i>		
2 <i>kaṣa</i> n	103	0			For supplying daily 16 <i>nāli</i> of rice on ordinary days and 96 <i>nāli</i> for 3 days in the year	25 <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	337	3	4	1	For supplying daily 1 <i>nāli</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee, 6 <i>nāli</i> of curd, 16 plantains, 1 <i>palam</i> of sugar, 10 <i>palam</i> of vegetables, 1 <i>ulallu</i> and 2 <i>kaṣu</i> of <i>layam</i> and double this quantity for 3 days	50 <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	19	2	1	1	For supplying daily 2 <i>nāli</i> of <i>payarru paru</i> for <i>lunim van</i> , 3 <i>parru</i> of betel leaves and 56 nuts, together with double the above quantity for 3 days	5 <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	220				For supplying daily 2 <i>nāli</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee for 5 lamps and 1 <i>ulallu</i> of ghee for 1 chain of lamps	12½ <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	61				For supplying daily 1 <i>nāli</i> of cow's milk and 1 <i>nāli</i> of curd	5 <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	32				For supplying daily 8 tender coconuts	Do
Do	240				For supplying daily 10 <i>nāli</i> of flowers	25 <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	180				For supplying daily 1 <i>uri</i> of <i>pori</i> and 3 <i>ulallu</i> of <i>man gāḥ</i> and 16 <i>anaḥ</i> of white cloth for the year	Do
Do	50				For supplying daily 2 <i>nāli</i> of rice for <i>baḥi</i> , and for four <i>eraḥ</i> of <i>pudavai</i> at the rate of 2½ <i>lanam</i> for 1 <i>ayai</i> and 8 <i>anaḥ</i> of <i>pudavai</i> at the rate of 2½ <i>man</i> for 1 <i>anaḥ</i> to be supplied during the year	5 <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	305				For supplying daily incense at 1½ <i>lanam</i> , for 8 <i>ayai</i> of white cloth at 7½ <i>lanam</i> each <i>anaḥ</i> for 1 year, for curd at 2 <i>nāli</i> of <i>paddi</i> per day and for drummers at 1 <i>palam</i> 10 <i>kururu</i> 1 <i>nāli</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> per month or 57 <i>lanam</i> per year	Omitted
Do	120				For supplying during the year 4 <i>ayai</i> of <i>uḍai uḍai</i> at 3 <i>kaṣu</i> per <i>anaḥ</i>	12½ <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	120				Ditto	Do
Do	240				For supplying 8 <i>anaḥ</i> of <i>uḍai uḍai</i> at 3 <i>kaṣu</i> per <i>ayai</i>	25 <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do	428				For supplying daily 1 <i>nāli</i> of ghee for an ointment, and 3 <i>palam</i> of sandal at 1 <i>tu lam</i> of sandal for 1 <i>kaṣu</i>	50 <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	180				For supplying daily 7½ <i>layam</i> of <i>larpūram</i> (1 <i>kaṣu</i> totaling 5 <i>kaṣaṇṇu</i> )	25 <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	32				To supply daily 8 tender coconuts at 1 <i>nāli</i> of paddy for 1 coconut	5 <i>kaṣu</i> and double the quantity at default

206 nāḷi-nell-āga=ttirumañjanam ādi-arula ilanīr valuvai utpada niya-  
 207 di iru-nāḷunukku<sup>1</sup> nāḷi-ilanīrukku nāl-ilanīr-āga niyadī idum ila-  
 208 nīr ettu [i\*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpadiḷ i-ttūvarḷ-  
 209 kēy aindu-kāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=irattin<sup>2</sup>=l u-  
 210 duppadu [||\*]

# No 18—THE BHADRENIYAKA GRANT OF ŚILADITYA I, G E 292

By THE LATE MR R D BANERJEE, M A

These two copper plates were purchased along with five others by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India from the widow of the late Dr Gerson da Cunha of Bombay. The place where they were found originally is not known.

These plates measure 11½" by 8½" and are joined together by means of a thick copper wire which passes through them. Only one side of these plates has been used for writing the record which consists of thirty-two lines, nineteen being engraved on the first and thirteen on the second plate. A copper seal which is oval in shape is affixed to the ends of the copper wire and bears the legend "Śrī-Bhataḷḷaḥ" which is usually found on the seals of the dynasty to which Śilāditya belonged.

The inscription has not been incised very carefully and consequently it contains many mistakes. Only a portion of it is incised neatly but the engraving of the rest (ll 13-19) is very thin. It is written in Sanskrit and, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, the whole of it is in prose. The alphabet belongs to the Western variety of the Northern script of the seventh century A D. As regards orthography, signs for *i* and *ī* have not always been distinguished, probably owing to the carelessness of the writer, *anusāra* and *visarga* have been omitted in several places, e.g., *sa*[m\*]*śālā* (l 5), *sāmānya*[m\*] (l 28), *atīsayāna*[h\*] (l 6), *-lāryya-phala*[h\*] (l 7), etc., *n* is used for *anusāra* in *vanśa*- (ll 3, 27) and *n* in *ansa* (l 14) and *anyāś=cha* (l 18), *n* takes the place of *m* in *pranat*<sup>o</sup> (l 4). In addition to the usual *danda* a dot has been used in two places to mark the punctuation, *cf* l 29 after *Vyāsēna* and l 33 after *Vatrabhāṭṭinā*. The *upadhmānīya* occurs three, in ll 10, 19 and 23, and the *ṛiḥāmūṭīya* only once, in l 17. Usually consonants have been doubled when used in combination with the superscript *r*, e.g., *mārgga*- (l 5), *-sthāryya-dhāryya-gāmbhīryya* (l 6), etc. The numerical symbols for 2, 4, 10, 90, and 200 are to be found in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Śilāditya I, who was the son of the illustrious Dharasēna, who was the son of the illustrious Guhasēna, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshippers of Śiva. Like other records of the later kings of Valabhī this inscription also omits the names of the four sons of the *Sēnāpati* Bhatārka in the genealogical portion of it. The grant registered in these plates was issued from the victorious camp at Dēvīśaras on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra in 292<sup>3</sup> G E (cirea 610-11 A D), and was written

<sup>1</sup> Read *naḷi nall u-*

<sup>2</sup> Read *irattiyun*

<sup>3</sup> [The late Mr Banerjee read the date as 290 and it has been so included in the *List of Northern Inscriptions* No 1337 (above, Vol XX, App p 181) I, however, read it as 292. It thus becomes the last known date of Śilāditya I. In the interval between this and the next Valabhī grant dated 304 G E issued by Dharasēna (III), at least one ruler, viz., Kharagraha, Śilāditya's younger brother, must have ruled. Recently a copper plate issued by this prince has come to light, and apparently he is the *Dātā* of many of Śilāditya I's grants, including the present one.—Ed.]

by the *Sandhivigrahādhikṛta* (minister of peace and war) *Divirapati* Vatrabhṭṭi<sup>1</sup> The *Dūtaka* was Kharagraha, probably the younger brother of the king and heir-apparent, who succeeded Śilāditya I

According to this grant, two hundred *pādāvarṭtas* of land in the village of Bhadrēniyaka in the Bāra-Vanasthali were given for the worship of the Sun-god established in that village Out of these two hundred *pādāvarṭtas*, one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmana Prabhandata, to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmana named) Rudra, to the north of the *dandaka* (chain of hills ?) called Baratikā, and to the west of the junction of the boundary of the village of Gōppara-vātaka Of the remaining hundred *pādāvarṭtas* the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece<sup>2</sup> of land (*lava*) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (*bhāikṣhaka*), and now made over to the Sun temple along with the other piece of land The land was granted for the maintenance of the worship (*pūjā*) and its other accessories, viz, bath (*snāpana*), sandal (*gandha*), flowers (*pushpa-mālya*) lamp-oil (*dīpa-taila*), vocal and instrumental music (*vādyā gīta*) and dances (*nṛitya*), the cost of sacrifices and offerings (*bali-charu-satra*), the maintenance of the servants of the god (*pādamūla*) and the cost of repairing any damages (*khanda-sphurita-pratisamskāra*) I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant, viz, Dēvisaras (l 1), Bhadrēniyaka (l<sup>1</sup> 19-20, 22), Bāra-Vanasthali<sup>3</sup> (l 22), Baratikā-dandaka<sup>4</sup> (l 23) and Gōpparavātaka (l 23)

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

##### First Plate

- 1 Ōm<sup>6</sup> svasti [\*] Vijaya-skandhāvārād=Dē[vi]sarō vāsakāt prasabha-pranat  
āmītrānā[m\*] Maitrakānām=atula-bala-sampanna-mandala-(l-ā)bhōga-sam-
- 2 sakta-prahāra-sata-labdhā-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjvit-ānurāgād=anu-  
rakta-maula-bhṛita-śrēnī-pa(ba)l-āvāpta-
- 3 rājya-śrīyah parama-māhēśvara-śrī-Bha ta(tā)rikā d=avyavachchhinna-rāja-vanāśān=mātā-  
pitri-charan-āravinda-pranati-pravidhant-āsēsha-kalmashah
- 4 śē(śai)śavāt=prabhṛiti khadga-dvitiya-bāhur=ēva samada-para-gaja-ghatā-sphōtana-  
prakāśita-satva-nikashas=tat-pratāva<sup>7</sup>-prana(na)t-ārāti-chūda(dā)-ra-
- 5 tna-prabhā-sa[m\*]sakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi samhatī=sakala-smṛitō(tī)-pranīta-mārgga-  
samyak-paripālana-prajā-hṛidaya-rañjan-ānva[r\*]ttha-rāja-śabdah
- 6 rūpa-kānti-sthairyā-dhanīya-gāmbhīrya-buddhi-sashpa(mpa)dbhis=Smara-śasānk-Ādrirāj-  
ōdadhi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanēśān-atīśayāna[h\*] śaran-āśa(ga)t-ābhaya-

<sup>1</sup> [This Vatrabhṭṭi has also been called Vasabhṭṭi (No 1341 of List) and Vasabhata (No 1349) The readings Vatprabhṭṭi (No 1337, i e, the present grant), Chandrabhṭṭi (No 1338) and Chatrabhṭṭi (No 1345) are misreadings The members of the family to which Vatrabhṭṭi belonged seem to have held charge of the War Office under at least eight princes of the Maitraka dynasty for four generations, viz, Skandabhṭṭa (apparently the father of Vatrabhṭṭi), Vatrabhṭṭi, his son Skandabhṭṭa and the latter's son Anahila —Ed ]

<sup>2</sup> [If the two dots after *lavam* are to be treated as equivalent to 2, then the two pieces of *Bhāikṣhaka* land together consisted of 100 *pādāvarṭtas* —Ed ]

<sup>3</sup> [This though not so specified must have been the *mandala*, probably consisting of the Vanasthali twelve (?) Vanthali, an important place in Junagadh State may be suggested as the modern equivalent of the place, although it was known as Vāmanasthali in the medieval period —Ed ]

<sup>4</sup> [The boundary of Barataka (probably a village) and the way leading to village Bhadrānaka as also a well belonging to the god Āditya are referred to in the Dhānk grants of G E 290 issued by the same king Śilāditya I It is likely that the lands mentioned in these two grants lie in the same locality —Ed ]

<sup>5</sup> The text is edited from the original plates in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>7</sup> Read *prabhāva*



- 7 pradīna-paratayā trinavad=apāst-īśēsha-sva-kāryya-phala[h\*] prārtthan-ādḥik-  
ārttha-pradān-ānandita-vidvat-suhrit-pranaya(vi)-hridayah pāda-
- 8 chār=īva sakala-bhuvana-mandal-ābhōga-pramōdah parama-māhēśvarah sri-Guha-  
sēnas=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-visri-
- 9 ta-Jāhnavī-jal-augha-prakshāht-īśēsha-kalmashah pranayi-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sam-  
pad-rūba(pa)-lōbhād=iv=āsritah sarabhasam=ā-
- 10 bhigāmikair=ggunais=sahaja-śakti-sikshā-visēsha-vismātāpit<sup>1</sup>-ākḥila-bala dhanurdharah=  
prathama-narapati-samatīsrishṭā[nā\*]m=anupālayitā
- 11 dharmma-dāyānām mapākarttā<sup>2</sup> praj-ōpaghāta-kārīnām=upaplavānām darśayitā  
Śrī-Sarasvatyōr=ēk-adhivāsasya sya(sam)hat-ārāti-paksha-la-
- 12 kshmi-ba(pa)ribhōga-daksha-vikramā(mō) vikram-ōpasamprāpta-vimala-pārtthiva-śrīh  
parama-māhēśvarah śrī-Dharasō(sē)nas=tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānu-
- 13 dhyātas=sakala-di(ja)gad-ānandan-ātv-adbhuta-guna-samuda[ya\*]-sthaḡita-samagra-dig(n)-  
mandalas=samara-śata-vijaya-sōbhā-sanātha-mandalāgra-
- 14 dyuti-bhāsuratar-ānsa(msa)-pith-ōdūdha-guru manōratha-mā(ma)hābhāras=sarvva-vidyā-par-  
āpara-vibhāg-ādḥigama-vimela-matir=apī sarvva-
- 15 tas=subhāshita-lavēn=āpī sukh-ōpāpādaniya-paritōshas=samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhūyya-  
hridayō=pi sucharit ātisava-su-
- 16 vyakta-parama-kalva(lyā)na-sva bhāvah khilībhūta-Kṛita-yuga-nripati-patha-viśōdhan-  
ādḥigat-ōdagra-kirttir=ddharmm-āmu(nu)parōdh-ōjvalata-
- 17 rikrit-ārthta-sukha-sampad-upasātvā-nirūdha-Dharmmāditya-dvītiya-nāmā parama-  
māhēśvarah śrī-Silādityah=kuśālī sarvvān=ē-
- 18 v=āyuktaka-vimnyuktaka-drāṅḡika-mahattara-saulika-chaurōddharanika-chāta-bhata-kumā-  
rāmāty-ādīn=anyāns(mś)=cha yathā-samba-
- 19 dhyamānakān=samājñāpayat=astu vas=samviditam yathā mayā mātā-pitr[ō]h=punya-  
āpyāyanāja Bhadrē-

### Second Plate

- 20 niyaka-grāmā(ma) nupi(vi)sht-Ādityadēva-pādānām pūjā-snapanagandha-pushpa-mālya-  
dīpa-tail-ādya-upayōgāya vādya-gīta-nṛity-ā-
- 21 dy-artthē vāli-charu-satr-ōtsarppanāya pādāmūla-prajīvā(va)nāyā(ya) dēvakulasya  
cha khanda-sphutita-pratisamskāraya
- 22 cha Bāra-vanasthalyām Bhadrēniyaka-grāmē pūrvva-sīmni brāhmaṇa-Prabhaṇdata-  
satka-brahma-dēya-kshētrāt=pūrvvatah Rudra-
- 23 satka-brahma-dēya-kshētrād=dakshinātah Baratikū-dandakād=uttarātah Gōppara-  
bā(vā)taka-[grā]ma-simā-sandhīr=aparatah=pādāvarṭta-śatam
- 24 tatth=āsimni=ēva grāmē bhāikshakam<sup>3</sup> lavam=ētat=pādāvarṭta-śatam bhāikshakam  
cha sōdrangam sōparikaram savāta-bhūta-pratyāyam sadhānya-
- 25 hirany-īdēyam sadaśāparādham sōtpadyamāna-vishtis<sup>4</sup> sarvva-rājakīyānām=ahasta-  
prakshēpanīyam pūrvva-pratta-brahma-dēya-
- 26 varjyitam bhūma(mi)-chohhidra-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārkk-ārnnava-kshita(ti)-sarit-paivvata-  
samakālīnam dharmma-dāyatayā nīsrishṭam yatah u-
- 27 piri[li\*]khita-sthityā bhujyamānasya na kaischid=vyāsēdhē varṭti[ta\*]vyām=āgāmi-  
bhadrā-nīpatibhir=apy=asmad-vanśajair=anyair=vvā anityā-

<sup>1</sup> Read *ismāpit*

<sup>2</sup> Read *dharmma dāyānām = apāl arttā*

<sup>3</sup> [The *isarga* is superfluous or it may be the numerical sign for 2 — Ed ] <sup>4</sup> Read *vishtikam*

28 ny=aiśvārya, āny=asthīram mānushyam sāmānya[m<sup>1</sup>] cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=ava-  
gachchhadbhur=ayam=asmad-dāy=ōnumantyaavyāh(vyah) paripālayi-  
29 tavyaś=ch=ēty=uktam cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna |<sup>1</sup> Bahubhur=vvasudhā  
bhuktā rājabhūṣ=Śagar-ādibhūh [\*] yasya yasya yadā  
30 bhūmis=tā(ta)sya tasya tadā phalam || Yān=iha dāridrya-bhayān=narēndrar=  
ddhanāni dharm-āyatani(nī)-mri(kṛ)tāni (1\*) nīrbhū(bhū)kta-mālyā-  
31 pratimāni tāni kō nāma sīdhuḥ punar=ādadita || Shashtim varsha-sahasrāni svarggē  
mōdati bhūmidah [\*] āchchhētā ch=ā-  
32 numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti ||<sup>2</sup> Dūtakaś=ch=ātra śrī-Kharagrahah  
likhitam sandhivigrahādhumri(kṛ)ta-Divirapati-  
33 Vātrabhattinā |<sup>3</sup> Sam 200 90 2 Chaitra-śu 10 4 [\*] Sva-hastō mama ||

# No 19 —THE PIRANMALAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA ŚAKA 1440

BY V VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B A, MADRAS

This inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the south wall of the 'Sundara-Pāndyan-mandapa' in the Mangalnāthēśvara temple at Pirānmalai in the Ramnad district. The surface of the stone containing the inscription is not specially dressed for engraving, but the record is in a good state of preservation.

The language of the inscription is Tamil prose and the alphabet is Tamil with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and the end. A few orthographical peculiarities such as the use of *sheḥa* in place of (i) *lsha* (13) and of (u) *sha* (11), of *la* for *la* (19) and non-adherence to *sandhi* rules (11, 5, 10, 12 and 13) are worthy of note.

Some of the revenue terms used in the record require explanation —

*Kadamai* (11) This word is used in Tamil inscriptions and literature in the sense of a tax, mostly on land. It also seems to include any assessment levied on an industry or a profession, of the taxes *Śellu-kadamai*, *Tōnk-kadamai*, *Taruk-kadamai*, etc.

*Kānikkai* (112) This term literally means 'a free gift' or 'voluntary offering'. *Kānika* in Telugu denotes a tribute paid to a superior. Compare the term *Padai-kānikkai* which is a contribution made for the maintenance of an army and also the terms *Kānikkai-pattipon* and *Nāttuk-kānikkai*.

*Vēndukōi* (112) may be explained as a fee paid along with an application or request.

*Vinnyōgam* occurring in 112 may be rendered as 'a fee collected for a common purpose', of the terms *Nāttu-vinnyōgam*, *Sabhā-vinnyōgam*, *Ōlar-eduppu-vinnyōgam* and *Vāśal-vinnyōgam*.

The present record is dated in Śaka 1440 in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler Krishna-dēva-Mahārāya, 'who conquered all countries'. The astronomical details<sup>4</sup> of date given in it viz, Mithuna, ba amāvāsyā, Tuesday, Vriddhi-yōga and solar eclipse, point to Tuesday, June 8, 1518 A.D., as its equivalent, when there was a solar eclipse visible in India.

The object of the inscription is to register the tax-free grant of the village Mēlūr in Sōlāpāndya-valanādu, by Ponnammalanātha-Tondaimān, the chief (*arāṣu*) of Arantāngi, for offerings and worship to the god Nallamangaibūgar at Tirukkodunkunram, during the early morning service instituted after his name in the temple.

<sup>1</sup> Mark of punctuation expressed by a dot

<sup>2</sup> Read *vasēti* [11] *iti* ||

<sup>3</sup> No 201 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

<sup>4</sup> In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24, p. 59, the cyclic year is wrongly read as Saumya, but it can be read as Vegudhānya (or Bahudhānya) which was current in Śaka 1440.

The importance of the record lies chiefly in the mention made in it of Ponnambalanātha<sup>1</sup> Tondaimān, the foremost of the chiefs of Arantāngi. This town, now a terminus of the Tanjore District Board Railway and a taluk headquarter rose to the position of an important principality in the beginning of the 16th century, when there was a general unsettlement in the Pāndya country. The rule of the Pāndvas of Madura was, by this time, restricted to the extreme south of their dominions, comprising the present Tinnevely district, the northern part of the Pāndya territory having been lost originally to the Vānakōvaraiyars and latterly to the Nāyakas of Madura. Upon the spoils of the original Pāndya kingdom rose the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura and the Sētopatis of Ramnad, all of whom gradually formed hereditary principalities wielding considerable power in the country. In the struggle of these principalities for power, Arantāngi with its central position soon rose to prominence. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the principality of Arantāngi as made out from inscriptions, of which about 25 have so far come to light, revealing the names of a number of chiefs, whose rule covers a period of nearly a century and half.

In inscriptions, the chiefs of Arantāngi have the distinct appellations 'Arantāngi-araśu' and 'Tondaimān'. The latter title<sup>2</sup> which is the earlier of the two, means 'the king of Tondai' or 'Tondaimandalam', i.e., the Pallava country, the traditional capital of which was Kāñchī-puram. Several chiefs with this distinguishing title and claiming Pallava descent are met with in inscriptions dating from the 11th century A.D. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by the Chōlas and the Pāndyas, some chiefs claiming descent from the Pallavas and bearing the title *Tondaimān* seem to have served as local officers and become potentates in the extreme south. One such chief who lived towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. was Karunākara-Tondaimān of Vanduvāñjēr (i.e., modern Vandai) in the Kumbakonam taluk, the hero of the Tamil poem *Kalīngattupparam*. A few other chiefs bearing the title 'Tondaimān' are met with in inscriptions found chiefly in and around the Pudukkōttai State not far from the Arantāngi region. It is possible that they were the ancestors or close forbears of the Arantāngi Tondaimān chiefs. A Tondaimān chief by name Valattu-vālvitta-Perumāl<sup>3</sup> claiming to belong to Vēsinga-nādu, a district to the north-east of the Pudukkōttai State figures in a record from that State, dated in 1201 A.D. A record of the Pāndya king Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśekhara<sup>4</sup> also mentions this chief and another<sup>5</sup> makes provision for the 'Valattu-vālvittān-śrīndi' (a service named after the chief) in the 19th year of Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara. In the Tamil poem *Kapparkōvai* the hero is a certain Karumānikkan, a chief of Kappalūr near Pudukkōttai<sup>6</sup>. He is there styled a Tondaimān and described as a minister and a general of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya. A record from Nandalūr<sup>7</sup> in the Cuddapah district mentions

<sup>1</sup> In *Sen Tamil*, Vol VI, p. 318, this title has been explained as "the vassal of an overlord". The earliest reference to the name Tondaimān in the Pāndya country is found in an inscription dated in the 5th year of Rājendra Chōla I, i.e., A.D. 1016 on the Nārttāmalai hill (vide 'A General History of the Pudukkōttai State' by Radhakrishnan, p. 113). There is also a reference to Tondaimān in the *Mahātamiśa* of Ceylon. While chronicling the war of the Pāndya succession, this text says 'that the Pāndyan king Kulaśekhara on being defeated by the Sinhalese troops of Ceylon, who supported his rival, fled to the mountains of Tondaimāna, that Kulaśekhara then attacked the Sinhalese forces at Pon Amarāvati (a village in the south west of the Pudukkōttai State) and was again defeated, and that with the help of the ruler of Tondaimāna and some other chieftains, Kulaśekhara once more opposed the forces of Ceylon and was once again defeated'. The hill where Kulaśekhara Pāndya is said to have concealed himself is probably no other than the Nārttāmalai hill in the Pudukkōttai State.

<sup>2</sup> Vide 'A General History of the Pudukkōttai State', p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> No. 355 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>4</sup> No. 498 of 1918 of the same collection.

<sup>5</sup> *Sen Tamil*, Vol VI, p. 318ff.

<sup>6</sup> No. 594 of 1907.

Tondaimūnār *alias* Tirunelvūl-Udayār who was a minister of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya. This inscription is dated in the 17th year and the astronomical details given therein point to A D 1293, March 14, Saturday, as its English equivalent. It seems very likely that the Tondaimūnār referred to in the Nandalūr record is identical with the minister Karumīnikkan mentioned in the Tamil poem. Though these records show that the Tondaimūns were among the potentates of the territory around Arantāṅgi during the 13th century A D none of them assumed the title 'Arantāṅgi arasu' (lord of Arantāṅgi) before the end of the 15th century A D.

Besides being the Tondaimūns or Pallavas, the chiefs of Arantāṅgi appear to have been connected in some manner with the Perumāls of Tinnevely, for we find a lithic record from Ettivattal<sup>1</sup> in the Arantāṅgi taluk mentioning Tirunelvūl-perumāl Tondaimūnār as the chief of Arantāṅgi. This record is dated in the cyclic year Virōdhi and mentions the signatory Nīrambavalagi-ān-Kūṅgarāyan who figures in another epigraph<sup>2</sup> in the same place dated in Śaka 1364 (= A D 1412) and may therefore, be assigned to A D, 1469. About this time Jatāvarman Arakṣarāṭa *alias* Parākrama-Pāndya (A D 1420-1463) and his brother Kulaśekhara-dēva (A D 1429-1473) were ruling the Tinnevely and adjoining districts. The Arantāṅgi chiefs subsequently came under the yoke of the Vijayanagara Empire and accepted its suzerainty as is evidenced by the present record.<sup>4</sup> Ekapperumāl, the father of Ponṇambalanūtha-Tondaimūn, the donor of the present record, seems to have been a very pious ruler, for we find him in inscriptions making gifts to temples and instituting services therein called the 'Tondaimūn-sandī' after his name. Among the titles of Ponṇambalanūtha, special attention may be drawn to *Kāñchīpuravarādhīkara* 'the lord of Kāñchī, the best of cities' and *Dhū-nālayil Yīlam-tirai-lonḍa perumāl* 'the hero who levied tribute from Ceylon in seven days'. The title *Kāñchīpuravarādhīkara* assumed by him suggests that the family of Arantāṅgi Chiefs claimed Pallava descent. The other title indicates the important part played by the chief in Ceylon on behalf of his overlord.<sup>5</sup> Ponṇambalanūtha calls himself a devotee at the feet of Perumāl Āṇḍarāya-Tambirānār.<sup>6</sup> He was in power for over half a century (*circa* 1514-1569 A D) and acknowledged the overlordship of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāya at least between Śaka 1436<sup>7</sup> and 1452<sup>8</sup>. His territory was not confined to the limits of the present Arantāṅgi taluk. Inscriptions mentioning him are found in the Pudukkottai State, in the present Arantāṅgi taluk and at Pirānmalai in the Ramnad district.

<sup>1</sup> No 125 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>2</sup> No 126 of 1916 of the same collection.

<sup>3</sup> In an earlier record (No 209 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) from Tiruvarangulam, dated in Śaka 1370, Rudhirōdgārī, three chiefs of Arantāṅgi, viz., Ajagvamanavūlap Perumāl Tondaimūn, Sūrya dēvar Sundarapāndya Tondaimūn and Neppur Perumāl Kulaśekhara Tondaimūn are mentioned. The Śaka date in the record seems, however, to be wrongly cited for Śaka 1365 for, it is only about this time that we meet with two of the above mentioned chiefs in other inscriptions. Moreover in this inscription there is a small gap in the date portion to justify this doubt.

<sup>4</sup> See also Nos 312 and 313 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>5</sup> No 146 of 1903 from Pirānmalai is the only record that refers, to the invasion of Ceylon by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. It is dated in Śaka 1440 and also mentions the chief Ponṇambalanūtha Tondaimūn. It is known that the predecessors of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya were collecting tribute from Ceylon. Considering the shortness of time (*i.e.*, seven days) within which Ponṇambalanūtha is said to have achieved this feat, it is possible that the reference is only to a successful expedition to Ceylon to collect some arrears of tribute on behalf of his overlord Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Probably this feat of the feudatory was transferred to his overlord in No 146 of 1903 noted above. An actual invasion of Ceylon during Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign is not necessarily meant.

<sup>6</sup> Āṇḍarāya Tambirānār is the name of the god at Āṇḍarārkōyil, a village in the Arantāṅgi taluk and associated with the life of the saint Mānikāvachala.

<sup>7</sup> No 312 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>8</sup> No 240 of 1939 of the same collection.

Ponnambalanātha was succeeded in the Arantāngi principality by Āndivappa Achyutanāyaka-Tondaimān<sup>1</sup> son of Tyāgarasar Narasā-Nāyaka, who had also the titles *achchamarīyādān* and *alavvīlāyādān* and whose earliest date so far known is Śaka 1499 (= A D 1577), not far removed from the latest known date of Ponnambalanātha, viz., A D 1569

The line of Arantāngi Chiefs is at present supposed to be represented by the Zamindar of Pālayavanam in the Pudukkottai State<sup>2</sup>

The chiefs of Arantāngi so far known from epigraphical sources are —

- 1 Kulaśēkhara-Tondaimān<sup>3</sup> (1426 and 1443 A D),
- 2 Sūryadēvar Sundarapāndya-Tondaimān (1443 A D),
- 3 Malavallapperumāl-Tondaimān,
- 4 Alagiya Manavāpperumāl-Tondaimān (1443 and 1453 A D), his son
- 5 Lakkanadannāyaka-Tondaimān or Lakkappadannāyaka-Tondaimān (1453 A D),
- 6 Tirunelvēlpperumāl (1469 A D),
- 7 Ēkapperumāl-Tondaimān (1481 and 1499 A D), his three sons
- 8 Tirāvinaitīrttān-Tondaimān (1497 A D),
- 9 Āvudaiya-Nāyinār-Tondaimān (1499 A D) and
- 10 Ponnambalanātha-Tondaimān (1514-1569 A D), his son
- 11 Varavinōda Tondaimān (1536 A D),
- 12 Āndivappa Achyutanāyaka-Tondaimān, son of Tyāgarasar-Narasānāyaka (1577 A D) and
- 13 Arunāchala Vanangāmudi-Tondaimān, son of Raghunātha Vanangāmudi-Tondaimān<sup>4</sup> (1713 A D)

Of the places mentioned in the record Mēlūr is the modern village of the same name about 16 miles north-west of Madura. **Tirukkodunkunram** (i.e., Pīrānmalai) is said to have been in Tirumalai-nādu which must have taken its name from the modern village Tirumalai in the Śivaganga taluk. The territorial name **Sōlapāndya-valanādu** is significant and the division must have been formed after the establishment of the Chōla viceroys in the Pāndya country, who specially called themselves Śōla-Pāndyas

#### TEXT

- 1 [Svasti] [[[\*] Śrīman-ma[gā]mandaliśuran [ariyarāya]-vibhādan 'bāshchaikkut-tappuva-rāyira-gandan kanda-nādu-kondu konda-nādu-kudādān pūrva-
- 2 deshana<sup>5</sup>-pachchima-uttara-samuddirādhī[patī emma]ndalamum kondu e[undaru]-hya s[ri]-[Krishnadē[va]-Mah[ā]rāyar prithivī-rāchchiyam panni-arulānra
- 3 sakābdam 1440 idanmēl Vegu[dhā]nya-[varusha<sup>7</sup>]m uttarāyanattu Mithuna-nāyarru apara-pashchattu<sup>8</sup> [a]māvāsivaiyum Mangalavāramum Viruddi-
- 4 yōgamum perra irrai-nāl<sup>9</sup> Sūriya girana-punniya-kālattu Tirumalai-nāttut- **Tiruk-kodunkunrattu**<sup>10</sup> Nayinār Nallamangaibāgarku Ara[n]tāngi-araśu achchamarī-

<sup>1</sup> No 511 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. From the records so far available, it is not possible to say whether Varavinōda Tondaimān, the son of Ponnambalanātha succeeded his father as the chief of Arantāngi.

<sup>2</sup> *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 84

<sup>3</sup> From Nos 299 of 1914 and 238 of 1930, Nos 1, 2, 3 and 4 mentioned above appear to be brothers

<sup>4</sup> Known only from a copper plate record. Vide *Sen Tamil*, Vol. XII, p. 441 ff

<sup>5</sup> Read *bhasha*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *dakshina*.

<sup>7</sup> The word *varusham* is expressed by a symbol

<sup>8</sup> Read *apara pashchattu*.

<sup>9</sup> The *nakshatra* is not given

<sup>10</sup> Tirukkodunkunram is also known as Dakshina Kalliam in Nos 193 and 213 of 1924

- 5 [yāda]-perumāl 'alavilāñjāda-perumāl mugilin-kīl-ttiriyum-īla-Vanniyar-misura-gandan-  
āttukku-ānai-valangum-perumāl ēlu-nālayil Yilan-tiraikonda-perumā-
- 6 l kōn pāda [yāda]-perumāl Kāñchīpuravar-ādhisuran<sup>3</sup> Āvudaiya-Tambirānār-  
śrīpāda-bhaktan Ēkapperumāl-Tondaimānār puttiran
- 7 Ponnambalanātha-Tondaimānār Naymār Nallamangaibāgaru [u]bhāyamāga kat-  
tina ōru-kālach-chandikku amudupadi [śāttu]ppadi ullittu
- 8 vēndum nittam-nma[n]dan[galukku nam-{pērā}] kattina Ponnambalanātha-Tondai-  
mānār-śandiyāga amuduseyyum-padikku ku-
- 9 dutta [yī]-nnaymār dēvadāna 'nāmattukkāny=āga Śōla-Pāndiya-valanāttu  
Mēlūr peru-nāng-ellaikk=ul[patta]-
- 10 dum sa-hirany-ō[da]ka-dhārā-pūrvam=āga tī[runāmat]tukkāni āga chandr-ādityavar  
śellak-kuduttapadiālē idukkul ulpatta<sup>5</sup>
- 11 mdu-nikshēpa-jala-pāshāna-kūpa-[ta]tākādiyum Tambirānārkē unittāga kadavad=  
āgavum ivv=ūrku varum kadamai kā-
- 12 nikkaī vēndukōl vinīyōgam marrum eppērpatta<sup>6</sup> vari ubā(pā)dhiyum kaṭṭuk-ku-  
duttapadiālē chandr-ādityava-
- 13 rśella sarvamānnyam=āga tirunāmattukkāni-āga<sup>7</sup> anubhavittuk-kollavum kalhūm  
śembilum vettukko-
- 14 ndu tirunāmattukkāni-āga chandr-ādityavarśella anubhavittuk-kollavum inda  
danmattukku agitam pannu-
- 15 nayan Gamgaikkaraiyil kapūlayum brāhmananaiyum mātā-pitāvaiyum guru-  
vaiyum konra [dō]shattilē pō-
- 16 gakkadavān=āgavum<sup>8</sup> inda nērlē sarvamānnyam=āgapparrī anubhavittuk-kollavum  
Aran-
- 17 tāngi-kanakku Adi[ā]r\*[j]kkunallān Karpūrak-Kālīngarāyan<sup>9</sup> eluttu [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> The title 'alavilāñjādan' is not newly borne by this chief (Fide Nos 208 of 1924 and 173 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection)

<sup>2</sup> With the title *Vanniyar misura gandan* compare the titles *Vanniyar aṭṭan tavittan* and *Śorimuttu Vanniyar* assumed by the Śētupatī Chiefs (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* Burgess and Natesa Sastri, pp 73 and 79 and *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol V, p 13, foot-note 7) Local tradition confirmed by one of the Mackenzie Manuscripts says that two feudal chiefs of the Vanniya caste, who were ruling at Tiruvidaichchuram near Chingleput, defied the authority of the Vijayanagara king Krishnadevaraya. Since these chiefs were turbulent and wielded considerable power, their humiliation was considered to be a real feat by their conquerors. An inscription of Dēvarāya II gives him the title 'the lord who took the heads of the 18 Vanniyas' (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* No 11, p 150). The Vanniyas who had migrated from India as soldiers accompanying the successive Tamil invaders to Ceylon and settled permanently in the island, gave frequent trouble to the Ceylonese kings as well. The titles of Dēvarāya, Ponnambalanātha Tondaimān and the Śētupatīs of Ramnad regarding their exploits have reference to the help they rendered to the Ceylonese kings in subjugating the Vanniyas.

<sup>3</sup> The title *Kāñchīpuravarādhisvara* may be interpreted as 'one hailing from Conjeeveram'. The chiefs Pullaganda Siddarāśar (*A R* 1922, para 144) and Vijaya Gandagōpāla Madhusūdanadēva (*A R on S I Epigraphy* 1923, para 91) also assumed this title. It may be noted here that this *birula* borne by Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 330), indicates that the original home of the Madura Nāyakas was Conjeeveram. But in the case of Jaṭāvarmau Sundara Pāndya (acc 1251 A D) (*S I I*, Vol V, No 483), this *birula* was assumed to commemorate his conquest of Kāñchīpura and the subjugation of the original Pallava dominion.

<sup>4</sup> The gaps in this line may be filled with the letters *kku* and *m tiru*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *idul lulpatta*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *eppērpatta*.

<sup>7</sup> This phrase is again repeated to emphasise the grant made.

<sup>8</sup> There is a symbol in the inscription after this word. It appears to be a contraction for some such words as *inda dharmam* or *inda gramam*.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'Kālīngarāyan'.

## TRANSLATION

Hail! While the illustrious *Mahāmandalēśvara* *Kṛṣṇadēva-Mahārāya*, who conquered all hostile kings, who chastised the kings that were false to their words, who took every country that he saw and who did not give up any country that he had taken, who was the lord of the eastern, southern, western and northern oceans, who was pleased to come out (glorious) after taking all countries,—was pleased to rule the earth, in the Śaka year 1440 expired, corresponding to Bahudhānya, during Uttarāyaṇa, in the month of Mithuna, on Tuesday, when the amāvāsyā of the dark fortnight was current, at the holy time of the solar eclipse and Vriddhi-yōga,—on this day, I, *Ponnambalanātha-Tondaimānār*, the son of *Ēkapperumāl-Tondaimānār*, the chief of *Arantāṅgi*, who knew no fear, who was never perturbed <sup>1</sup> who could present an elephant in return for a lamb, who levied tribute from *Īlam* (Ceylon) within seven days, , who was the lord of *Kāñchī*, the best of towns, and a devotee at the sacred feet of the god *Āvudaiya-Tambirānār*—having given the (land) situated within the four great boundaries of *Mēlūr* in *Śōlapāndya-valanādu* as *tirunāmatuḷkāṇi* with gold and libation of water to last as long as the Sun and Moon, to (the god) *Nayinār Nallamangaibāgar* at *Tirukkodunkunram* in *Tirumalai-nādu* for the daily requirements of offerings and worship during the *Ponnambalanātha-Tondaimānār-śandi* (service) in the early morning to the god *Nayinār Nallamangaibāgar*, instituted after my own name—(the rights over) its treasures and hidden deposits (in this land), its water and stone and its wells, tanks, etc., shall be exclusively enjoyed by the *Tambirānār* (god) And as the taxes including *kadamai*, *kānikkai*, *vēndukōl*, *vinayōgam* and other dues accruing from this village had been remitted, it shall be enjoyed as a *tirunāmatuḷkāṇi* (temple land) and a *sarvamānya* freehold) as long as the sun and the moon last The deed shall be engraved on stone and copper and the land enjoyed as *tirunāmatuḷkāṇi*, as long as the moon and the sun last

He who obstructs this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow, a Brāhmana, (his own parents and teacher on the banks of the Ganges In the aforesaid manner the land shall be taken possession of and enjoyed as a *sarvamānya* This is the writing of *Adiyār[r\*]kkunallān Kaṭṭupūrak-Kālingarāyan*, the accountant of *Arantāṅgi*

## No 20 —NAVAGRAMA GRANT OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN (G E [1]98)

By K N DIKSHIT, M A, CALCUTTA

This fragmentary plate was handed over to me by the Political Agent, Baghelkhand Agency, who could not give me any definite information regarding its findspot, except that it came from some place in Nāgod State It has therefore been named after the name of the village granted

The plate measures  $5\frac{1}{8}$ " in length and  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " to  $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth It consists of the left half of the first of two plates forming the complete grant, as is clear from a comparison with other grants of Hastin and the portion of the round ring-hole preserved in the centre of the first line, through which the plate appears to have been broken The missing portion of the plate has been conjecturally restored where possible from other published grants, particularly from the *Majhgawām*<sup>2</sup> copper-plate of the same prince The average size of the letters is  $\frac{1}{4}$ " The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets They do not present the nail-headed forms of letters as in the *Majhgawām* plates of Hastin Attention may also be drawn to the form of *n* without the

<sup>1</sup> The term *mugilin līl* *thiriyum* *Īla Vanniya mīśura qandan* is left untranslated The latter part means 'the proud conqueror of the Vanniya of Ceylon' If 'mugilin' could be taken as a proper name like Mugalan, the phrase may be construed as "the proud conqueror of the Vanniya of Ceylon who were at the beck and call of Mugalan"

<sup>2</sup> Fleet C I I, Vol III, pp 106 ff

loop at the end, and *dh* with an acute angle at the lower left limb as in *Dēvādhyā*, l 2 and *Yajñādhyā*, l 10, which are not found in other records of this king

As regards orthography, the doubling of the *v* and *dh* following *r* as in *prairardha*<sup>2</sup>, l 2, *pūrvāyām*, l 3 and *°bhr=vvā* l 14 and the use of *b* for *v* in *sambatsara*, l 3 are noteworthy. The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose.

The plate records the grant of a village (?) called Navagrāma<sup>1</sup> in the *rāshṭra* of the Pulinda chief (apparently a feudatory of the *nripaṭi*-Parivrajakas), by the Mahārāja Hastin in the year ninety-eight (increased by hundred). The donees were several Brāhmanas<sup>2</sup> of the Parāśara-gōṭra and Mithvandina-śākhā (of the white Yajurveda).

The year 198 of the present plate must be considered to be the last date of Hastin whose son and successor Samkshōbha issued the Betul grant<sup>3</sup> in the year 199. The earliest known date of Hastin being 156, the year of his Khōh copper-plate,<sup>4</sup> he must have enjoyed a long reign of over 42 years. The known dates of Hastin (156, 163, 191 and 198) and Samkshōbha (199, 209) are undoubtedly to be referred to the Gupta era, as the expression *gupta-nripa-rājya bhūtau* indicates. The range of dates of the contiguous family ruling from Uchchakalpa, viz., 174 and 177 for Jayanātha and 191, 193, 197, 214 for his son Śarvanātha, is not only parallel, but the latter prince was at one time a contemporary of Hastin as recorded in the Bhumarā pillar inscription.<sup>5</sup> Now assuming that Jayanātha's rule extended for at least one or two years after 177, the period common to the reigns of Hastin (156 to 198) and Śarvanātha (179 to 214) is 179 to 198. The particular year to which the joint record is to be assigned is fixed by the specification of the year as Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter. Now the only Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara*, which was current during the period (179-198 G E), was that which began in the Gupta year 189, in July 508 A D<sup>6</sup> and the date of the Bhumarā pillar must therefore be approximately October 508 A D. It is thus impossible to refer the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings to the Kalachuri era (which began 72 years earlier than the Gupta era), as this would entail a reign of at least 70 years for Śarvanātha (191 + 247 = 438 A D to 508 A D). Dr D R Bhandarkar has recently upheld this view<sup>7</sup> originally proposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, chiefly owing to the difficulty of finding an intercalary *Āshādha* in the year 191 of the Sōhāwal<sup>8</sup> plates of Śarvanātha, if referred to the Gupta era. The difficulty is not, however, insurmountable, as it is very probable that the succeeding month of *Śrāvana* that has been actually shown as intercalary in the tables attached to Pillai's *Indian Chronology* may have been antedated by a month, according to some *Siddhānta*<sup>9</sup> followed in this locality, or, what is more probable, the month intercalated (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvana*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul<sup>10</sup> plates of Samkshōbha. It is thus clear that the *dur-Āshādha* of the Sōhāwal plates must be considered to be the same as the first *Śrāvana*, which commenced

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Navagrāma was the division in which the village was situated, but the number of missing letters is too limited to admit of this alternative.

<sup>2</sup> The number of donees would seem to be seven, i.e., three Brāhmanas and their respective sons, the last named having two sons.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VIII, pp 284 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *C I I*, Vol III, pp 43 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp 110 l.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p 105 of Introduction.

<sup>7</sup> Above, List of Northern Inscriptions, No 1196, p 150, n 5.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol XIX, pp 129 ff.

<sup>9</sup> According to the mean system of the first Ārya Siddhānta, the intercalary month in the year 510—11 A D was Āśvina (Sewell, *The Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar*, p 368).

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol VIII, pp 288 ff.



on 8th June as a *pūrṇimānta* month, which was apparently followed in this locality. The date of the Sōhāwal plates must thus be understood as being equivalent to 17th of June, 510 A. D.

The mention of the Mahāsvayuja *saṃvatsara* with the (Gupta) year 198 enables us to fix the date of the present record within a narrow compass. The year 198 G. E. commenced on 9th March, 517 A. D. and the Mahāsvayuja *saṃvatsara* ended on or about the 23rd April, 517 A. D. and the present record must be dated within these limits. The missing month may therefore be supplied as *Chaitra* (in which case the fortnight must be the bright fortnight) or *Vaiśākha*. The date of the Betul plates of Samkshōbha, which has been calculated by Kuelhorn to be 15th September (or October), 518 A. D. is thus about 18 months later than the date of the present grant, and it is sometime within this period that Hastin was succeeded by his son.

The reference to Pulinda-rāja-rāshtra in the present inscription indicates that the dominion of the chief of the Pulindas must be located within the territory of the *nripati*-Parivrajaka family, and is probably the region comprised of the northern slopes of the Vindhya range. The Pulindas are first mentioned in the *Āitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, along with the Śabarās, with whom they have been always<sup>1</sup> associated and sometimes confounded.<sup>2</sup>

The locality Navagrāma is too common to admit of definite identification.

#### TEXT

- 1 Namō Mahādēvāya || Svasty=ashtanavaty-u[\*ttarē=bda=satē Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktau śrī-]
- 2 matī pravarddhamānē Mah-Āśvayuja-samba(va)tsarē [\* māsa paksha ]
- 3 m=asyām samba(va)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvāyām n[\*nripati-parivrajaka-kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-]
- 4 Dēvādhyā-pranaptṛā mahārāja-śrī-Prabhamjana [\*naptrā Mahārāja-Śrī-Dāmōdara-sutēna gō-sa-]
- 5 -hasra-hasty-aśva-hirany-ānēka-bhūmi-pradē[na] [~ guru-pitri-mātri-pūjā-tatparēn=ātyanta-dēva-]
- 6 brāhmaṇa-bhaktēn=ānēka-samara-śata-vija[\*yina sva-vamś-āmōda-karēna Mahārāja-śrī-]
- 7 Hastinā Pulinda-rāja-rāshtrē Navagrāmakā(kō ?)[\*nāma grāmah pūrvv-āghīta-parichehīda-maryādayā sōdra-]
- 8 ngah sōparīkarō=chāta-bhata-prāvēśyō [\*mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puny-ibhivrdhaye]
- 9 Parāśvra-sagōtrēbhyō Mādhyandina-Vā[\*jānēya-sabrahmachāribhyō=mībhyō]
- 10 Brāhmaṇa-Bhatta-Yajñādhyasvāmī-tat-putra-Bha[\*tta Brāhmaṇa ]
- 11 nasvāmī tat-putra-Gōpayajñasvāmī-[\*Brāhmaṇa yajñasvāmī tat-putra-]
- 12 Bhatta-Śambhuyajñasvāmī-Bhatt-Ēśāna-Ya[\*jña-svāmibhyō putra-pautr-ānvav-ōpabhōgah]
- 13 tāmra śāsānēc=āgrā(a)hārō=tisrishta[\*h chaura-varjjam | tad=asmat-kul-ōtthair=mat-pāda-pind-ō ]
- 14 pajivibhur=vvā kāl-antarēshv=apī na [\*vyāghātah karaniyah | evam=ājñaptē yō ]

<sup>1</sup> Varāhamihira, IX 29. Majumdar, *McCrimble's Ancient India*, pp. 156-7, 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Kathasaritsagara* (vide Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII p. 130).

[illegible]



## No 21—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR

BY PROF V V MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

## A—The Amrāpur Stone Inscription of the reign of Singhana—Śaka 1133.

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly sent to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is in a temple of Śiva<sup>1</sup> called Ambikēsvara at Amrāpur (ancient Ambadāpura), a village about 28 miles from Buldana in Berar. It is inscribed on a stone built into the wall above the lintel of the door of the *garbhagriha*. The whole record which consists of eight lines covers a space of 11" in breadth and 1' in height. The size of letters varies from 1 7" to 9". The characters are Nāgarī. The initial *a* occurs in *amlatō=pi* in ll 1-2 and *Am-badāpurē* in ll 5-6, the initial *i* in *Bhāudēva* in l 7 and the initial *u* in *Dēunāyaka* in l 5. The medial *ē* is shown in some places by a *prishthamātrā* (cf *Bhāudēva* in l 7). The language is incorrect Sanskrit. The whole record is in prose. As regards orthography we may note that the letter 't' is doubled in two places after the preceding 'r', viz, *chakravartti* in l 4 and *kirttanē* in l 7.

The inscription states that in Śaka 1133 when the cyclic year was *Prajāpati*, Dēunāyaka was the governor (of the territory round Ambadāpura) in the victorious reign of Śrīmat-Pratāpa-chakravartti *Simghanadēva*. In that year a person named Mamgala, the son of Bhāudēva, built a *tōrana* (?) in the temple (*kirttana*) constructed by Padumana(Pradyumna)sēthi who was a resident of Ambadāpura.

The date does not admit of verification for want of details, but the cyclic year for Śaka 1133 (expired) [=1211-1212 A D] was *Prajāpati* as stated in the inscription. *Simghanadēva*, who bears the title *Pratāpachakravartti* in this record, is evidently the Yādava king of that name who ruled at Dēvagrī in the first half of the 13th century A D.<sup>2</sup> There are at least three different dates for the accession of this Yādava king, each supported by a number of regular epigraphical dates, viz, 1122, 1129, and 1132 Śaka years. Śaka 1133 (expired) is, however, the earliest certain date of Singhana's reign and the present record is also the earliest inscription of the Yādavas of Dēvagrī found in Berār. It is likely that Singhana was actually crowned in Śaka 1132 although he may have been associated with government as *Yuvarāja* in the lifetime of his father for some seven years and succeeded him in 1129 Śaka. It is also possible that the last of the 'accession' dates, viz, 1132 Śaka, may have been calculated from some important event in his reign, such as the conquest of the Karnātak, which is alluded to in the Dōni inscription.<sup>3</sup> Anyway he must have won several victories before Śaka 1134, the date of his Mārī stone inscription,<sup>4</sup> and it is reasonable to assume that in one of these early campaigns he annexed the Berārs or the country round Ambadāpura where we find the present inscription.

## TEXT

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||\*] Śākē amka-
- 2 tō=pi<sup>5</sup> 1133 *Prajāpati* samva-
- 3 tsarē svasti śrīmat-pratāpa-chakra-
- 4 vartti-srī-Simghanadēva-vijaya-rājyē

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is not at the temple of Bhawani as stated by R. B. Hirralal in his *List of inscriptions in C P and Berar* (Second Edn.), p. 153. The latter is on an eminence at a short distance from the temple of Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 522.

<sup>3</sup> No. 79 of the Bombay Karnātak collection for 1927-8.

<sup>4</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> This expression which means 'also in figures' is out of place here, as the date is not expressed in words.

- 5 Dūnāyaka bhōktī[rū<sup>1</sup>] Ambadū-  
 6 pur<sup>2</sup> vāstavj<sup>2</sup> Padumanaśūhī-  
 7 krat<sup>3</sup> kīrttan<sup>2</sup> Bhūdīva-putra-Maṅgala-  
 8 miśhe (?) [tō]raṇam 1(d\*)am (?) — — tā — —<sup>4</sup>

**B —The Bārsi-Tākhī Inscription of the reign of Hēmādridēva—Śaka 1098**

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is at the temple of Bhavānī in the village of Bārsi Tākhī, twelve miles south east of Akola in Berār. Its existence was noticed by Mr H. Cousens, who has also described the temple in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1902. "It (i.e., the temple) consists of a shrine and a *mandapa* or hall, both being freely decorated upon the exterior with bands of moldings and figures. The *mandapa* is curiously arranged with regard to the shrine, being attached as it were sideways to it, the open side of the *mandapa* with its entrance being on one side or at right angles to the doorway of the shrine. The plan of the *mandapa* is rectangular, while that of the shrine is star shaped. Four decorated pillars support the central ceiling of the hall. The principal figures around the outside of the temple, excepting Gaṇapati, are the females Mahātālī and Mahāśūśumārā, occupying important positions. The ceiling is particularly well decorated, the marginal panels being very much like those of temple No. 1 at Bilsane in Khandesh."

The inscription is engraved on the wall of the *mandapa* facing the entrance. As in the case of the Rāntāk Lakshman Temple inscription, the surface of the wall was first rendered smooth with lime plaster before the inscription was incised in it. When Mr. Cousens saw the temple it had already been much damaged. When I visited the place in December 1931, I found it in a still more deteriorated condition as the lime plaster was gradually scaling off from the wall. The whole record covers a space of about 3' 3" broad by 11" high. The average size of letters is about 3/8". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit and excepting the introductory *Om Śaśti* and the particulars of the date the whole record is in verse. Originally it must have consisted at least of twenty lines, but the last six lines of the record are almost completely gone. Of the first fourteen, again, nearly half the portion on the right hand side is destroyed owing to the peeling off of the lime plaster and though a few words and letters here and there can be read, they do not give much coherent sense. The verses are not numbered, but single and double *dandas* are, in some places, used to denote punctuation. The orthography calls for few remarks, *s* is occasionally employed for *ś*, e.g., in *Vaisālī* in l. 1, the *anustūtra* is incorrectly used in addition to the following nasal in many places, e.g., *Amīlām* in l. 3, *āpatamntam* in l. 4, etc. The consonant *t* following *r* is occasionally doubled as in *kīrttan* and *varttanmānō* in l. 5. The final dental nasal is changed to an *anustūtra* in *śīmām* in l. 8, *dāsām* (l. 9).

As stated by Mr. Cousens, the temple is at present believed to be dedicated to Bhavānī. I found, however, no image of the deity in the *garbhagriha*. There were, instead, three round stones (the central one being somewhat more elongated than the rest) covered with vermilion on a finely carved pedestal. There was also a stone figure of Nandin (Śiva's bull) in the *mandapa* facing the deity which may easily have been brought from elsewhere. The crude symbols of divinity are in striking contrast to the rich carving on the four central pillars and the ceiling of the

<sup>1</sup> Read *Dēunayakē bhōktarī*,

<sup>2</sup> Read *krat*

<sup>3</sup> Read *°pura vāstavva*

<sup>4</sup> The last line is very indistinct

*mandapa* It may, therefore, be presumed that the original image was destroyed when the place was occupied by Muhammadans and the present stones installed at a later date. It is also doubtful if the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of Bhavānī. The benedictory stanza in the beginning of the record is in praise of Hari (Vishnu). The building is referred to in l 10 as the temple of Hari (*Hari-vēśma*). It is noteworthy that in addition to the figures of Mahīśāsuramardī and Ganapati noticed by Mr Cousens, images of Narasimha and other deities of the Vishnu cult occur on the door frame of the *garbhagriha* as well as on the exquisitely carved pillars of the *mandapa*, which support the Vaishnava origin of the shrine. It seems, therefore, certain that it came to be dedicated to Bhavānī, when the original image of Vishnu had been destroyed and the people had, in course of time, lost sight of the deity in whose honour the temple had been originally erected.

The fragmentary state of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. After the customary benediction, the inscription mentions the name of Ghatāma who was born in the family of Danturāja. It then proceeds to describe a battle in which a young king, who is perhaps identical with Hēmādrīdēva mentioned later on in l 6, defeated Rājāla, the son of Mālūgīdēva, who was advancing on the capital, confident of success, on account of his large forces. The king is further stated to have converted his capital Tōkkaḷī into the holy city of Benares by his virtuous deeds. The inscription then gives the genealogy of his hereditary ministers, who belonged to the Vālabhya-gōṭra, Bhīllama, his son Pālama, his son Māila, and his son Gāmiyāja or Gāmayāja, who was apparently the donor of the present record. He is described in line 10 as having built 'a temple of Vishnu in this town (evidently Tōkkaḷī), of which the nudday sun formed the *chakra* finial, the quarters the fringe and the sky the blue umbrella'. From lines 11 and 12 we know that Gāmayāja excavated, for the use of the people, a deep tank, smiling with lotuses in bloom. In line 13 we are told of the building of a well (*āpī*). In line 14 two brothers are referred to, but their names have been lost. The inscription seems to have closed with the usual imprecatory verses as appears from a half-verse preserved in the last line.

The date of the inscription is stated with full particulars as Thursday, the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha in the Durmukha Samvatsara=Śaka 1098, the Nakshatra being Pushya, the Yōga Āyushmat and the Karana Vanī[ja\*]. According to D B Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the cyclic year for the Chaitrādī Śaka 1098 expired was Durmukha, as stated in the record. The seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha, however, fell on Saturday and not on Thursday as stated in the inscription. In Śaka 1099 (expired) that *tithi* fell on a Thursday and the *nakshatra* was Pushya as mentioned in our record, but the cyclic year was Hēmalamba and not Durmukha as required. The date would, thus, appear to be irregular, but there are so many instances of only one detail of the date being stated wrongly in epigraphs. According to the view adopted by D B S K Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*, the Śaka date, as used at present, denotes *expired* years, but the name of the cyclic year denotes the *current* year. Accepting the discrepancy of one year in the number of Śaka years and treating the cyclic year mentioned in the record as *expired*, we find that *Vaiśākha Śukla Saptamī* in Śaka 1099 (Durmukha expired), (i.e. Hēmalamba current), ended at 12 ghatikās (4 h 45 m) on Thursday after apparent sunrise and the *nakshatra* was Pushya which ended at 51 ghatikās (20 h 25 m) after apparent sunrise. This combination of a Thursday and the Pushya Nakshatra (an *amṛta-siddhi-yōga* as it is called) is considered specially auspicious and probably represents the time when the original image of the deity was installed in the temple. The *karana* for the seventh *tithi* on Thursday was Vanīja, but the *yōga* was Śūla and not Āyushmat as stated in the inscription. This discrepancy may be explained away by taking Āyushmat

*yōga* in the derivative sense of 'a conjunction leading to longevity', but the insertion of the expression between the *nal shata* and *Varana* rather indicates that it was used in its technical sense of a particular *yōga*. It is also possible that the framer of the record purposely substituted Āyushmat for Śīla, as the latter is not an auspicious *yōga*. This discrepancy in respect of *yōgas* is not very important, for, as D. B. S. K. Pillai has observed, 'the investigation of *yōgas* is a matter of altogether secondary importance in historical and chronological research'. The date may, therefore, be considered as identical with **Thursday, the 7th April 1177 A.D.**

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces a new line of princes that ruled at Takkālī which must be identified with modern Bārī Takli in Berār. The founder of the family was one Danturīya. The names of this prince and of Ghatāma who was his descendant are not otherwise known. At the time of the inscription Hīmādrīdīva was reigning. Three persons of this name are known to the history of the Yādava period: (1) Hīmādrīdīva of the Nikumbha family, a feudatory of the Yādavas, who was ruling at Patna in the Chāḷukya region of Khāndesh sometime after Śaka 1128 (1207 A.D.); (2) Hīmādrī defeated by Khōlśāra, the famous general of Bhallama, as mentioned in the stone inscription dated Śaka 1150 at Ambā, and (3) Hīmādrī Pandit who was a minister of Rāmādīva Yādava and is mentioned in the Thūna<sup>4</sup> inscription dated Śaka 1191 (1272 A.D.). Of these the first and the third are out of the question—for the former was ruling in Khāndesh and not in Berār, while the latter was only a minister and flourished nearly a century later. Again *prima facie* it appears doubtful if our Hīmādrī who was ruling in Śaka 1098 could be identified with the second prince named above, who was defeated by Khōlśāra sometime before Śaka 1150. Even if we suppose that the battle in which he was defeated was fought early in the reign of Singhana who ruled from Śaka 1132 to 1169, there is a difference of at least 34 years to be accounted for between the two dates. There is, however, one circumstance which renders this identification possible in the present state of our knowledge. Our inscription mentions that Hīmādrīdīva defeated Rājara, the son of Mūlugadīva, who invaded Takkālī with a large army. Now two princes of the name Mūlugi (or Mallugi) were reigning at the time—(1) Mallugi, the Kalachuri prince who, according to the Mārdi stone inscription<sup>5</sup> dated Śaka 1131, succeeded his brother, the Kalachuri prince Sōma or Sōvidīva whose last date is Śaka 1096, and (2) Mallugi, the father and predecessor of the Yādava king Bhallama (Śaka 1109-1113). As to the first alternative, it is clear that the Kalachuri Mūlugi was reigning for a short interval between Śakas 1097 to 1098 as we have a record of the second year of his reign dating from Śaka 1098. From other records, we know that his younger brother Sankama also began to rule in Śaka 1097 as his second and eighth years were Śakas 1098 and 1101 respectively. The only hypothesis on which this can be explained is that of joint rule by the two brothers. As the present record mentions that Hīmādrīdīva defeated Rājara, the son of Mūlugi, this alternative is not entirely ruled out, but it is improbable that the Kalachuris could at this period engage in offensive warfare so far away from their capital, Kalyāṇī. As to the second alternative, we learn from the *Vratakhanda* of Hīmādrī Pandit that Mallugi the Yādava king, took a town named Parnakhūta from his enemies and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala.<sup>6</sup> The early Yādava princes were ruling in

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Ephemeris*, p. 20

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* I, p. 341

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 64

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.* XIII, p. 198

<sup>5</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 50

<sup>6</sup> Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, Third Edition, p. 179

Sēunadēśa, corresponding to modern Khāndesh, Parnakhēta must, therefore, be situated somewhere to the east of Khāndesh, possibly in Berār<sup>1</sup> We may note again that Khōlēśvara, a general of the Yīdava Singhana, defeated one Hēmādrī of Parnakhēta<sup>2</sup> Putting these references together it seems quite plausible that Mallugī defeated the father or some elderly relative of Hēmādrī of the present inscription, while the latter, when he was a mere boy, vanquished Rājala, the son of Mallugī, who was advancing on Tēkkalī with a large army, finally Khōlēśvara defeated Hēmādrī early in the reign of Singhana If Hēmādrī was a young man in Śāla 1098, as the present inscription seems to imply, he may have continued to reign as late as Śāka 1132 The other persons mentioned in this record, viz., Bhīllama, Pālama and Māila, were ministers who served the royal family and must not be confounded with some of their namesakes in the dynasty of the Yādavas<sup>3</sup>

## TEXT

- 1 ओ<sup>1</sup> ॥ ओ स्वस्ति श्री शका. १०८८ [दुर्मुख संवत्सरे] वैशाख<sup>5</sup> मासे  
शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्या गुरौ दिने पुष्यनक्षत्र आयुष[दि](ति) योगे [वणिजकारणे]  
2 जयति<sup>6</sup> तुलसिरत्न[<sup>7</sup>] शक्तिो राघवाक्ष<sup>7</sup>श्चरणनिहितभू[द्धा] विवितस्तनखेषु ।  
शिव इति नखरस्मि<sup>8</sup>श्चेतितैकादशात्मा हरिरविहृत[भूती]  
3 वा<sup>9</sup>(वा)[हृ]दयभूभृद्वशो यशोभूभुवि<sup>10</sup> दत्तुराजः । ततस्ततः स्वप्रबलप्रतापज्वर-  
ज्वलच्छत्रुमृष्टास ॥॥<sup>11</sup> निमीलंमलिनारातिवनितावदनावुजः । .. प्राप्ते  
तत । [धर्मा] रा वापा (?)  
4 च ॥ निवारितो<sup>12</sup> मद्रिगणैः वालः<sup>13</sup> स्वर्धर्मैर्भ्रातृगुणदेवपुत्र । जिगाय  
सेनावहुत्पलद्विद्वीडावयो राजलभापतन्त<sup>13</sup> ॥ स्मार [स्मार] याव  
श्रीक पा  
5 धिक्वाक्ष्य<sup>14</sup> रणविर्वी नृत्यत्वावधम्रजै<sup>15</sup> व्याघ्रमक्षितिपालम(म)ण्डलकारादाने दया-  
भाष्यै [1<sup>16</sup>] कीर्तौ चामरवरमनो लघुतया [यो] . स्वश्री[ध]रिण .. भूमिः क-  
6 [दा ?] च<sup>16</sup> नवलत्ववत्तैरुपैता<sup>17</sup> ॥ (1<sup>18</sup>) हेमाद्रिदेवपते कलितापश्ल्य  
नेचालि<sup>18</sup> शतुनिचयेन कादाचनापि ॥ सोपप्लव<sup>16</sup> चिरकालकायुतं क्षया[र्त्त]  
सोदित वि मण्डलमस्य राज्ञ (॥) तेक-<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a village called Pātkhed about 4 miles to the south west of Bīrsī Tāhli, which I would identify with Parnakhēta

<sup>2</sup> G H Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol I, p 64 I read पण्डितोय in place of वाखेटी [The name पण्डित also occurs in an unpublished plate from Berar —Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Cf R B Hirah, *List of Inscriptions in C P and Berar (Second Edition)*, p 148

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>5</sup> Read वैशाख

<sup>6</sup> Metro Mālinī

<sup>7</sup> Read राघवाक्ष

<sup>8</sup> Read नखरस्मि

<sup>9</sup> Metro Upajūti

<sup>10</sup> Read भूवि

<sup>11</sup> Metro Anushubh Read सोममलिन

<sup>12</sup> Metro Upajūti

<sup>13</sup> Read विपलनक्ष

<sup>14</sup> Metro Sarūlaviṇṇilā.

<sup>15</sup> Read प्रजोव्यापुर्ग

<sup>16</sup> Metro Vasantatilakā

<sup>17</sup> Read उपप्लव

<sup>18</sup> Read नीचालि

<sup>19</sup> Metro Anushubh



- 7 ली राजधानी स्वा धनीदुर्गे चानो युगे । योगारम्भी क्षता तेन विमलः  
सुचरित्रको. [I<sup>1</sup>] प्रातः पुरा विरचिते सुक्षते कथंचिच्च विज्ञाय निवृत्ता  
स्वजने मसस्ता. [I<sup>2</sup>] जज्ञे राज्ञा प्रज्ञा या-
- 8 आश्रयेषा मत्नी सान्ता<sup>1</sup> लभ्यवानभ्यगोत्र । शर[.] नीमा<sup>2</sup> भीमसो नाम  
तस्मात्त्रात. पुत्र पात्रस पुत्र्यजीर्त्ति ॥ तस्मादभ्यगोत्रानामर्थयस्तत. ५मी ॥  
उल्लृष्टेपि गुणं [यस्य ]ता(ता)ना-
- 9 [प]नीयते । अतिगार्ह्य गार्ह्य तत समुदपश्यत<sup>3</sup> [II<sup>4</sup>] हरिचरणमगेज-  
रत्नचित्त(त्त)क्षपितसमुत्तपानकप्रसार तत उदग्रत गाम(सि)यायदान्वा(गान्)  
रविशिव सुतमा(स)मत्ता [सुधासिनी] दृष्टिता<sup>5</sup> ॥ सा-
- 10 ध्यदिने<sup>6</sup> दिनपतो हरिश्चन्द्रोत्पत्तीकते विततस्यारित्यपदिने<sup>7</sup> । विजो[स्त्र]<sup>8</sup>  
व्यतिनि<sup>9</sup> तेन पुरेश तव नी ॥ तपद्विमिव यव नभो विभाति ॥ . .  
टारट(१) यस्या दिन .
- 11 प्रसूता<sup>10</sup> [I<sup>11</sup>] चक्र स तस्या जननीनार्थे(र्थ)सुतगातपात्रोत्पत्ति(२) तजग ।  
साचात्तचण लक्षितशेष पे( ) पापेषि प्राप्यत यव सुलि [I<sup>12</sup>] ॥ ११मि-  
मि[प्र] सदा रोष्टनिर्वा— — — — —
- 12 ति नारिहस्तैर्पितामा(गा)दगापि<sup>13</sup> । अभति तमिनपशेणपद भागवत्या ॥<sup>14</sup>  
जयति सुक्षतसृती गामयाजतजग ॥ १५उत्तीर्णे पे च सुधासु<sup>15</sup>[विवे] . .  
दिगादिष्ट
- 13 . च्यामिष पीवृषधामा । प्रतिगतिगतस प पुष्टये भव्य वापी [प्रवित-  
सुक्षतगणि निर्मि(स)मे] . ....
- 14 नामानो<sup>16</sup> तस्य वधु वधुवतु । गुणग्यानि .
- 19 [१०तस्य दासस्य दानीः] भस दत (त्ति) प्रतिपा र[<sup>17</sup>ताम्] . लीया

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Asantatitā* Read *मि*<sup>2</sup> Metre *Asant*<sup>3</sup> Read *मौलीद्वय*<sup>4</sup> Read *नीमा* मिमो<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Indrarajrā*<sup>6</sup> Metre *Asant*<sup>7</sup> Read *समुदपश्यत*<sup>8</sup> Metre *Asant*<sup>9</sup> Read *कल्पदिने*<sup>10</sup> Read *व्यतिनि*<sup>11</sup> Metre *Upindrarajrā*<sup>12</sup> Metre *Mulri* The amended reading वेदितामा दगापि involves a wrong *asandhi* in वेदिता आमा which should have been वेदिता आमा<sup>13</sup> *Danda* unnecessary<sup>14</sup> Metre *Indrarajrā*<sup>15</sup> Read *सुधासु*<sup>16</sup> Metre *Anusajubh*

## No 22 —SURAT PLATES OF KARKKARAJA SUVARNAVARSHA OF THE GUJRAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH, DATED SAKA YEAR 743

PROF A S ALTEKAR, M A, D LITT, BENARES

The accompanying plates of Karkka Suvarnavarsha, which are being edited here for the first time, were referred to by the late Dr Bhagwānlāl Indrapī in his *Early History of Gujārāt* which he contributed to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume I, Part I. At page 125 of the above work he briefly refers to their contents but does not give any information about their findspot or the circumstances in which or the person by whom they were discovered. He refers to them as the Surat plates and, therefore, presumably they were found in or near that city. But nothing definite is known about the findspot of the plates beyond what Dr Bhagwānlāl has said in the above book. I have, therefore, continued his nomenclature of the present record, though I can adduce no definite evidence to connect them with Surat. Dr D R Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Calcutta University, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* and I am accordingly editing them now.

The plates are three in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 13 6" by 7 6". The thickness is about 0 1". The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The plates have been strung together by means of a ring passing through a hole which is at the centre of the proper left side about 0 7" from the edge. The ring is about 0 4" in thickness and 3 2" in diameter and its edges have been secured by means of a circular seal about 1 11" in diameter. On its counterstruck surface there is an image of Garuḍa, who is in human form with wings on either side. He is sitting with folded hands and crossed legs, the soles of his feet touching each other. The seal does not bear any legend.

The inscription is written on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The last plate, however, has only 7 lines, whereas the fully inscribed sides have, on an average, about 18 lines. After engraving nearly half of the first plate, the engraver, it would appear, anticipated that the space at his disposal would require smaller characters and more compact lines, in subsequent lines of the record we, therefore, find the average number of letters in each line increased from 38 to 55. This economy in space is probably responsible for the third plate having only 7 lines.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation, the surface has been partly damaged in a few places, but the record is perfectly legible except at the beginning of l 45 where the first two letters are doubtful. The surface of the plates was not dressed very carefully, as a result there are depressions some of which look like *anusvāras* (cf *nēkā* l 13) and some like medial vowel marks (cf *vriddhayē* l 44). In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes, thus he has crossed out the medial *ā* mark of *lkhā* in *lkhādga* in l 40 and of *ṛā* in *ṛānmānugam* in l 55, and in addition to the correction in *lā* in l 51 he has crossed out the letter *ryyā* so as to change *lāryyā* into *lāranīyā*. In some cases he has also made up his omissions by supplying the omitted letter or letters either immediately below the preceding or succeeding letter (cf *la* of *vrushāmla* l 27, *hā* of *mahāsamyugē* l 32, *pha* of *phalāvāpti* l 33, *ryyē* in *śauryyēna* and *yā* in *sadāṇṇayā* l 39) or at the bottom of the plate (cf *ārttārtti* at the bottom of the first plate, and *tathā sāśanadutā* and *kaśtēna sva* at that of the third). A *lākapada* is usually, but not invariably, written to draw attention to the corrections. But the plates were not very carefully revised, and as a result, four letters inadvertently omitted in verse 25 remained to be supplied and several wrongly repeated letters, words and groups of words remained to be crossed out. (See notes to ll 38, 43, 45, 49

52, 55, etc.) The horizontal stroke of *sha* in *śhu* in *raṇasaraśiśhu* l 3 has been carelessly omitted whereas it is wrongly introduced in *pra* of *prākīśhya* in l 19. Slipshod execution is seen in *paṇigīyatā* l 24, where the short stroke to the left of the vertical stroke of *ra*, instead of being engraved at the centre, is relegated to the bottom and is allowed to merge in the medial *i* mark of the letter, in the next letter *gi* the engraver allowed his instrument to slip to the right of the left lower limb of the letter and thus unnecessary line meets the medial *i* mark of *gi*. As a result *ṇigī* can be recognised only on the plate. The loop at the head of *sthān* in *sānuśthān* l 25 must again be attributed to carelessness.

The characters belong to the northern class of the alphabets and are similar to the characters of the Pathan, Wani Dindori, and Rūlhanpur plates of Gōvinda III. There is no admixture of the southern forms to any extent whatsoever, except perhaps the *sha* in *Rāshtrālīta* in l 8, which shows a bend in the left limb, characteristic of the southern alphabets. The general form of the characters is similar to the Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. Attention may be drawn, however, to the medial *ā* sign in the case of *tā* and *pā* which is a semi-circle open upwards, attached in the latter case sometimes to the central horizontal stroke (cf *bhājō* l 19) and sometimes to the topmost one (cf *ta* ṇ *ṭmaṇjō* l 6). Medial *u* is usually denoted by a small stroke to the left as in the case of *va* and *śu* in the case of *ra* *bhru* l 1 *tru* l 8, *Dhru* l 22, this stroke is transferred to the right owing to the presence of a stroke to the left in these letters, sometimes, however, a curve is attached at the end of the vertical to the left to denote the medial *u*, as in *su*. The final forms of *ma* *na* and *ta* occur in the record, the first two are denoted by a short slanting stroke attached to the right of the vertical (cf *yōgya* l 12, *dharmaṇām* l 62, *adhikārīṭān* l 13), while the last one is denoted by the ordinary form of *ta* without, however, its small vertical and *mātrā*, but with a slanting line placed at a distance to the left (cf *tasā* l 54 and *dadyāt* l 57).

It may be pointed out that the Rāshtrālīta records of the period to which our record belongs use three different varieties of alphabets. The purely southern variety, the precursor of the modern Kanarese, is used in the extreme south and is illustrated by the Kadamba plates of Gōvinda III<sup>1</sup>. In the central and northern portions of the empire two varieties were being used side by side, one the successor of the Valabhī alphabet and the other, the Nāgarī which was gradually displacing the former. The Śimānāḍ plates of Dantidurga - the Taḷegaon plates<sup>2</sup> of Kṛṣṇa I, and the Pathan,<sup>3</sup> Wani Dindori,<sup>4</sup> and the Rūlhanpur plates of Gōvinda III are all in the Nāgarī script, while the Birola plates<sup>5</sup> of the present donor, Tōrkhad<sup>6</sup> plates of Gōvinda III, and the Birola plates<sup>7</sup> of Dhruva I exhibit the successor of the Valabhī alphabet, showing the traces of both southern and northern influence.

At the end of the record are engraved, nearly at the middle of the last two lines, two *pāda-chakras* which are apparently intended to symbolise the foot prints of Mahāvīra, the principal object of worship at the establishment to which the grant was made.

The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. No Prakritisms are to be traced in the document except perhaps in the spelling of the proper name Mallavāḍha where, if that reading is correct, we have an example of an original *d* being changed into *ḍ*. On the whole the language is correct, but a few mistakes occur. Thus there is a wrong *sandhi* in *prathamōḍ=śuchīnām* l 39 and in *nyūhatus=cha sōbhām* l 5 we have the accusative for the nominative, due no doubt to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

<sup>7</sup> *Ante*, Vol. III, p. 103.

<sup>8</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

<sup>9</sup> *Ante*, Vol. III, p. 54.

unconscious influence of the preceding word *lhadgam*. In ll 47-49 the object of the grant Dhāshu-vāpī is treated sometime as masculine and sometime as feminine

With respect to orthography the following points are to be noted —(1) *Va* is written throughout for *ba*, (2) in a conjunct of which *r* is the first member, the second consonant is doubled with very rare exceptions as in *Stambhādibhu=bhūya-valād* l 31, *anīshu* and *yathārthatā* in l 33 and *sārtha* and *Prānta* in l 39, (3) a *visarga* before a following *pa* or *pha* is denoted by the sign for *upadhmanīya* in 4 cases (see ll 1, 41, 58 and 59), but in 8 other cases the *upadhmanīya* mark has not been used (see ll 11, 22, 28, 33, 37, 39, 40 and 47) (4) Whether this record uses the *jhvāmūliya* symbol is a knotty question. Cases of a *visarga* followed by a *ka* occur in ll 7, 10, 14, 19, 23, 38, 42, 50, 57, etc. The conjunct consonant used in all these cases really looks like a *mk* (cf *mlu* l 38), but that combination is inexplicable. One is tempted to read it as *sk*, but the normal form of *sa* in the present record is different, we have besides two clear cases of *sa* in *śandhāvāra* l 44 and *yaśashara* l 58 and this form is entirely different from the one seen in the combination of a *visarga* and a following *k*. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that what looks like the form of *m* in the combination of a *visarga* with a following *k* is a symbol for *jhvāmūliya*. It may be pointed out that in several other records the symbol for *jhvāmūliya* is also very much similar to the contemporary sign for the letter *m* (cf *Ante* Vol XVII, p 329, Mattepad plates, l 7, Vol VI, p 7, Ahole Inscription, l 17, etc) (5) The *anusvāra* before a *śa* is denoted by the guttural nasal, cf *vansarī* l 51, in other cases it is sometimes converted to the nasal of the class to which following letter belongs and sometimes denoted by a dot. (6) The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed except in the portion dealing with the locality and its boundary, see ll 46-48. The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of the record, excepting the introductory letter *om*, is in verse. The verses are not numbered, but at the end of each verse there is a punctuation mark usually consisting of two short vertical strokes, except at the end of v 38 where we have only one stroke, probably by mistake, and at the end of v 36 where it is altogether dropped, probably owing to the wrong repetition of a number of letters in the last *pāda* of that verse. There are no punctuation marks to denote the end of the half verse, the only exception being v 35, where we have the punctuation mark usually used at the verse-end.

The present charter contains the grant of a field to a Jain establishment at Nāgasarikā or modern Nausārī. Ll 42-47 inform us that when Suvarnavarsha Karkkarāja, the son of Indrarāja, was encamped on the bank of the Vankikā he granted on the full moon day of Vaisākha of the Śaka year 743 elapsed (corresponding to Sunday the 21st of April 821 A D) Hīranyayōgā, which was apparently the name of a field irrigated by a well belonging to or constructed by a person named Dhāshu, to the Jain teacher Aparājita, who was a disciple of the most revered Sumatī who in turn was a pupil of Ma(l)lavādīn<sup>1</sup>. It is a pity that the value of the fourth letter of the proper name of the last mentioned personage should be doubtful. The letter can be read as *ri*, *di* or *ḍi*. It is quite clear that the engraver has proceeded to modify *ri*, which he had first written, whether he has changed this letter to *ḍi* or *di* is not clear. It is obvious that the proper name in question could not have been Malavādīn, but Mallavādīn, the former hardly gives any sense, and it is, therefore, quite possible that one *l* may have been inadvertently omitted. Mallavādīn, who was apparently the founder of the Jain temple and the attached *Mattha* at Nausārī, is very probably the same personage who wrote a commentary called *Dharmōttara tippanaka* on the *Nyāya-bindu-tīkā* of Dharmōttarāchārya. Dr Satish Chandra Vidyābhūshana has pointed out<sup>2</sup> that this Mallavādīn may have lived either in the first half of the 9th or in the second half of the 10th century A D. Our charter

<sup>1</sup> The reading is clearly Maladhānī and not Malavādī, to judge from the facsimile—Ed

<sup>2</sup> *History of Indian Logic*, pp 194-5

shows that the first alternative is nearer the correct date. Since a disciple of Mallavādin's disciple is the recipient of a grant issued in 821 A.D. it is obvious that Mallavādin could not have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century A.D., he must be placed in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. This conclusion will be untenable if we accept Dr. Vid. Śhliṣhāna's view that Dharmōttarāchārya, on whose work Mallavādin wrote his commentary, flourished in c. 817 A.D. But this view itself is wrong, since it is based upon an unproved assumption that King Vanapāla was ruling in Bengal in c. 817 A.D.

Mallavādin and his disciples belonged to the Śāna saṅgha, which is described as a branch of the Mūla saṅgha which constituted the main Digambara Church. According to the *Paṭṭāḍhis* the Mūlasaṅgha branched off into three other sub-sections known as Dīva saṅgha, Nandī saṅgha and Śāna saṅgha sometime in the 1st century A.D.<sup>1</sup> It is with reference to this division into four sections of the main Digambara branch that Mūla saṅgha is called *chṛīśhaṅga* in our grant. The information of the *Paṭṭāḍhis* is thus confirmed by epigraphic evidence. There is at present a Jain temple at Nausāri called the Pīravanatha temple with two *Māthas* attached to it, one for the male and the other for the female practices. The present temple belongs to the Śvētāmbara sect and its buildings, which are being renovated at present are said to be according to local tradition, to have been built by Vastupāla in the 13th century A.D. Vastupāla may have quite possibly provided buildings to a saṅgha that was already flourishing in the locality. In that case the antiquity of the Śvētāmbara Jain establishment may antedate the buildings in which it is now located. The Mūla saṅgha establishment of Nausāri to which Karkṭa gave the present grant was most probably different from the present Jain temple since it belonged to the Digambara church, which seems to have disappeared in subsequent centuries.

After the syllable *ām* the record opens with a homage to the people of Imādra in v. 1. The next 39 verses give the Rīṣhtrakūṭi genealogy of the main branch up to Amoghavarsha I and of the Gujari branch up to Karkṭa Suvarmavarsha. Since most of these verses occur in other published Rīṣhtrakūṭi records it is unnecessary to give an abstract of the contents here. Attention will, therefore, be drawn only to a few salient points. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, the names of his father and grandfather Indra Pricchhalārāja and Dantivarman respectively, which are given in the Konnūr inscription<sup>2</sup>, Sanjān copper plates<sup>3</sup> of Amoghavarsha I and the Dasvatāra cave record<sup>4</sup> do not figure in this grant. The name of Dantidurga is not passed over in this record, nor is the credit of the overthrow of the Chāhūlas given to Krishna I in preference to Dantidurga as is done in the Wani Dindōrī<sup>5</sup> and Rāihampur<sup>6</sup> plates of Gōvinda III, Baroda plates<sup>7</sup> of the present donor and Kāpādvaj plates<sup>8</sup> of Krishna II. The bravery of the next ruler Krishna I is described in the next 7 verses (12-19), but the description is all conventional, his wars with the Gīngas and the Eastern Chāhūlas are not even referred to, the only historical event mentioned is the overthrow of Rāhappa. The record, however, does not give any clue to the identification of this opponent. The successor of Krishna I, Gōvinda II, is not passed over as is done in the Baroda plates of the present donor, Kāpādvaj plates<sup>9</sup> of Krishna II and the Bagumrā plates<sup>10</sup> of Indra III, but the circumstances of his overthrow by his younger brother are not mentioned. The next 6 verses (20-25) describe the career of Dhruva. All these verses, with the exception of v. 25, are already known to us and contain only conventional eulogy. V. 25, however, which, so far as I am aware, does not occur in any other records so far published, is

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 474

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 235

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Int.*, Vol. VI, p. 157

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 118

<sup>5</sup> *J. B. B. R. I. S.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 257

<sup>6</sup> *Inte.*, Vol. VI, p. 29

<sup>7</sup> *J. S. B. I.*, Vol. V, p. 87

<sup>8</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 242

<sup>9</sup> *Inte.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> *Inte.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

historically important. The expression '*Gāṅgaugha santati-nirōdha-vivṛddha-kīrtih*' used in this verse to describe both Śiva and Dhruva clearly refers to Dhruva's victories over the Western Gāṅgas and possibly also over the Pālas and Gurjara Pratihāras. The expression can mean 'One whose fame is increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or lineage' and would thus be referring to the imprisonment of the contemporary Gāṅga ruler Śivamīra, which is mentioned in several other records of the Rāshtrakūtas.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that some of the Gāṅga records also admit indirectly the truth of the Rāshtrakūta claim. The Manne plates, alleged to be issued by Śivamīra's son in 797<sup>2</sup> A.D., are no doubt spurious, but the statement made in them that Śivamīra was entangled on all sides in difficulties seems to have been based on a genuine historic tradition. The Gattivāḍipur plates inform us that Śivamīra put his younger brother Vijayāditya upon the throne who 'like Bharata, knowing the earth to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her'.<sup>3</sup> This statement, especially the Rāmāyana episode recalled in the simile, makes it clear that Śivamīra was absent from the kingdom probably in the Rāshtrakūta prison, and that his younger brother was trying to carry on the struggle against the conqueror in the absence of the *de jure* ruler. In the expression *Gāṅgaugha santati nirōdha*<sup>4</sup> I further see a reference to Dhruva's campaign in the Gangetic Doab, where according to the Sanjān and Baroda plates, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāla and Gurjara armies. To the poet's imagination, the mighty forces of the Rāshtrakūta invader, crossing the Ganges, may well have appeared to have repeated Śiva's feat of obstructing the flow of the river.<sup>5</sup>

The next 6 verses (26-31) describe the exploits of the next ruler Gōvinda III, but the description is all conventional. The only historical event referred to is the rebellion of Stambha, Gōvinda's brilliant campaigns against the kings of Southern and Northern India are altogether passed over. A verse in the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III states that he had opposed his father's plan of abdication in his favour, pointing out that he was quite content with the *Kaṇṭhīlā* or necklace, the insignia of a Yuvarāja. The Kāvī plates,<sup>6</sup> however, distinctly state that Gōvinda obtained the kingdom from his father at a formal coronation. V 30 of our record supports the Kāvī plates, inasmuch as it refers to Gōvinda receiving, not his *yauvarājya*, but the imperial title *rājādhirāja-paramēśvaratā* from his father at the time of his own coronation. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether Dhruva had actually abdicated in the closing years or months of his reign. On the one hand it is possible that the expressions *Rājyābhishēka-kalaśaik* and *rājādhirāja-paramēśvaratām* may have been used rather loosely by the Kāvī and the present plates to denote *yauvarājyābhishēka*, on the other hand, grown wiser by the treatment which he himself had given to his elder brother Gōvinda II, Dhruva may have realised that installation as an heir apparent was no guarantee against a war of succession and may, therefore, have actually abdicated in favour of his favourite son to avoid the chance of his succession being opposed. Under these circumstances it will be difficult to decide in favour of either of the two alternatives until we get more evidence on the point. Vv 32-40 refer to Amoghavarsha I, his uncle Indra and the latter's son Karkha, the donor of the grant. All these verses are already known to us from other records, but v 39 of this record combined with its date gives very valuable historical information. The verse in question tells us that Amoghavarsha I was reinstated on the throne by his cousin Karkha, when a number of Rāshtrakūta feudatories had rebelled against him. The rebellion in question was already known, but when it started and how long it lasted we

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Wani Dindori plates, *Ind Ant*, Vol XI, p 157

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Carn*, Vol IX, Nelamangala, No 60

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, Vol XII, Nanjangud, No 269

<sup>4</sup> [I do not agree that any reference to Dhruva's northern campaigns against the Pālas and Gurjaras is also contained in the expression *gāṅgaugha*. *Jirritih*—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol V, p 147

could not know definitely until now. Its date could be given only vaguely as some time between February 817 A.D. and October 835 A.D. For, the Nausārī plates<sup>1</sup> of the present donor, issued in February 817 A.D., while referring to the succession of Amoghavarsha I, do not refer to the rebellion, while the Baroda plates<sup>2</sup> of his son Dhruva, issued in October 835 A.D., contain a reference to the signal services rendered to his cousin by Karkka in quelling the rebellion of the proud and wilful Rāshtrakūtas. The date of the present record is 21st of April 821 A.D., it closely copies the Nausārī grant of the present donor, and the only information it supplies to us about the grantor is his reinstatement of his cousin Amoghavarsha I upon the imperial throne. It is, therefore, clear that the rebellion broke out and was quelled completely between February 817 and April 821 A.D. When Amoghavarsha was restored to the throne he was still a boy of about 12, and the government must have been carried on in his name by some regent, probably by Karkka himself. The present record is thus an almost contemporary document with reference to the rebellion and it gives the credit of quelling it to Karkka, later records of the Gujarāt branch also concur with it in this respect. The recently published Sanjān copper plates<sup>3</sup> of Amoghavarsha I, however, tell us that it was with the help of Pātīlamalla that the boy emperor could regain his throne. This discrepancy can be explained in two ways. (1) Pātīlamalla may have been another relative or feudatory of Amoghavarsha, who may have co-operated with Karkka in overthrowing the confederates against the boy emperor. The Gujarāt branch records would naturally ignore him and give the entire credit to Karkka who belonged to it. (2) Or, Pātīlamalla may be the same as Karkka the former being an epithet of the latter. Pātīlamalla is obviously a *biruda* rather than a proper name, Dr. Bhawānlāl Indragi avers that it was a *biruda* of Karkka, but cites no authority for his statement<sup>4</sup>. It is not improbable that the late scholar made that statement on the authority of some unpublished Rāshtrakūta record (e.g., the Baroda grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt branch, dated 867 A.D.), which is referred to by him but yet remains to see the light of the day, but so far no published Rāshtrakūta record assigns to him that title. I am inclined to hold that Pātīlamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka, had Pātīlamalla been a different man, a relative or feudatory of Amoghavarsha, who co-operated with Karkka in restoring him to the throne, it is difficult to understand why the Sanjān plates, which describe in detail the rebellion and the consequent anarchy, should altogether ignore the services of Karkka while eulogising those of Pātīlamalla. It is possible to argue that the omission of Karkka in the Sanjān plates is deliberate, his descendants, who ruled after him in Southern Gujarāt, had rebelled recently against the imperial authority of Amoghavarsha I and therefore the latter may have naturally ignored the services rendered by Karkka in a grant issued by him, while the memory of the rebellion of the Gujarāt branch was still fresh. This explanation is possible but I prefer to believe that one day we may find a record showing that Pātīlamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka Suvarnavarsha.

Most of the verses of the present record are already known to us from published records. Vv. 2-21 are identical with vv. 1-20 of the Nausārī grant<sup>5</sup> of the present donor, vv. 23-24 and 26-28 are identical with vv. 21-35 of the same record. V. 39 occurs in the Baroda plates of Dhruva,<sup>6</sup> the son of the present grantor, and vv. 22 and 10 occur in the Parthan grant of Gōvinda III<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> J. B. B. R. I. S. Vol. XX, p. 135

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 199

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Vol. XVIII, p. 48

<sup>4</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I Part I, p. 124

<sup>5</sup> The long war lasting for as many as three generations mentioned in the Baroda plates of Dhruva II (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 197) in which Dhruva I lost his life and his son and grandson were ousted from the throne, was fought with a king named Vallabha, who could have been no other than Amoghavarsha I. I have discussed this question in detail in my forthcoming book, 'The Rāshtrakūtas and their Times'.

<sup>6</sup> J. B. B. R. I. S., Vol. XX, p. 135

<sup>7</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 199

<sup>8</sup> Ind., Vol. III, p. 105

ll 38-39 and 41-42 V 25 alone is a new one and its historical significance has been discussed already

After recording the grant in prose the charter recites the usual imprecatory verses and concludes with a couple of verses in praise of Jainism. The charter claims to contain an autograph of Karkka, but it should have been in proto-Kanarese characters as is the case with his sign-manuals in his Baroda and Nausārī grants. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the duct of the words '*Svāhastōyam mama sri-Karkkarāṣya sṛmad-Indrarāja-sūnōh*' really represents that of Karkka's own handwriting. The charter was drafted by Nārāyana, son of *Kulaputaka* śrī-Durgabhata, who was the chief foreign minister of Karkka. He is obviously a brother of Nēmāditya, who had drafted the two other known copper-plate grants of the present donor,—the Baroda plates of 811-2 and the Nausārī plates of 817 A D, for, the latter two documents describe Nēmāditya as a son of the foreign minister *Kulaputaka* Durgabhata. The present charter shows that the career of Nārāyana was more successful than that of his brother Nēmāditya, since he succeeded his father in the important post of the Chief Foreign Minister.

Most of the copper-plate grants of old were drafted by a *sandhivigrahika* or foreign minister. I have not yet seen any attempt to explain the connection of the office of *sandhivigrahika* with the drafting of land grants. The connection is, however, established not only by copper-plates, but is also known to Smṛiti literature. An anonymous verse quoted by Vijñānēśvara on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, I, 320, says —

Sandhivigrahakārī tu bhavēd=yas=tasya lēkhakah  
Svayam rājñā samādīstah sa līkhēd=rājaśāsanam |

Vijñānēśvara himself says, '*Sandhivigrahalārīnā (śāsanam kārāyēt) nānyēna kēnachit*' Yājñavalkya lays down in I, 319 that a land grant should contain an account of the genealogy of the donor. A glance at the numerous grants that have been published shows that this dictum of the sage was usually observed in practice. The genealogy had naturally to refer to the exploits of the ancestors of the donor, material for which was expected to be preserved in the archives of the foreign office, and its head was, therefore, expected to draft the charter containing the names and exploits of the donor and his ancestors.

Of the localities mentioned in the plates almost all can be identified with certainty. *Nāga-sārikā* is modern Nausārī, about 20 miles to the south of Surat. The *Pūrāvī* is obviously the river Pūrṇā on the banks of which Nausārī is situated. Of the two villages *Ambāpātaka* and *Sambapura*, the latter is untraceable, but the former is obviously the same as *Āmadpur*, situated on the *Pūrāvī* or *Pūrṇā* and about 5 miles from Nausārī. Mr M K Nadkarni, the Subha of Nausārī, informs me that this village was some centuries ago called *Āmrapura* according to the local tradition. The river *Vankikā*, on the banks of which the army of Karkka was encamped when the gift was made, is the Vanki creek about 30 miles to the south of Nausārī. The only place that thus remains to be identified is *Sambapura*. This village was to the north of *Ambāpātaka* or modern *Āmadpur* and, therefore, it cannot be identified with the village of *Sampur* in *Kamrej Taluka*, since it is 35 miles from Nausārī. It has now probably gone out of existence.

#### TEXT <sup>1</sup>

[The following metres have been used — *Anuṣṭubh* —vv 2, 24, 32, 41-45 and 49 *Āryā* —vv 12-15, 22, 27-29, 33, 40 and 50 *Indravajrā* —v 23 *Upajāti* —vv 5 and 20 *Gūṭ* —v 8 *Pushpītāgrā* —v 48 *Vamśasthavī* —v 1 *Vasantatilakā* —vv 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 25, 26, 30, 36-38 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* —vv 11, 18 and 31 *Sraṇḍharī* —vv 17, 19, 34 and 35]

<sup>1</sup> From 'the original plates

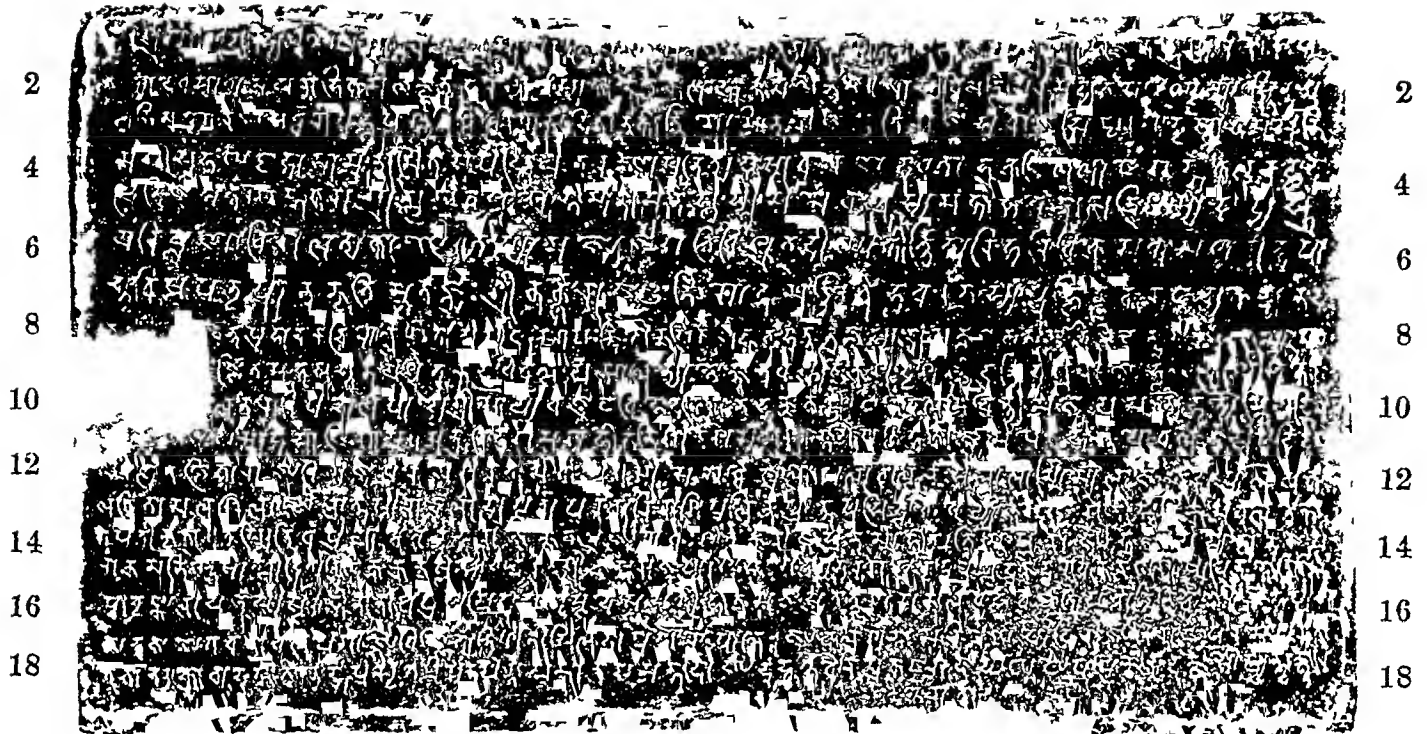


## First Plate

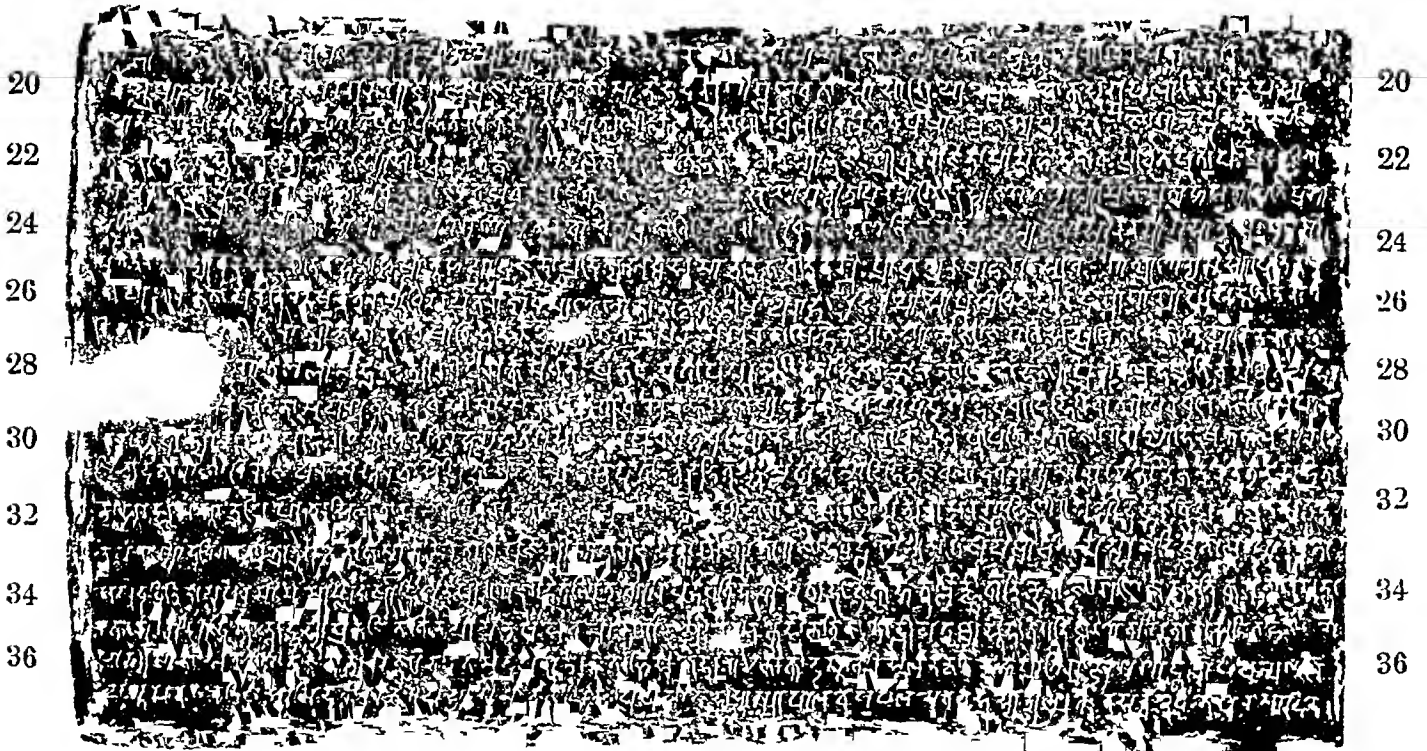
- 1 ओ<sup>1</sup> । थिय X पटं नित्यमगेषगोचर नयप्रमाण प्रतिपिबदुष्यथं [1\*]  
जनस्य भव्यत्व<sup>2</sup> समाहितात्मनो जयत्यनुग्राहि जिनेन्द्रगगन<sup>3</sup> ॥[१॥\*] स वो
- 2 व्याह्वेयसा धाम यन्नामिकामल हत [1\*] हरथ यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया  
कमलं हत ॥[२॥\*] आसीद्विपत्तिभिरभुव्यतमगलोभो धवितत्रय-
- 3 नभिसुखो<sup>4</sup> रणमर्वनीपु<sup>5</sup> [1\*] भूपशुचिर्विधुशिवाम्नादिगन्तकीर्तिगो<sup>6</sup>मिन्दराज इति  
राजसु राजमिद<sup>7</sup> ॥[३॥\*] दृष्टा चभूसभि-
- 4 सुखो[1\*] सुभटादृष्टामासुनामित सपदि येन रणेषु नित्य [1\*] दृष्टावरेण  
दधता सुकुटि ललाटे रत्न कुलं च हृदय<sup>8</sup>]-
- 5 च निज[च<sup>9</sup>] सत्व ॥[४॥\*] रत्न[1\*] काराग्रानुभूतय शोभा<sup>10</sup> भानो मन-  
स्तस्मिभमेव यस्य [1\*] भूराहेवे नाम निगम्य सद्यम्-
- 6 य रिपूणा विगलत्यकाशे [५॥\*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विद्युतदीर्घकीर्त्ति<sup>11</sup>-  
रातीर्त्तिहारिहरिविभ्रमधामधारी [1\*] भूपा-
- 7 स्तु<sup>12</sup>विष्टपट्टपापुलति<sup>13</sup>कृतज्ञ श्रीकर्कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्व<sup>14</sup>भूव ॥[६॥\*] तस्य  
प्रभित्रकरटच्युतदानद-
- 8 न्तिदन्तप्रहारचिरोनिग्वितांसपीठ [1\*] ज्माप, जितौ क्षपितगनुभूतनूजस्य द्रो-  
कृतकानकाद्रिखिन्दराज ॥[७॥\*] तस्योपा-
- 9 र्जितमहसस्तनयचतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्या[1\*] भोका<sup>15</sup>भुवश्गतत्तु<sup>16</sup>भृष्टग्युदन्ति-  
दुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[८॥\*] काक्षीयकर-
- 10 लनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीमै<sup>17</sup>व्यवजटविमदविधानदण [1\*] काण्डीटका वल<sup>18</sup>मचिन्त्यम-  
जयमन्येभृत्यैकियक्षिर-
- 11 पि यस्सहसा जिगाय ॥[९॥\*] अमृविभंगमष्टहीतनिशातगम्बमन्त्रान्तमप्रतिहताज-  
मपेतयत्त [1\*] यो वल्लभ स्वपदि<sup>19</sup> दग्ध-
- 12 वलेन<sup>20</sup> जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[१०॥\*] आसेतीर्विपुलोपलावलि  
लसन्नीलोर्मिभोजलाटाप्राणेत्यका<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>2</sup> Read भव्यत्व<sup>3</sup> Read °नभिसुखो<sup>4</sup> Read °गोत्रे<sup>5</sup> Read °राजमिद<sup>6</sup> Read °द्विप<sup>7</sup> Read क्षमि<sup>8</sup> The central horizontal stroke of क्ष is missing<sup>9</sup> Read °चि<sup>10</sup> Read शोभा<sup>11</sup> Letters तेरात्ता which were omitted while engraving this line are written at the bottom of the plate  
A *kalapadu* above कौ draws attention to the correction at the bottom<sup>12</sup> Read भूपाभविष्टप<sup>13</sup> See introduction for the symbol of *ghāṛāmūliya*<sup>14</sup> Read °वभुव<sup>15</sup> Read भोका<sup>16</sup> Read °सदृश<sup>17</sup> [मौय here is a variant of हृष in other Rāshtrakūṭa grants—N P C]<sup>18</sup> Read वल<sup>19</sup> Read सपदि<sup>20</sup> Read °वलेन<sup>21</sup> What looks like an *anusvāra* is a natural depression on the surface of the plate

2



na



38  
 40  
 42  
 44  
 46  
 48  
 50  
 52  
 54

56  
 58  
 60  
 62

- 13 लंकितामलशिलाजालातुषाराचलादा<sup>1</sup>पूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधेयैनेद<sup>2</sup> ज-  
गती स्विक्रमवलेने<sup>3</sup>का-
- 14 तपत्रीकृता ॥[११॥\*] तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजावा<sup>4</sup>धः [१\*] श्री-  
कर्कराजसूनुर्महीपतिकृष्णराजोभूत् ॥[१२॥\*] यस्य स्वसुजय-
- 15 राक्रमनिशेषोत्सादितारिदिवचक्र [१\*] क्षणस्थेवा<sup>5</sup>क्षणं<sup>6</sup>चरित श्रीक्ष्णराजस्य  
[१३॥\*] शुभतुंगतुंगतुंगप्रवृत्तरेणु<sup>7</sup>रुद्धरविकिरणं<sup>8</sup>[१\*] श्रीभेषि नमो निखित<sup>9</sup>
- 16 प्रोष्टकालायते स्यष्ट ॥[१४॥\*] दीनानायप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीही<sup>10</sup>तमजसं [१\*]  
तत्क्षणकालवधे वर्षति सर्वा<sup>11</sup>र्त्यनिर्व्य<sup>12</sup>प<sup>13</sup>ण ॥[१५॥\*] र<sup>14</sup>[१]ह्यभा-
- 17 तसुजजातव<sup>15</sup>लावलेपमा<sup>16</sup>ज्जौ विजित्य निशितासिलताग्रहारैः [१\*] पालिध्वजावलि-  
शुभाभचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां
- 18 ततान ॥[१६॥\*] क्रोधादुत्थातश्च<sup>17</sup> ११ प्रसूतरिपुम<sup>18</sup>यै<sup>19</sup>वर्मासमान समन्तादाजा<sup>20</sup>दुवृत्तवै-  
रिप्रकाटगजघटाटोपसंचोभदत्त [१\*] सौ<sup>21</sup>र्थ्यन्धवारि-

Second Plate First side

- 19 वगो<sup>22</sup> भयचकितवपुक्कपि दृष्टैव सद्यो<sup>23</sup> १६ दर्पोष्मातारिचक्रजयकारमगमद्यस्य दो<sup>24</sup>दृष्ट-  
रूप ॥[१७॥\*] पाता यश्चतु<sup>25</sup>रभ्युराशिरसनलकारमाजा<sup>26</sup> भु-
- 20 वस्त्रैव्या<sup>27</sup>थापि क्षतद्विजामरगुरप्राज्याज्यपूजादरो<sup>28</sup> [१\*] दाता मानभृदग्रणीगुणवता  
योसौ श्रियो मे<sup>29</sup>क्षमो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा
- 21 स्थानं जगामाभार<sup>30</sup> ॥[१८॥\*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरजाततापात्सलीलं जन्मे<sup>31</sup>  
नासीरधूलीधवलितवपुषा वल्लभास्थसदाजौ [१\*] श्रीमन्नोविन्दराजो जि-
- 22 तजगदहितस्त्रैवैधव्यहेतुस्तस्यासीत्सूनुरेक र लिताराति त्तैमकुम्भः ॥[१९॥\*]  
तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महानुभावः प्रथितप्रतापः [१\*]
- 23 प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रच<sup>32</sup>क्र<sup>33</sup>मेण वा<sup>34</sup>लार्कवपुर्व<sup>35</sup>भूव ॥[२०॥\*] जाते यत्र च  
राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सङ्ग<sup>36</sup>तचूडा<sup>37</sup>[म\*]णौ गुर्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्यजगतस्तुखामिनि  
प्रत्यक्ष [१\*] [सत्य\*] सत्यमिति प्रथा-

<sup>1</sup> The scribe or the composer has joined together the two words in a *sandhi*, without taking notice of the half verse end, as required by rules of prosody

<sup>2</sup> Read °येनेय°

<sup>3</sup> Read °वल्लभेका°

<sup>4</sup> Read °वाध

<sup>5</sup> The punctuation mark is damaged.

<sup>6</sup> Read इ

<sup>7</sup> Read निखिल

<sup>8</sup> Read समीहित°

<sup>9</sup> Read °वला°

<sup>10</sup> Read °माजौ

<sup>11</sup> Read °वज्रप्रसूतश्चिचये°

<sup>12</sup> Read °वर्मासमान

<sup>13</sup> Read °वहु°

<sup>14</sup> Read °गोष्ट्य°

<sup>15</sup> Read °वर्गो

<sup>16</sup> Read °दपा°

<sup>17</sup> Read °दोर्दृष्ट°

<sup>18</sup> Read °रन्तु°

<sup>19</sup> Read °माजौ

<sup>20</sup> Read °तत्या°

<sup>21</sup> Read °हर, the word being at the half verse end, no *sandhi* is permitted

<sup>22</sup> Read वल्लभो

<sup>23</sup> Read °मामर

<sup>24</sup> Read °जमे

<sup>25</sup> Read °वालाकि°

<sup>26</sup> Read °वर्भूव°

<sup>27</sup> भूप was the word probably intended by the poet

- 21 सति सति ध्माध्यासमुद्रान्तिकामामीर्गमपर गुणाभूतानिधा सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते  
॥[२१॥<sup>१</sup>] शगधरकिरणनिकरनिभ यस्य यशस्मुरन'ग्राग्रमानुष्य [१<sup>२</sup>]  
परिगी-
- 25 यतनुरतोर्विद्यावरसुन्दरीनिव' ॥ [२२॥<sup>१</sup>] हट्टोन्व, योर्विजनाय नित्यं  
भर्वस्वमानन्तितव भुवर्ग [१] प्रादाग्ररुटो हरति स्म वेगाभ्यागान्यमभ्यापि  
नितान्त-
- 26 वीर्ये ॥[२३॥<sup>१</sup>] रचता येन निग्गेष चतुरश्रोधिर्मयुत [ १<sup>२</sup>] रात्र्य  
धर्मण लोकाना कृता हट्टि'परा हट्टि ॥[२४॥<sup>१</sup>] योसो प्रमाधित-  
[समुन्नत<sup>१३</sup>ोमीरदुर्गो गागो'धमन्ततिनिरोध-
- 27 विद्वज्जीर्त्ति रात्री जतीव्रतदृष्टाक विभूतिरुन्नेर्यत्त ततान परमेस्वरतामिरेक ॥  
[२५॥<sup>१</sup>] तस्यात्मजो जगति सप्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोदिन्दराज ७-
- 28 ति गोचललामभृत [१<sup>२</sup>] त्यागो पराक्रमवन प्रकाटप्रतापमन्तापितात्तिजनो  
जननामोभृत् ॥[२६॥<sup>१</sup>] प्रिप्नो'वमम उति च प्रथित यस्या-
- 29 परं ज[ग<sup>१</sup>]ति नाम [१<sup>२</sup>] यत्तुनदधिमीमामेको वसुधा वगे चक्रे [१२७<sup>१</sup>]  
एकोन्यनेक'पो यो ददगे भेटवादिभिरिवात्मा [१<sup>२</sup>] परवर्ण'जनधिमपा-
- 30 तस्वदोभ्या रणे रिपुभि ॥[२८॥<sup>१</sup>] एको निरंतिरह गृहीतगम्या मे  
परे व'रयो [१<sup>२</sup>] यो नेवविधमकरोचित न्यप्रेषि किमुतार्जो ॥[२९॥<sup>१</sup>]  
रात्र्याभिषेकाकालगेरभि-
- 31 पिच्य दत्ता राजाधिराजपरमेस्वरता स्वपिचा [१<sup>२</sup>] अन्यमो'नानृपतिभिर्व<sup>१४</sup>हृमि-  
व्व<sup>१५</sup>स्मैत्य स्तथादिभिर्भुजवला<sup>१६</sup>दवपुष्यमाना [३०॥<sup>१</sup>] एकोनेकनरेन्द्रहन्महिता-
- 32 न्यस्तान्समस्तानपि प्रोत्सवा'ता<sup>१७</sup>]मिलताप्रहारविधुरा<sup>१८</sup> वध्वा<sup>१९</sup> सा<sup>२०</sup>हासयुगे [१<sup>२</sup>]  
लक्ष्मी[स]ध्यचना चकार विलस<sup>२१</sup>स्तथास'ग्राहिणी ॥<sup>२२</sup> समीदहकविप्रमज्जनसुहृद-<sup>२३</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read 'नगाय'.<sup>२</sup> Read 'यन्त्र'.<sup>३</sup> Four letters are missing the reading given is conjectural<sup>४</sup> The engraver's instrument has slipped to the left of the first vertical in नी<sup>५</sup> Read कीर्त्ति [१<sup>२</sup>] आकीर्त्तो', 'कीर्त्ति' being at the half verse end a repetition is not possible<sup>६</sup> The letter क, omitted while engraving is written below the line under the letter दा between two *laka* pada. A small *laka* pada above the letter दा, clear in the plate, draws attention to the omitted letter<sup>७</sup> Read वृद्धी'<sup>८</sup> Read प'राज'.<sup>९</sup> Read न'व<sup>१०</sup> Read 'वृद्ध'.<sup>११</sup> The letter द्य is repeated by mistake<sup>१२</sup> Read 'वला'<sup>१३</sup> Read 'विधुरान्'<sup>१४</sup> Read वृद्धा<sup>१५</sup> Read 'महा' The letter ह् omitted while engraving is written below the line between 'सा' and स<sup>१६</sup> Read 'लस्य'<sup>१७</sup> This punctuation mark is unnecessary<sup>१८</sup> Read 'यन्त्र'

- 33 न्यूपभोग्या भुवि ॥[३१॥\*] तत्पुत्रोत्त गते नाकसाकस्मिता<sup>१</sup>प्रजे [१\*]  
 श्रीमा<sup>२</sup>हाराजस<sup>३</sup>र्वाख्य[१\*] ख्यातो राजाभवद्गुणैः ॥[३२॥\*] अर्थिषु यथार्थता[१\*]  
 यस्ममभि<sup>४</sup>ष्टता<sup>५</sup>फलोमिलव्य<sup>६</sup>तो-
- 34 तेषु [१\*] वृद्धिनिनाय परमाममोषवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[\*३३॥] राजभूतत्पिलव्यो  
 रिपुसवविमवोद्भूतभावैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीवान्निन्दराजो गुणिजनतिकरा<sup>७</sup>न्तश्चमत्का-
- 35 रकारो । रागादन्थोन्युदस्य प्रकटितविनया य नृप सेवमानो राजश्रीरेव चक्रो  
 स[कल\*]कविजनोद्गी<sup>१०</sup>यतथ्यस्मभाव ॥[३४॥\*] निर्वीणावामिवावासहितहितजनो-
- 36 पार्श्व<sup>११</sup>माना सुवृत्त वृत्त जित्वान्यराज्ञा चरितमुदयवान्सर्वतो हिसकेभ्यः ।(॥)  
 एकाकी दृढवैरिस्खलनक्षतिसहप्रातिराज्येशशा<sup>१२</sup>हर्षाटीयस्मण्डल
- 37 यस्तपन इव निजस्वामिदत्त ररत्न ॥[३५॥\*] यस्यागमात्रजयिनः प्रियसाहसस्य  
 क्षमापालवेषफलमेव व<sup>१३</sup>भू[व\*] सैन्य<sup>१४</sup>भुक्तावौ व<sup>१५</sup> सर्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदे-

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- 38 व नावन्दतान्यममरेष्वपि यो ममरेष्वपि यो<sup>१६</sup> मनस्वी ॥[३६॥\*] श्रीकर्करीराज  
 इति रत्तिरा<sup>१७</sup>तराज्यमारम्भारङ्कुलस्य तनयो नयशालिसौ<sup>१८</sup>व्यं [१\*] तस्या-
- 39 भवद्विभ[व\*]नन्दितव<sup>१९</sup>भ्युसार्थः प्रा<sup>२०</sup>र्थः सदैव धनुषि प्रयसो<sup>२१</sup>श्चचीना ॥[३७॥\*]  
 दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया<sup>२२</sup> वा सौ<sup>२३</sup>व्येण वीर्येण च कोपि भूपः [१\*]  
 एतेन साम्योस्ति
- 40 न वेति कीर्तिस्सकौतुका भ्रात्र्यति यस्य लोके ॥[३८॥\*] श्वे<sup>२४</sup>(खे)च्छागृहीत-  
 विषया[न्\*] दृढसङ्गमाजः प्रोवृत्तदृढतरशौल्कि<sup>२५</sup>तराङ्गकूटागु<sup>२६</sup>त्स्रातस्व<sup>२७</sup>निज-
- 41 बाहुवलेन<sup>२८</sup> जित्वा योमोषवर्षमचिरात्स्वपदे व्यधत्त ॥[३९॥\*] तेनेदमनिलविद्यु-  
 च्चक्षमालोव्य जीवितभ्रसार [१\*] क्षितिदानप्रमपुण्यप्रवर्तितो ध-

<sup>१</sup> Read °कस्मितरिपुप्रजे<sup>२</sup> Read °महा°<sup>३</sup> The usual spelling of this king's name is कर्क<sup>४</sup> Read समसीट°<sup>५</sup> This letter ता is superfluous<sup>६</sup> क was first omitted, it was subsequently written below the line under the preceding letter ता between two vertical lines<sup>७</sup> Read °लव्य°<sup>८</sup> Read °निद्र°<sup>९</sup> Read °निकरा° A letter first written before ति has been subsequently crossed out<sup>१०</sup> Read °गीत°<sup>११</sup> Read पास्य<sup>१२</sup> Read अशुद्ध°<sup>१३</sup> Read वभुव<sup>१४</sup> Read सैन्यम् । सुक्ता<sup>१५</sup> Read च<sup>१६</sup> Letters ममरेष्वपि यो are repeated by mistake<sup>१७</sup> This letter रा is superfluous<sup>१८</sup> Read °शौव्य<sup>१९</sup> Read °बन्धु°<sup>२०</sup> Read पार्थ<sup>२१</sup> Read प्रथम°<sup>२२</sup> या is written below the line under ता which was originally written after ज्ञ by mistake but was subsequently crossed out<sup>२३</sup> Read शौव्येण The letter व्ये is written below the line between शो and रा<sup>२४</sup> Read खेच्छा<sup>२५</sup> Read शौल्कि°<sup>२६</sup> Read कूटान् । उत्स्रात°<sup>२७</sup> The engraver had first inscribed खा, but the medial आ stroke was subsequently crossed out.<sup>२८</sup> Read बाहुवलेन

- 42 भीदायोयम् ॥[४०॥\*] स च समधिगताग्रेपमहाग<sup>1</sup>व्यमहासामन्ताधिपतिस्त्ववर्ण-  
वर्णयो[क\*]कराजदेवकुशली सर्वानिव यथासं-वध्यमानाद्रपति-  
43 विपयो<sup>2</sup>यपतिग्रामपतिग्रामकूटयुतानियुतावासावकाधिकारिका<sup>3</sup>रिसमहत्तरादी<sup>4</sup>कान्  
ममनुदगयत्यस्तु वस्त्रविदित यथा भया श्रीवर्द्धकातट-  
44 स्थावासितविजयस्कन्धोवारस्थितेन मातापितोरोत्तमचैहिकासुषिकपुण्यगोमिहवये<sup>5</sup>  
श्रीनागसारिकास्तलमन्निविष्टार्हचैत्वा[या\*]यतननि[वज\*]  
45 सस्य<sup>6</sup>पुरोभ्यसगिहृतवसतिकाया रम्य<sup>7</sup>स्फुटितनवकर्मचरवलि<sup>8</sup>दानपूजादर्थ<sup>9</sup>न्तथा तथा<sup>11</sup>  
तिव<sup>10</sup>ध्वमानचोतुष्टयस्त्रयचौदयान्वयमेन-  
46 सेन<sup>12</sup>संधमल<sup>13</sup>वाटि<sup>14</sup>गुरो<sup>15</sup>गिष्पत्रीसुमतिपृथ्वपाद<sup>16</sup> तच्छिष्यश्रीमदपराजितगुरो<sup>17</sup>  
श्रीनागसारिकाप्रतिव<sup>18</sup>अस्वापाटकाग्रामस्य<sup>19</sup> उत्तरदिशि  
47 हिरण्ययोगाभिधाना<sup>20</sup> दापुवापी यस्या<sup>21</sup>चोटनानि पूर्वत. श्रीधरवापिका दक्षिणतो  
वज<sup>22</sup> अपरत. पुरोवी महानदी<sup>23</sup> उत्तरतस्मिन्<sup>24</sup>पुर-  
48 वापिका<sup>25</sup> [।\*] एवमिव चतुराघाटोपलक्षिता सवान्यहिरण्यदेवा<sup>26</sup> अचाटमटप्रवे-  
श<sup>27</sup>स्मरारोगकीर्णानामरुस्तप्रतिपण्णिय<sup>28</sup> आच-  
49 न्द्राक्षीर्णवर्जितमरित्पर्वतसमकालीन. <sup>29</sup> गिष्पद<sup>30</sup>गिष्पान्वयक्रमोपमो<sup>31</sup>पमोग्र<sup>32</sup> गृकानृप-  
कालातीतसंवत्सरगतेषु ममसु त्रिचत्वारिगट-  
50 धिनेपु<sup>33</sup>तीतेषु वैशाखपौर्णमास्या स्तत्त्वोटकातिरुग्णे<sup>34</sup> प्रतिपादि<sup>35</sup>तोस्यो<sup>36</sup>चितया<sup>37</sup>  
गाचोर्व्यस्थित्या भुजती भोजयतर्क्षत<sup>38</sup> कर्षयत<sup>39</sup> प्रतिदि-

<sup>1</sup> Read °शृङ्ग°

- Read °सुम्नज°

<sup>2</sup> This letter रा is superfluous

<sup>3</sup> The letters कारि are wrongly repeated

<sup>4</sup> Read °टिकान्

<sup>5</sup> What looks like a second slanting stroke to the left of ह्र is a natural crack on the surface of the plate

<sup>6</sup> Letters सस्य are indistinct in the plate as its surface is corroded at this place, but the proposed reading is certain, since Sambhupura is mentioned below in l. 47 among the boundaries

<sup>7</sup> After रा there is a clear *lulapada*, but the omitted letters, if any, are nowhere supplied, neither below the line nor at the bottom of the plate. The text, as it stands, is fairly intelligible, there may have been no real omission, the *lulapada* being a mutilation

<sup>8</sup> Read °वलि°

<sup>9</sup> Read °पु जाय त

<sup>11</sup> तथा is wrongly repeated

<sup>12</sup> Read °निषय°

<sup>13</sup> The word सेन is wrongly repeated

<sup>14</sup> Read °मह°

<sup>15</sup> The letter दि is slightly doubtful in the impression, but fairly clear in the original

<sup>16</sup> Read °पादसच्छिष्य°

<sup>17</sup> Read गुरवे

<sup>18</sup> Read °यवासा°

<sup>19</sup> Read °ग्रामस्य°

<sup>20</sup> Read °धाना

<sup>21</sup> Read °यस्या आचा°

<sup>22</sup> Read वज्रीपरत

<sup>23</sup> Read °नद्युत्तरत°

<sup>24</sup> Read °सुम्न°

<sup>25</sup> Read वापिका

<sup>26</sup> Read °देवाचाट°

<sup>27</sup> Read °प्रवेश्यासर्व° The word वापी is clearly in the feminine, but while mentioning its adjectives, the scribe hesitates throughout this passage between the masculine and the feminine.

<sup>28</sup> Read °श्रीवाचन्द्रा°

<sup>29</sup> Read °कालीना

<sup>30</sup> Read °गिष्पद°

<sup>31</sup> The letters मोप are wrongly repeated.

<sup>32</sup> Read °मोग्र°

<sup>33</sup> Read °वतीतेषु

<sup>34</sup> Read °पादिना । अस्या उचित°

<sup>35</sup> याचार्य

- 51 शतो वा न केनचित्परिपन्थना कारणीया<sup>1</sup> ॥ तथागामिनृपतिमिरस्म<sup>2</sup> हशेरख्यै<sup>3</sup> व्या  
सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युस्रोतान्यनित्यान्यैश्च-
- 52 व्याणि दृष्टायलमचचल<sup>4</sup> विन्दु<sup>5</sup> चचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयम-  
नुमन्तव्य परिपालयितव्यञ्च [॥<sup>\*</sup>] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलोद्भूत-
- 53 <sup>6</sup>तमतिराच्छिन्धादाच्छिद्यमानां वागुमोदेत, स प[च<sup>\*</sup>]मिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च  
सयुक्तास्यादित्युक्तं च भग[व<sup>\*</sup>]ता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥<sup>\*</sup>] षष्टि वर्षस-
- 54 हस्त्याणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिद. [१<sup>\*</sup>] आच्छेत्ता चानुभन्ता च तान्येव नरके  
वसेत् ॥[४१॥<sup>\*</sup>] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्काकोटरवासिन. [१<sup>\*</sup>] क्षणाहयो  
हि जायन्ते
- 55 भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ॥[४२॥<sup>\*</sup>] सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकाज<sup>7</sup>ानुशं फलं [१<sup>\*</sup>]  
हाटकञ्चित्तिगौरीणां नैकाजन्मात्मका फलं ॥[४३॥<sup>\*</sup>] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यत्नाद्-

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- 56 क्ष नराधिप [१<sup>\*</sup>] महोष्महिमता[<sup>\*</sup>] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपासनं ॥[४४॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
व<sup>8</sup>हु[मि<sup>\*</sup>]र्वसुधा मुक्ता राजमिस्सका<sup>9</sup>रादिभिः [१<sup>\*</sup>] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य-  
[तस्य<sup>\*</sup>] तदा फलं ॥[४५॥<sup>\*</sup>] अग्नेरपत्यं
- 57 प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यमुताश्च गाव [१<sup>\*</sup>] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि  
दत्तं यक्षाञ्जनं गाञ्च मही च दद्यात् ॥[४६॥<sup>\*</sup>] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा  
नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मा-
- 58 शैयस(श)स्तराणि [१<sup>\*</sup>] निर्माण्यवान्तप्रतिसानि तानि को नाम साधु<sup>10</sup>पु-  
नराददीत ॥[४७॥<sup>\*</sup>] इति कामलदत्ताभ्युविन्दु<sup>10</sup>लोला श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-  
जीवितञ्च [१<sup>\*</sup>] अति-
- 59 विमलमनोमिरात्मनीनैर्न<sup>11</sup> हि पुरुषै<sup>12</sup>परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[४८॥<sup>\*</sup>] यथा  
चैतदेवं तथा साशन<sup>12</sup>दाता लिपिञ्चस्त्र<sup>13</sup>हस्तेन स्वमतमारोपयति ॥ स्वहस्तोयं  
मम श्री<sup>14</sup>कर्कराजस्य श्रीमदि-

<sup>1</sup> का<sup>1</sup>या<sup>1</sup> was first engraved, but it was unnecessarily changed later into कारणीया by crossing out the medial आ mark of का and the following र्या and adding the letters रणीया

<sup>2</sup> Read °हश्यै°

<sup>3</sup> Read °रृ

<sup>4</sup> Read जल for चचल

<sup>5</sup> Read विन्दु

<sup>6</sup> This त is superfluous

<sup>7</sup> Originally जा was engraved, but the medial आ mark was subsequently crossed out

<sup>8</sup> Read वहु°

<sup>9</sup> Read °गरा

<sup>10</sup> Read °लाभुविन्दु°

<sup>11</sup> Read °नै

<sup>12</sup> Read शसन A *kālapada* after एव draws attention to the words साशनदाता, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record between two *kālapadas*

<sup>13</sup> A *kālapada* above स्त्र draws attention to the letters हस्तेन स्त्र, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record after the word शसनदाता between two *kālapadas*

<sup>14</sup> A *kālapada* above श्री draws attention to the letter श्री, omitted while engraving the line, but written later below the line between स and क



- 60 नराजयुतस्य ॥ लिखित चैतन्यया महोसन्धिविश्रहाधिपतिना नारायणेन  
कुलपुत्रकषीदुर्गभेदसूनुना ॥ जीयादुरितविहेषी<sup>1</sup> शासनं जि-  
61<sup>1</sup> नशासनं [1\*] यदन्यमतगैलानां भेदने कुलियायते ॥[४८॥\*] जयति जिनोक्तो  
धर्मप्यङ्जीवनिकायवत्सलो नित्यं । चूडामणिरिव लो[के]<sup>2</sup>  
62 विभाति यस्सर्वधर्माणाम् ॥[५०॥\*]

## TRANSLATION.

NOTE—V 2-21, 23, 24 and 26-38 have been translated by Mr (now Dr) D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 112 ff., while editing the Nausāri plates of the present donor. The first two lines of v. 35 which he has declared to be unintelligible continue to be so to me as well. V 39 and 40 have been translated by Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 201-2.

V 1 Victorious is the gracious gospel propounded by the best of Jinas, which is a perpetual abode of prosperity, which is clear in its entirety, which is based upon the (seven) metaphysical viewpoints (*Nayas*<sup>2</sup>), which prohibits (recourse to) evil ways and which brings about beatitude to one with a controlled mind.

V 23 Whose (Dhruva's) glory, resembling in colour a mass of lunar rays, is sung with zest by swarms of Vidyādhara damsels seated on the top of the divine (i.e. *Mēru*) mountain.

V 25 Who (i.e. Dhruva) alone here (in this world) appeared as Paramēśvara (i, supreme ruler, ii, god Śiva, ) since he had made his own the paraphernalia and glory of Vṛshanka (i, a king named Śiva<sup>2</sup>, or ii, who had appropriated to himself the high bull banner and ashes), since he was accustomed to take proper care of (or furnish) his strong and towering forts, (or ii, since he was in the habit of decorating (his consort) Durgā who is the very essence of the most magnanimous, ) and since his fame had increased by the imprisonment of a seion of the Gāṅga family or by the obstruction of the flowing current of the Ganges (by his armies) (or ii, who had increased his fame by interrupting the continuous flow of the Ganges) (when it was lost in his matted hair).

Ll 42-48 And now that king Śrī-Kaṭṭikarāja alias Savarnavarsha who has acquired (the right to the use of) all the (five) musical instruments<sup>4</sup> and who is the chief of great feudatories, notifies, while in good health, to all the provincial governors (*Rāṣṭrapati*), district officers (*Viśhayapati*), village land-lords<sup>5</sup> (*Grāmapati*), village headmen (*Grāmakūṭa*), revenue clerks and their subordinates<sup>6</sup> (*Yukta* and *Niyukta*), the officers among the village elders<sup>7</sup> (who were the descendants of) the (original) colonisers<sup>8</sup> (of the villages) (*Vāsūlakamahattarādhipārin*) and other officers concerned.

<sup>1</sup> Read विहेषि

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the famous *Sapta bhāṅgī naya* doctrine of Jainism which is a peculiar feature of its philosophy.

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be an allusion here to the annexation of Gangavadi whose ruler's name was Śīvamāra. It is also possible that this adjective may refer to the use by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the image of seated Śiva as their *lāñchhana*, but then it would not be particularly appropriate for Dhruva.

<sup>4</sup> These five instruments were *śringa*, *śaṅkha*, *bhēṛī*, *jaya ghaṇṭā* and *ṭamraṭa*. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> Since both *grāmapatis* and *grāmadhipas* are mentioned, it is clear that one of these terms, preferably the former, is to be understood as referring to village land lords.

<sup>6</sup> Since these officers are mentioned after the village headmen and before the village elders, it is likely that they may denote the village accountant and his assistant.

<sup>7</sup> For the interpretation of *Mahattara* as a member of the village council, see Altekar, *History of the Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 20-22.

<sup>8</sup> The expression *vāsakāla* is obscure, it occurs again in the grant of Dantivarmā (A. S. Vol. VI, p. 292). The meaning suggested is only tentative.

Let it be known to you that for the enhancement of the fame and religious merit of myself and my parents was given by me,—while staying in the victorious camp on the bank of the holy Vankikā,—(the field) called Hiranyayōgā (irrigated by) the well of Dhāshu,<sup>1</sup> situated to the north of the village Ambāpātaka, attached to śrī-Nāgasārikā whose boundaries (are as follows) —to the east (the field watered by) the well of Śrīdhara, to the south a stream to the west the great river Pūrāvī, and to the north the (public) well of Sambapura;—to the glorious preceptor Aparājita, the disciple of revered śrī-Sumati, who was the disciple of Mallavādin (belonging to) Sēna-saṅgha, a branch of the fourfold Mūla-saṅgha, for the purpose of (daily) worship, cooked rice offerings,<sup>2</sup> and the repairs and renovation of the monastery (vasatī ā), which is an ornament of Sambapura and is attached to the temple of Arhat, situated within the boundaries of śrī-Nāgasārikā

Ll 48-53 This (field), as determined by its boundaries, has thus been given (by me) with the discharge of water, after having bathed, on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, when seven centuries increased by forty-three (years) had elapsed according to the era of the Śaka king, to be enjoyed by successive disciples as long as the sun, the earth, the oceans, the rivers and the mountains endure, along with the right to receive the revenues in corn and gold, exempt from (the exactions levied at) the entry of the irregular and regular soldiers, and interference from all the royal officers. While this field is being enjoyed or caused to be enjoyed, tilled or caused to be tilled or assigned (by the donee or his successors while) leading the life proper for a (Jain) preceptor, nobody whatsoever is to cause any hindrance. Similarly this gift should be confirmed and protected as in no way different from their own donations by future kings, whether our descendants or not, realising that prosperity is as ephemeral as the lightning and remembering that the religious merit of the gift of land is common (to all the rulers ruling for the time being) and that the life is as unstable as a drop on the edge of (a blade of) grass. Whosoever, owing to the clouding of his mind by the cover of darkness of ignorance would snatch away or consent to (this grant) being snatched away would incur the five great sins as also the (five) subsidiary ones. And it has been observed by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas.==

(Here follow the usual imprecatory verses)

Ll 59-62 The donor who has seen (the contents of) this document<sup>3</sup> writes in his own handwriting his opinion that this (engraving) is in accordance with (the charter originally granted). This is my own sign-manual, of śrī-Karkkarāja, son of Indrarāja. This (charter) was drafted by me, Nārāyaṇa, the son of Durgabhatta, of noble extraction, the principal foreign minister

V 49 May the system of Jina, which hates evil and which is as efficacious as the thunder bolt in destroying the mountains, (in the form) of other theories, be (ever) successful

V, 50, Victorious is the Dharma preached by Jina, ever compassionate to the six classes of animate beings and which shines in this world as the pre-st-jewel of all other religions,

<sup>1</sup> In Gujārāt, fields are often known after the names of the wells irrigating them. The well by which this field was irrigated was apparently constructed by an individual named Dhāshu

<sup>2</sup> *Charuḥkal* is enjoined in Hinduism, but not in Jainism. The inclusion of this phrase in the present record is due to the absentmindedness of the drafter, who, accustomed to include this expression in Brahmanical grants where it was appropriate, allowed it to remain in the present grant also, forgetting that it was in favour of a Jain establishment

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is rather enigmatical. If the reading were to be amended as *Śāsanādātṛ lipiṇāh* the translation would be 'The (principal) writer (in the secretariat office) of the donor certifies that . . .'

No 23 —THE CHANDREHE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA THE KALACHURI  
YEAR 721

By THE LATE MR R. D BANERJI, M A

The inscription which is edited below was discovered by the late Mr Beglar, one of the Assistants of the late Sir A Cunningham, at Chandrēhi or Chandrōhe,<sup>1</sup> a small village near the banks of the Sōna close to its confluence with the Banās. It lies in lat 81° 32' E and long 24° 18' N (Rewah Topographical Survey Sheet No 291 of 1877). The village is situated in the State of Rewah in Baghelkhand Agency of Central India and is noted for the existence of ancient ruins, two buildings among which are still standing, viz, a temple of Śiva and a fine Śaiva monastery.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription which has already been noticed by Kielhorn<sup>3</sup> is incised on two slabs of stone of the same size which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door. Altogether there are twenty-seven lines of writing which are unequally divided, the first slab, marked A in the text below, bearing fourteen lines and the second, marked B, thirteen. The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is on the whole in a very good state of preservation. Except for a few stray letters the writing is clearly legible.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the invocation at the beginning and the second half of the concluding line, which are in prose, the whole of the record is in verse. It has been carefully incised and mistakes are very few, e.g., *sasiad* for *sasiad* (l 12) and *-charam=ñyagati* for *-charaṇ=jugati* (l 16). As regards orthography the following peculiarities may be noticed: *n* is used for *anusāra* in *hansa* (l 2) and *dhansa* (l 18), consonants with *r* superscript or subscript *r* have not always been doubled, e.g., *r=mum* (l 10), *lārya* (l 14), *gurōr=guru* (l 23), *śatru* (l 13), *mañdhīr* (l 18), etc.

The characters belong to the Northern variety of the Indian alphabet of the 10th century A D and bear great resemblance to the Bilhari Inscription of the Kalachuri Yuvārjjadīva II<sup>4</sup>. The principal peculiarities of this alphabet are the presence of two acute-angled triangles in the lower part of *lh*, cf *sillhi* (l 1), the looped form of *th* where the loop is not yet open, cf *tathā* (l 1) and the angle at the back of *d*, cf *ambhūd* (l 1). There is no acute angle in the lower part of *p* or at the bottom of *i*, *m*, and *y*. Two different forms of *ph* have been used, cf *pham* (l 1) and *sphāñ* (l 2). *R* is wedge-shaped and one loop of *l* is longer than the other.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery (*matha*) and the excavation of a tank and a well by a Śaiva ascetic named Prabōdhasiva who also repaired and re-excavated a well formerly caused to be excavated by his preceptor Praśāntasiva. This inscription and the Gurgi inscription of Prabōdhasiva provide us with the spiritual genealogy of the Rewah branch of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan whose full genealogy has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

The present record throws light on the date of erection of the temple of Śiva at Chandrēhe which was the first specimen of its kind to be discovered. We learn from verse 17 that Prabōdhasiva built a monastery close to the temple erected by his spiritual preceptor Praśāntasiva (vv 21-22). Therefore the temple of Śiva which stands within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery must be the temple erected by Praśāntasiva. According to the date given in this inscription the

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *A S I R*, Vols XIII, pp 6 ff and XIV, pp 90 f.      <sup>2</sup> *P R I S*, III C, 1921, p 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant.* Vol XX, p 85, No 11 and above Vol I, p 351, footnote 1.      <sup>4</sup> Above Vol I pp 254 ff and plate.

<sup>5</sup> The *Harayās of Tripuri and their Monuments* by R D Banerji, (*Memoirs of the Arch Surv of India*, No 23), chapter IV, pp 110 ff.

monastery itself was built or completed in the Kalachuri Chēdī year 724 (=972-3 A D) Thus Prāsāntasiva's temple must have been constructed in the earlier part of the tenth century The date of another ruin near Chandrēhe is also fixed by this inscription From verse 7 we learn that Prāsāntasiva had built another *āśramā* near the confluence of the Śōna at the foot of the Bhramara hill The place is still called Bhramarsen and is referred to by Beglar <sup>1</sup>

The date is given in the last line as [Kalachuri] Samvat 724 Pāṇiguna sudī 5 For want of further particulars it is not possible to verify the exact date but it would roughly correspond to March 973 A D The *prāśasti* was composed by the poet Dhāmsata, son of Jūka and grandson of Mchuka It was written by Dīmōdara, son of Lakshmīdhara and younger brother of Vāsudēva and was engraved by Nilakantha at the command of *sūtradhāra* Sūrūka

I edit this inscription from the original in the monastery at Chandrēhe which I visited twice with the help of Rai Bahadur B N Zutshi, President, and Rai Bahadur Paudit Janaki Prasad, M A, LL B, Home Member, of the Council of Regency, Rewah State

### TEXT

[Metres vv 1, 12 and 13 *Śīharinī*, v 2 *Mandākrāntā*, vv 3, 4 and 8 *Śardūlavijīṇī*, vv 5-7, 9-11 and 18 *Prithvī*, vv 14, 16 and 19 *Harinī*, vv 15 and 17 *Vasantatilakā*, v 20 *Anushtubh*]

### A

- 1 Ōm namah Śivāya || Phani-śvāsa-śyāmē svanad-amara-nady-ambhasi cha yaj-jūtā-jūt-āmbhōdī nayana-śikhī-vidyud=vilasatī | tathā chūdā-chandra-dyuti-
- 2 nikara-dhār=chva kakubham kapālānām mālā tulayati sa Śirvō vijayati || [1||\*]  
Hansa-śyēnī hasita-mahasām samhatīś=Śankarasya sphārī-bhūtā vadanam=abhitō
- 3 nāga-charmm-āvritasya | kiñchit-kantha-chekhavi-kalushitā mṛgha-nirvan-mrigīnukā-chekhāyām svachchhām sapadī dadhatī sampadam vō dadātu || [2||\*] Chārī-sam-charana-pravīna-charana-vyā-
- 4 pāranā-gliṇmṇita-kshōnī-kunda-namat-phan-īśvara-phanam vidrīna-dig-vāranam | dōr-ddanda-bhramanād=akūnda-chalita-brahmānda-khandam mudē bhūyād=vō nividā-
- 5 kvanad-damarukam Chandī-patēs=tāndavam || [3||\*] Śrīman-Mattamayūra-santatir-iyam Gamg=chva lōka-ttrayam pūyād=yattra Purandarāh kṛta-tapā jajūg gurur=bhūbhujām | śishyas=ta-
- 6 sya Śikhāśivah śikhī-samō-vi(bi)bhrat=tapas-tējasā dipatram vinipātīt-āndha-tamasō nirvāna-mārggē sthitah || [4||\*] Tatō Madhumatī-pātch kṛta-mahā-tapa-
- 7 s sañchavah Prabhāvasiva ity=abhūt=sakala-śaiva-chūdīmānīh | ancl a-nripa-vanditah sa Yuvaiājadēvēna yas=tapō-dhana-patih kṛtaś=charana-pūta-gō lagnikah || [5||\*]
- 8 Prasāntasiva-chandramās=tad-anu tasya śishyō=bhavat=tamah-pramathan-ōdyamā-prakatitā svarūpāh śuehah | va(ba)bhāra gunishu śriyam kumuda-kalpa-śaivēshu yah samujjala-
- 9 vaśīh-prabhī dhavalit-ākhil-āsā-mukhah || [6||\*] Sā Sōnā-nadā-sangamō Bhramara-śulā-mūl=tulam priyāla-vana-samkul[ā] phala-mṛnāla-kand-āsanah | chakā-
- 10 ra viditam janur=muni sakhaḥ prāsānt-āśramam sva-pīda-pada-pṛmktibhili pavitā-bhūtālō yah kṛtī || [7||\*] Dēv-ōdyāna-gat-āndra samsadī mudā gandharvā-vidyādhara-

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *A S I R*, Vol XIII, pp 14 f

<sup>2</sup> Read *Har* as

- 11 r=ānandāya cha Dhūrjjatā ślathayatā vādy-ādaram Nandinā | līlā-lūlita-maulinā  
kara-galad-valgūna yas=ūchchakair=Bhūsvat sūratlunā tathā
- 12 prati-Tapah sa(śa)śvad=yaśō gīyatā || [8]\* **Prabōdhasīva** ity=abhūt=sakala śishya-  
vargg-āgranīh sa tasya Madana-dīshah Paraśurāma nāmā yathā | yaśah-  
khalita-
- 13 dm mukhō gupī janāya vittaiś dadan(ṇ)=pīṇikṛta-vasundharō vijāta śatru-varggaś=cha yah || [9]\* Udagra-śikhī-tarppana-pragupit śika-pānīh kshananī Kumāra
- 14 iva sarvvadā paṇihrit-āṅganū-ṅganah | samunnata mahābhṛtī prakātit-ūtma-śakti-  
kramō Manōbhava-nipu-priyō vīhita-dīva-kāryaś=cha yah || [10]\*

## B

- 15 Vichārya mikhīl īgamān=vidhu-samādhi v(u)ddh-fśv arah priyāla-phala-mūlak-ūpalāka-  
śīka-śālīka bhuk | Nad ōkshita-dharā-talō guru-jan ānu-
- 16 kārī tapaś=charanū=jagatī<sup>1</sup> vismayam vyadhita ā(bā)la-bhāvā=pl yah || [11]\*  
Mahābhūm mūrdh-ūgra-pragunatara-pūdah samudayī dadhan=mittatvam yas=timira-  
bhūdu-
- 17 ram kīryam=akarōt | tathā sandhy ārambhē mikhīla-jana-vandyaḥ kīmi=aparam  
pratāpēna vyāpnōt=tri-bhuvanam=api prāpta-mahimā || [12]\* Guru-grāva-grām-  
ōtkhama-
- 18 na-dalana-dhvausa(dhvausa)-vidhinā mahādhīr=dhivānam yō vyadhita jaladhau  
Rāghava iva | sarit-srōtāh=ūpam vīpina gahapāśh=adbhutatakaram jagaty=  
āścharyam hi prathava-
- 19 ti mahat-karṇama mahatīm || [13]\* Jadātara maruch=Chhōnāsv=ānubhah kapar=ayam=  
āśramō, mṛiga-pratī-mahā-dhivānā rāttrau pratidhānt-ām(h)arah | śikhari-  
śikhā
- 20 ra-prānta-prēnī had-dīvirchya-payōdharō janayati janō vīdyuch-chhāpāśh mah-ausha-  
dhi-rōchishā || [14]\* Chum(b)anti ānara-gavā mṛiga-śatru-pōtān=simbī-stanam  
piv(b)atī ch=ā-
- 21 tīra śīsur=mṛigasya, | vairam nyam pariharanti vyōdjhūnō=nyō sarvasva śāmyati  
manō hi tapō-vapēshu || [15]\* Guru-kṛta-sur-ūgārād=ārād=amam ma-
- 22 tham=unnatam svalam=iva yaśah śubhṛ-ābhr-ābhān viśālīm=achikarat | anugiram=  
athō Sindhu-prakhyam tadāgam=achikhaṇat=prachura-salilam kūpam ch=āttra
- 23 Pravō(bō)dhasīah śamī || [16]\* Śrīmat-Prasāntaśva-kāratam=attra kūpam kālāna  
śirṇa-patit-āklīlā-dāru-pūṇam | bhaktīvā gurōr=guru-śilā-rachanā-
- 24 vichuttram sō=chikarat=pad-ṇu dūṇam=achikhaṇach=cha || [17]\* Va(Ba)bhūva bhuvī  
Dikshītō vīhita-kīrttanō Mēhīkah sa saj-jana-gan-āgrāmīr=ajanayat=sutam
- 25 Jēkam | tatas=tv=Amarik-ōdgarē samabhavāt=kavir=Dhāmsaśah prasastim=akarōd=asau  
vikaṭa-varuṇa-va(ba)ndhām=unām || [18]\* Paśupati-jatā-jūta-bhrāntā him-ā-
- 26 dri-śilā-tala-skhalita-sahlā chañchad-vichī-pavittrita-bhūtalā | vrajati saritām nūtham  
yāvād=Bhagīratha-vartmanā sura-sarid=īyam tātāt=kīrttīh sthīr=āstu bhuvī sthī-  
tā || [19]\* La-
- 27 kshmidhara-sutah lhyātō Vāsudēv-ānujah sudhīh | imam Dāmōdarō=lēkhīt=prasastim  
pravāg-āksharām(m) || [20]\* Sūtradhāra-Sūrāk-ājñay=ōtkīrṇā Nilakanthēna || Samvat  
724 Phālguna-śudī 5 ||

<sup>1</sup> Read charan=jagati.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 इति श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे श्रीकृष्णोवाच ॥ २ ॥  
 ततः ॥ गच्छात्तुं वरं लभ्यते ॥ ३ ॥  
 निम्नं च प्राप्तुं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ ४ ॥  
 रः कृतं तपात्तुं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ ५ ॥  
 सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ ६ ॥  
 सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ ७ ॥  
 सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ ८ ॥  
 सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ ९ ॥  
 सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ १० ॥  
 सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ ११ ॥  
 सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ १२ ॥  
 सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ १३ ॥  
 सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं ॥ १४ ॥

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

मिष्टान्नं दिवाभ्युक्त्या वशा मौक्तिक  
पादौ च वृत्तकरंडाद्याश्चैदिष्यन्व

18

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥  
॥ श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ श्रीब्रह्माय नमः ॥

मधुशुक्रकृतसुराधारादारादम्व  
दीधामरीरुक्तपुरमलिमंज्ञाप्रभव

सिद्धरत्नाकरश्चुराश्चुरासित्ता रचना  
॥ यमं कुरुतां चण्डीरुद्रकव्ययुक्तं ॥ २

मिमांसापरमुपतिऊयहूटडाबूदिमा  
अस्यरिद्विंतायक्रीर्षिःसिराअहविद्विता॥८॥

मादोत्रोवात्रकठनामवृत्तं दनुजपुरिम्

## TRANSLATION

Verse 1 Ōm ! Adoration to Śiva ! Victorious is that Śiva (Śarvva) in whose piles of matted hair, (*being like*) a cloud and in the humming waters of the divine river (Ganges), dark with the hissing of snakes (*on Śiva's body*), flashes the lightning (*in the form*) of the fire of (*his third*) eye and whose garland of human skulls elevates the quarters even as the shower of the collected effulgence of the moon on (*his*) crest

V 2 May the mass of lustre of the laugh of Śankara clad in an elephant skin which is as white as the geese which is spread around his face and which is slightly darkened by the reflection of his (*dark or blue*) neck (*and*) which (*therefore*) bears the clear splendour of the moon<sup>1</sup> emerging from a cloud, bring you prosperity

V 3 May the Tāndava dance of the lord of Chandī (*i e.*, Śiva) give you pleasure, which caused the hood of the lord of the snakes (*viz*, Śēsha) to be bent down owing to the hollow on the earth revolving on account of the movements of the feet (*of Śiva*) skilled in practising the *chārī* step (*in dancing*), which (*dance*) put to flight the elephants of the cardinal points on account of the revolutions of his redlike arms, which (*dance again*) suddenly caused commotion in parts of the universe (*and*) which (*was accompanied by the*) deep sound of the *damru*

V 4 May the uninterrupted succession of the illustrious Mattamayūra (*clan*) purify<sup>2</sup> the three worlds, like the Ganges, in which (*clan*) was born Purandāra, who had performed austerities (*tapas*) and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings His disciple (*was*) Śikhāśiva (*who was*) like the fire, (*and*) who through the lustre of his austerities became a lamp (*lit bore* the qualities of a lamp) illuminating (*lit. standing on*) the path of final beatitude and having destroyed the intense darkness (*of ignorance*)

V 5. After him (*who was*) lord of Madhumatī came Prābhāśiva who had accumulated great austerities (*to his credit*), who was worshipped by many kings, who was the crest-jewel of all Śarvas (*and who*) was made to accept the earth, sanctified by his feet (*i e.*, was induced to settle in his territory by free gifts of land, etc.,) by Yūvarājadēva

V 6 Thereafter came his disciple Prāsāntaśiva, (*who like*) the moon, (*was*) pure, whose real self was manifested in his attempt to dispel ignorance (or darkness), who whitened all the quarters with the rays of his bright fame, and who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Śaivas, as the moon bestows splendour on the fibrous night lotuses

V 7 He, the virtuous, whose food was fruits, the stalk of the lotus and (*edible*) bulbs, who had the Munis as his companions, and who had sanctified the face of earth by his footsteps, built an incomparable hermitage, well-known to the people, at the confluence of the river Śōna and at the foot of the Bhramara hill covered with dense forest of *Priyāla* trees<sup>3</sup>

V 8 Whose fame was incessantly sung with delight in every (*month of*) Māgha<sup>3</sup> in a high tone by *Gandharvas* and *Vidyādharas*, in the assembly of Indra in the celestial garden and by Nandin, who for the pleasure of Śiva relaxed his attention to instrumental music, (*to enable the God to hear his devotee's fame sung*) (*and by*) the charioteer of the sun who lolling his head (*from one side to the other*) in an ecstatic mood let the reins of the horses slide from his hands

V 9 Prabodhasiva was the foremost among all his (Prāsāntaśiva's) disciples, just as Parasurāma was of the enemy of Madana (*i e.*, Śiva), who had conquered all enemies, who had

<sup>1</sup> [ Apparently the moon with the slight dark spot on its surface is likened to the splendour of the laugh, while the cloud in the vicinity has its counterpart in the elephant skin.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Bachanania Latifolia*

<sup>3</sup> [This month being the occasion of the Śiva rātri festival is particularly sacred to Śiva.—Ed.]



placed the earth under obligation by bestowing riches on the qualified (*and*) who had adorned the faces of the quarters by his fame

V 10 Who betimes, was like Kumāra (i.e., Kīrttikāya), whose one hand was manifested in pouring libations on high tongues of fire (*as Kumāra's one hand was engaged in pacifying his fierce peacock*), who had always abjured the company of women, who had shown the effect of his own power (or *weapons*) on exalted kings (or *high mountains*), who was devoted to (Śiva), the enemy of the mud-born (i.e., Kāma) (*as Kumāra was the favourite of Śiva*) and who had performed (*all*) the duties towards the gods (*just as Kumāra carried out the slaughter of the demon Tāṇaka, a duty imposed upon him by the gods*)

## B

V 11 Who, after investigating all the scriptures acquired the knowledge of God through meditation and performance (*of religious duties*), who living on greens (*kāla*), roots of water plants (*śālūka*) and fruits such as *āmūlaka*, *piyāla* as well as roots (*mūla*), caused the world to wonder by practising austerities, even in (*his*) boyhood on the bank (*lit on the surface of land*) washed by the river (*Sōna*), imitating his spiritual preceptor

V 12 Who, having obtained greatness acted in a friendly manner (*or as the sun*) setting his auspicious foot on the heads of (*worshipping*) kings (*just as the sun, having reached high altitude emits his powerful rays on the peaks of mountains*) (*and*) performed the duty of dispelling ignorance (or *darkness*), who was worshipped by all in peaceful undertakings (*just as the sun is worshipped by all at the beginning of three Sandhyās*) What more (*to say*)? He has pervaded the three worlds with his prowess (*just as the sun spreads heat over the three worlds*)

V 13 Who, through the expedients of excavating, breaking and ramming masses of heavy<sup>1</sup> stones built a wonderful way through mountains, through rivers and streams (*as also*) through forest and thickets, as Rāma (*did*) through the sea The achievement of the great proclaims great wonder in the world

V 14 At night, this hermitage (*āśrama*) causes to the people the semblance of lightning on account of the phosphorescence of plants (*growing near it*), resembling lightning, (*that*) of clouds on account of the (*dark*) bees flying at the sides of mountain peaks, (*that of thunder*) on account of roars of lions causing the skies to echo (*and that of showers*) on account of the air being cooled by the sprays of the waters of the Sōna

V 15 In this place herds of monkeys kiss the cubs of lions, the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness, so other (*lower animals*), who are (*natural*) enemies, take leave of their antipathy, indeed, in forests devoted to austerities the minds of all become peaceful

V 16 Near the temple built by his preceptor, the calm Prabōdhaśiva caused to be built this high and big monastery (*matha*) (*which was white*) like his own fame, resembling the white clouds, he also caused to be excavated, close to the mountain, a well with copious water and a tank, called the Sindhu

V 17 On account of his devotion for his preceptor he caused to be deeply re-excavated (*and re-built*) with beautiful masonry of heavy stones, the well, which was excavated by Prasāntaśiva, at this place, (*but which*) had become dilapidated on account of (*the passage of*) time, and full of wood

V 18 There was a Dikshita named Mīchuka whose fame was known in the earth He who was the foremost among good men, begot a son named Jūka in the womb of Amarikā To him was born the poet Dhāmsata He composed this *prasaṅga* of difficult composition

<sup>1</sup> [The process of road making described here is strikingly similar to that adopted by modern engineers in metalling roads and we may thus conclude that 'macadamizing' was well known in Hindu India The word *वज्र* must be taken to mean here 'crushing' or 'ramming' of the road metal and apparently survives in Hindi वज्र and Bengali *বজ্র* = a rammer—Ed.]

V 19 Let this fame (*of this work*) last as long as the divine stream (*i.e.*, Ganges) wandering through the mass of matted hair of Śiva, with its waters shattering over the rocks of Himādrī (*the Himālayas*), whose billowing waves purify the earth, proceeds to the ocean (*lit lord of rivers*) along the path (*shown by*) Bhagīratha

V 20. This *praśasti* was written, in excellent letters, by the learned and famous Dāmōdara, who was the younger brother of Vāsudēva (*and*) the son of Lakshmīdhara

Inscribed by Nilakantha according to the orders of the (*master*) mason Sūrāka The year 724, the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna

## NO 24 THE NALA INSCRIPTION AT PODAGADH, 12TH YEAR

By C R KRISHNAMACHARLU, B A, MADRAS

The record edited below was discovered<sup>1</sup> in the spring of 1922 by the late Mr G Venkoba Rao, the then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and myself when we were touring in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam district, Madras Presidency We had gone thither to examine the Telugu inscriptions at Kondakambūru<sup>2</sup> in the Malkangiri Agency, brought to the notice of the Department by F G Butler, Esq, ICS, the Assistant Agency Commissioner at Kōrāput, and the Nāgarī inscription at Dodra,<sup>3</sup> a village situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Podāgadh, reported by Mr Burrows, the late Forest Officer, Jeypore, in the year 1916-17 Our attention was drawn to the inscription at Podāgadh by the Duffadar of the Umakōt Thāna office who accompanied us as our guide It was no small surprise to us to be led at the end of our tedious journey to the slab bearing the inscription<sup>4</sup> leaning against the natural rock at a height of 40 feet from the ground level This was a veritable epigraphical oasis in the deserted and barren Agency tracts

The approaches to the hill are thickly shaded by the tall teak trees of the forest Within a furlong from the foot of the hill, as we approached it, we observed some *satī* stones (nearly a dozen) lying scattered in a group which gave us hopes of some useful discovery Not far from this spot was a ruined Śiva temple with fallen roof and dilapidating walls and entrance, with the Nandin (bull), Ganēśa and other associate minor sculptures lying about it There was a well-watered pond also within a few yards of it embowered by a thick-set bamboo grove All these human associations brought home to us the impression, suggested by the discovery of the Nāgarī inscription at Dodra, that the Agency tracts are now only a fallen country like the adjoining state of Bastar<sup>5</sup> The provenance has been described at some length only with a view to indicate the extent of the decadence that has come over a country, which, judging from its few known inscriptions and monuments, once enjoyed a civilised and cultured life in the early centuries of the Christian Era The Agency tract seems well worthy of a systematic study by scholars owing to the wealth of antiquarian and ethnographical material it contains, although it has now relapsed into primeval jungle

<sup>1</sup> [Sewell in his *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, Vol I (p 317) refers to an 'inscription on the rock in Dēvanāgarī characters at Podāgada,' which is possibly the same as the present inscription though his information, derived from local sources, appears to have been rather inaccurate The stone door way referred to in his account as being close to the inscription is probably the entrance to the ruined Vishnu temple referred to in verse 5 of the inscription —Ed ]

<sup>2</sup> Nos 286 and 287 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1922

<sup>3</sup> No 282 of the same Collection

<sup>4</sup> No 283 of 1922

<sup>5</sup> For the inscriptions of this State, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol IX, p 160, Vol X, pp 25 ff, Vol XII, p 242, see also R B Hiralal's *List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.

The Podigadli hill and village shown as 'Poragarh' in the *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas* (Vol. XXVI), Plate 12, lie on the north western frontier of the Jeypore Agency bordering on the Bastar State. The way to the hill and the inscribed slab lie from the Nowrangpur side, through the village of Bhandārgūda which is only a small cluster of insignificant huts. The inscription has been reviewed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22, page 95, where a plate of the record has also been given.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit verse. The epigraph consists of twelve or possibly thirteen verses of which the first is a variety of the Āryā metre while the others excepting verse 9 (which is Vamśasthavala) are Anushubh. The inscription begins with the expression "Siddham". Verse 1 contains a glorification of Hari in His aspect as the essence of victory. Verses 2 to 4 describe the recovery of the lost sovereignty by Prince [Skanda?]varman,<sup>1</sup> son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, and his repopulation of (the capital) Pushkari. Verses 5 and 6 record his foundation of a [pā]lavūla or foot print of Vishnu, for the worship of which he made the gift of a holding and of some money in the shape of *bhūri dakṣiṇā* the proceeds of which were to be availed of for the feeding of Brahmans, poets and the destitute. In verse 7 the holding is made permanently tax free in the name of the Puruṣa (Highest Being) and non-interferable by state officials. Verses 8 and 9 give (apparently) the warning of the sinfulness involved in the violation of the charity and the promise of salvation, through the grace of (god) Vāndīva, to those that conform to the good path of kings and maintain the donation. Verse 10 gives the date of the setting up of the inscribed monument, perhaps under the personal supervision of the prince, as the 27th day of the Mādhava (i.e., Vaiśākha) month in the 12th year. Since we have no materials to determine the exact date of the commencement of king Bhavadatta's or his son's reign it is difficult to give the English equivalent of the date. We may, however, for the present, reasonably refer it to the 12th year from the date of accession of or the recovery of the lost crown by prince [Skanda?]varman. Verse 11, which is partly damaged, mentions the General (śenāpati) Pritibhāgavatu(?) who is described as devoted to his master. He was probably the executor of the charter like the *ājāpati* of the Eastern Chālukya and the *śendhuvrahita* of the other copper plate records. The writer of the record is said in verse 12 to be Jānturadīva, the son of Chauli, and the engraver is probably the person mentioned last, viz., Viśvarūpi, son of Aja.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern type of alphabet and closely resemble those of the Tālagūda pillar inscription of Kīkṣasthavarman<sup>2</sup> which has been assigned by Professor Kielhorn to the first half of the 6th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> and those of the Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta of the Mūlaka year 193.<sup>4</sup> The comparatively more developed forms of the letters *ga*, *tha*, *dha*, *ba*, *ma* and *ya* and more ornamental signs of the secondary *i*, *ri* and *ya* employed in the Kadeniba inscription, suggest an earlier date for our record. The *anusvāra* is marked by a small round loop in the Tālagūda inscription while in our record it is denoted only by a point which also shows its earlier character. The record may therefore be assigned to the latter half of the 5th century A.D. The letter *ta* is written without the loop which is found in *na*, as in the inscription referred to. The final *m* is denoted by a

<sup>1</sup> The name is much blurred in the stampage and I have given here only the most probable reading. But I do not feel quite certain of the correctness of the restoration.

<sup>2</sup> Bhavadatta of the present record can be tentatively identified with Bhavattavarman of the Rithapur plates. The suffix *varman* which is certainly applied to the son's name has been apparently dropped in the father's name owing to metrical difficulties. In the Rithapur plates the dropping of *da* of Bhavadatta is obviously a scribe's mistake.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 24 and plate opposite page 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> *O. I. I.*, Vol. III, pl. XI.

miniature *ma* written after the previous letter and near its bottom, e.g., *siddham* in line 1, *Pushkarim* in line 4, etc. The *ṛihvāmūliya* is employed in one case, viz., in *jananyāh=kratnā* (l 4). The *upadhmāniya* is employed in the compound words *pituh=pitōmaha* (l 4), *mah=pārtthiva*<sup>o</sup> (l 10) and *[bhartu]h=prī*<sup>o</sup> (l 13). The consonant following the *rēpha* is, in some cases<sup>1</sup>, doubled as in almost all early records but aspirates<sup>2</sup> following it are left single. The consonant preceding the *rēpha* is also doubled in a few instances (e.g., *vikhrama* in l 2, *vyatikhramēd=yō* in l 10). The word *mukhya* is written as *mukkhya* (l 2).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first stone record of the Nala dynasty hitherto discovered. The Nalas have been known directly only from the Rithapur<sup>3</sup> copper-plates of Bhavattavarman and indirectly by the mention of their defeat by the early Chalukyas of the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian Era. The Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman I (A.D. 567-597) claims to have destroyed them<sup>4</sup>. He is also stated to have destroyed the residence (*nīlaya*) of the Nalas. They are described as the traditional enemies of the Chalukyas<sup>5</sup> at whose hands they suffered defeat like the Mauryas of the Kōnkan.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar speaking of the family of Nalas defeated by Kirtivarman I remarks 'over what province it ruled we do not know'. Dr. Fleet depending upon the mention of the *Nalavādi-vishaya* made in a copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I of about A.D. 657 thinks that there is a probable indication that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of the Bellary and Karnul districts<sup>7</sup>. The mention of the Nalas in the Aihole inscription may be taken to indicate that they were the enemies of the Chalukyas on the north-east while the Mauryas of Kōnkan and the Kadambas of Vaijayantī were their enemies on the north-west and the south-west respectively. The provenance of this inscription and of the Rithapur plates localises them in the southern part of the Central Provinces and Berar including the Bastar State. On the extreme east the kingdom might have included the northern part of the Jeypore Agency (Vizagapatam district) from which our inscription comes.

The town Pushkarī mentioned in the inscription (probably the capital of the Nalas) cannot be identified.

#### TEXT<sup>8</sup>

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ हरिणा जितं जयति जेयती[त्ये]षा गुणसुतिर्न[हि] सा [1\*]  
ननु भगवा[नेव]
- 2 जयी जेतव्य चाधिजेता [च] ॥ [१\*] श्रीनलान्वयमुदयस्य विक्रमक्षपित  
द्विध. [1\*]
- 3 नृपतेर्मवदत्तस्य सत्पुत्रेणान्यसंस्थिताम्<sup>9</sup> ॥ [२\*] अष्टमाक्षय्यं राजर्षि
- 4 शून्यामावास्य पुष्करीम् [1\*] पितुःपितामहानाञ्च जनन्याऽन्नि(क)तिना [ततः] [॥३\*]

<sup>1</sup> *rājarddhvīn* (l 3), *pūjārtham* (l 6), *sarvavāśāh* (l 8), *visarjyitam* (l 8).

<sup>2</sup> *nripatēr=Bhavattattasya* (l 3) and *dharmmārthanē* (l 5), but cf. *pūjārtham* in the above note.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol XIX, pp 100 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol VI, p 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol XI, Davangere No 1, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol VIII, p 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part II, p 181.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p 282.

<sup>8</sup> From inked estampages prepared by myself.

<sup>9</sup> It is also possible to read as सत्पुत्रेणान्वयसंस्थिताम्.

- 5 कृत्वा घ[र्मा]र्थनेभ्याशानि(मि)दमात्कहितैयिषा [1\*] पादमूल कृत विष्णो [राजा  
श्री[स्कन्दव]-
- 6 श्रीणा ॥ [8\*] पूजार्थमस्य चैवेह सोदकभूरिदक्षिणम् [1\*] पुरुषाय  
पुरं [द]
- 7 कर्तारका[म्]<sup>1</sup> ॥ [५\*] सचोपभोज्यं विप्राणा यतीनाञ्च विग्रेपत[] [1\*]  
[दीनानाम्]प्यनायाना . . .
- 8 च सर्वशः ॥ [६\*] <sup>2</sup>अप्रवेक्ष्यं भट्टैश्चेदं सदा कारविसर्जितम् । श्री[चक्रदो]-  
णपुन[र]य .
- 9 यथोचित[म्]\* ॥ [७\*] स्थितिश्चेय पुरो वद्धा घर्मा स्तम्भे निवे[शि]ता [1\*]  
यश्चेमा क्रापये[त्स]स्त्वाभ्यन्तापा[त]<sup>3</sup> . . . [८\*]
- 10 व्यतिष्ठमेवो हि महीपते[1\*] स्मिति[म्] कुलाघमपार्थिवकिर्त्तिव्यम्भिवे[त्]\*
- 11 समन्वयाद्यच्च [नरेन्द्र]सत्पथम् स वासुदेवाय[य]माधुयाचिर[म्]\* ॥ [८\*]
- 12 वादयेन्दे नरेन्द्रेण माधवे मासि चोत्तमे [मसविशे] दिने पुण्ये
- 13 स्तम्भोय [गा]हितस्त्वयम् ॥ [१०\*] <sup>4</sup>प्रीतिभागवते[नै]वम् भर्तु[प्रिय]चा .
- 14 सेनापतिना<sup>5</sup>कल्पिता मालिनेहाल्पदुर्दिना ॥ [११\*] .
- 15 लिखित [चौ]लिस्तुना भक्त्या [जा]तुरदसिन [१२\*]
- 16 [आ]जेन विश्वरूपेन(ण) निर्गुणेन गुणैपिणा [१३\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Victory ! The praise of (His) qualities (in) such (words) as "Hari was victorious, is victorious (and) will be victorious," is not that (i.e., appropriate) For, verily, the Divine (Hari) is himself the conquest, the object to be conquered and the conqueror ?

(Vv 2 to 4) This foot-print (or *sanctuary*)<sup>6</sup> was made by the illustrious king [Skanda]-varman, the noble son of king Bhavadatta—who was the foremost (*scion*) of the glorious Nala family (*and*) repelled his enemies by his valour—(*on*) having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands (*or was unsettled*)<sup>7</sup> and having re-peopled the deserted (*town of*

<sup>1</sup> Read कर्तारकम् [There is no room for more than three letters at the end of the sixth line The second half of the fifth verso may therefore be possibly restored as पुरुषाय पुर दसमत्राचन्द्राकर्तारकम् ॥—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [Read सलोपभोज्य —Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The Rathapur plates of Bhavattavarman have the expressions अमट्टमावृण्ण and सर्वकारविसर्जित (above, Vol XIX, p 103, ll 12 13 of the text Cf also above, Vol XI, p 2, l 9 of the text)

<sup>4</sup> This might be restored as महापावकमद्भुते

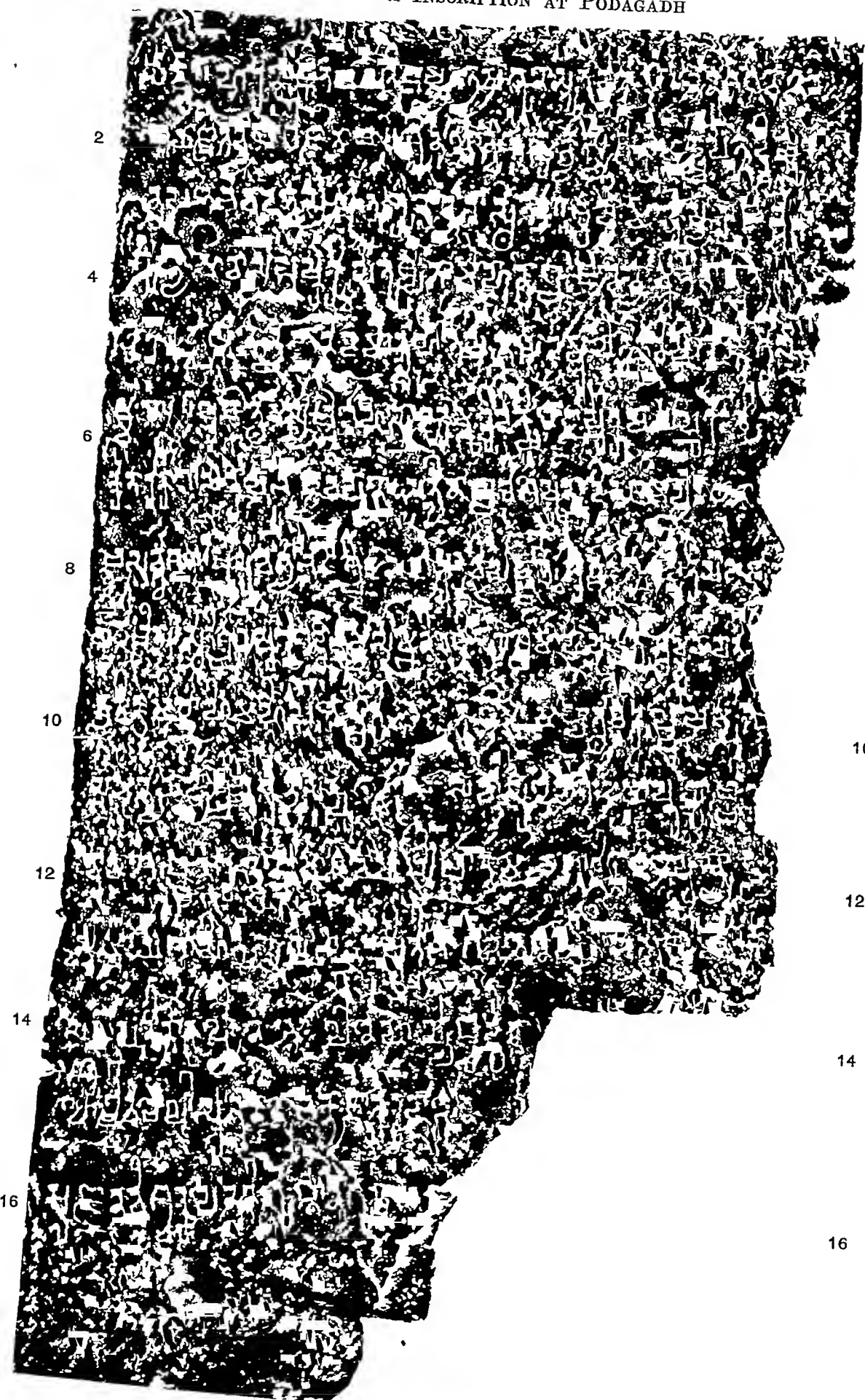
<sup>5</sup> [Read [स्त्रि]तिभागवतेनैषा —Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> [Reading is कल्याणमालि\* One *pāda* is apparently lost at the ends of the lines 14 and 15 The existing two *pādas* in l 15 seem to be the second and first *pādas* respectively of an *Anuṣṭubh* half verse —Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> Compare this statement with the description of Viṣṇu as "vijayō jeta" given in verso 16 of the *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma*

<sup>8</sup> [The word *pādamūla* is evidently used here in the sense of a sanctuary, see above, Vol XI, No 19, p. 193 —Ed.]

THE NALA INSCRIPTION AT PODAGADH



H KRISHNA SASTRI

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SCALE 25



Pushkarī, with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father, other ancestors and mother and desiring welfare for himself

(Vv 5 and 6) And for His worship in this (*temple*), with (*libation of*) water and with abundant *dakṣinā* a holding (*pura*)<sup>1</sup> for the Supreme Being (*Puruṣa*) to last as long as the Sun and the stars The proceeds have to be used entirely for the (*free*) feeding in a *śatra* of Brahmans, especially of ascetics, of the poor and of the destitute

(V 7) This (*holding*) (*shall remain*) impenetrable to State servants and permanently tax-free to the son of the noble [Chakradrōṇa] as may be suitable

(V 8) This order (*of the king*) was composed and recorded on the pillar in front (*of the temple*) Whoever causes damage to this (*shall incur*) great sin

(V 9) Whoever transgresses the order of the king, that low-born (*one*) will commit offence against the king, he who will conform to the good path followed by kings will for long find refuge in (*god*) Vāsudēva

(V 10) This pillar was caused to be planted by the king, personally, on the sacred twenty-seventh day in the excellent month of Mādhava (*i e*, Vaisākha) in the twelfth year (*of his reign*)

(V 11) Thus was promulgated (*the ordinance*) on all sides (*i e*, everywhere) by the General Prītibhāgavata (*who was*) devoted to his master (*and it*) was composed by Mālin of poor intellect (*alpabuddhi*)<sup>2</sup>

(Vv 12 and 13) (The edict) has been written with devotion by Jānturadāsa, the son of [Chau]h,<sup>3</sup> (*and engraved* ?) by Viśvarūpa, the son of Aja (*who is*) devoid of qualities (*and aspires for good qualities* ?)

## NO 25—A NOTE ON TILAKWADA PLATES OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJADEVA OF V S 1103

By D B DISKALKAR, M A, SATARA

These plates were discovered in 1917 in Tilakwādā, a *petā mahāl* under Sanl'hedā, in the Baroda State, in the bed of the river Narmadā and are now preserved in the oriental section of the Baroda Central Library They form the last two of the three plates which made up the complete grant The late Mr J S Kudalkar, M A, Curator of Baroda State Libraries, exhibited them and read an article on them at the First Oriental Conference held in Poona in November 1919 which was subsequently published in its Proceedings,<sup>4</sup> and again in his own Journal, now extinct, called *Library Miscellany*<sup>5</sup> The present note deals specially with the historical bearings of the plates,

The first of the extant two plates begins with the description of a sovereign named Bhōjadēva, who is said to have destroyed all the enemies by his great valour His feudatory was Sū(Śū)rāditya born in the family of the Śraṇabhādras and who had migrated from Kānyakubja (modern Kanauj) Sū(Śū)rāditya was helpful to Bhōjadeva in making his rule firm by slaughtering the (enemy) warriors in the battle with Sāhāvāhan as well as the warriors of other princes Sūrāditya's son was Jasōrāja who was enjoying Sangamakhētamandala

<sup>1</sup> Though the word '*pura*' generally means a 'town' or a 'city', it appears in certain inscriptions to have a special reference to the tax free lands possessed by temples or Brahmans The latter are referred to in Kanarese inscriptions as '*Brahmapurī*' or '*Brahmapura*', see *Ep Carn*, Vol VI, Kadur Nos 10, 125, Vol XI, Chitaldrug No 12, and *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 47, Vol V, pp 18, 22, 150, and Vol VI, p 202, Text 1 23 Dr Kielhorn suggests that it might have been some establishment set up for Brahmans

<sup>2</sup> This epithet as also *nirgunēna* in the next line is prompted by modesty

<sup>3</sup> [Probably Chau]h of this record is the same as Chulla, the writer of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman (*Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 103)—N P C]

<sup>4</sup> Vol II, pp 319 ff

<sup>5</sup> Vol. VI



The charter records the grant by Jasūrīja of the village Vīlūhīja and one hundred (measures) of land in the village Ghanṭūpallī to a Śaiva ascetic Dmakara for the worship of Ghanṭāvara (Śiva). The writer of the grant was Sūluka, son of the Kāyastha Aiyala of the Vīlabhīja family.

The inscription being incomplete gives us no clue as to the antecedents of king Bhōjadēva, whose feudatory issued the present grant. But there can be no doubt that Bhōjadēva mentioned here is the famous Paramāra king of the same name. The earliest date so far found for Bhōja is V S 1076 from the Bānswārā plates<sup>1</sup> and the latest is V S 1099.<sup>2</sup> The latest date of Vākpati Muṣṭīja is V S 1050.<sup>3</sup> He was succeeded by Sindhurāja and the latter by Bhōja, evidently, some time before V S 1076, the date of the Bānswārā plates. For Bhōja's successor Jayasūhana, we have V S 1112 as the earliest date in his Māndhātā plates.<sup>4</sup> It is evident therefore that Bhōja died some time before V S 1112 and after V S 1099. If there is any truth in the popular tradition that Bhōja ruled for 55 years, we shall not be far from truth if we assign to Bhōja's reign the approximate period from V S 1055 to V S 1110. The Bhōjadēva of the present record of V S 1103 must therefore be identical with the Paramāra Bhōja. The contemporary Chauṇkya ruler of Northern Gujaraṭ was Bhīma I, but his rule does not seem to have extended much to the south and east of his capital. In the Līta country (Surat and Broach Districts) another Chauṇkya family was ruling which did not acknowledge the power of the Chauṇkya of Anahilapūrāna as may be seen from the Surat plates<sup>5</sup> of Kīrtīrāja of Śaka 910 and of Tribhuvanapāla of Śaka 972. We know also that the Paramāras were not new to the province of Gujaraṭ in the time of Bhōja. For the two grants<sup>6</sup> of the Paramāra Siyala of V S 1005 recently found at Harsola in Ahmadābād District and the incomplete grant<sup>7</sup> of V S 1026 of the same king found in Ahmadābād show us that that part of Gujaraṭ at any rate was in the hands of the Paramāras during the time of Siyala.

At Kaṭavāna in the Nāsik District an undated grant<sup>8</sup> of the time of Bhōja is found which leaves no doubt that Bhōja's power was at this period acknowledged there. It moreover speaks of Bhōja's defeating the kings of a number of countries including Līta and Gujaraṭ. In the Betmā plates<sup>9</sup> of Bhōja of V S 1076 the village granted may probably be located in Gujaraṭ. All these indications point to the fact that the Paramāras were connected with Gujaraṭ<sup>10</sup> in the early days of the rise of their family and had gained influence over a considerable tract of country under king Bhōja in Gujaraṭ and elsewhere in its neighbourhood.

No account is given of Sāhāvāhana who was among other kings subdued by Bhōjadēva with the help of Śūrāditya. Sāhāvāhana no doubt stands for the word *Chāhamāna* as the change

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 182 ff.

<sup>2</sup> From a MS. of *Rajamṛigāṇṭha*.

<sup>3</sup> From a MS. of *Amitagatīya Subhushitaratnasandoha*.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Kielhorn's *Ins. No. 351 in Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff. See also my note on the grant published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, p. 222. There is reason to believe that the date of this grant, which mentions a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra, must be confined to V S 1102-1104 and was therefore nearest to the date of the present grant.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 322 ff.

<sup>10</sup> In fact I am led to believe that the Paramāras had no footing in Malwā before about V S 1027, a short time before Siyala succeeded Mānavakṣṭha as is known from the *Pargalachchhī Namavalī* of Dhanapāla, since the Pratihārī inscription of Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla of V S 1003 shows that Malwā was governed by a Pratihāra governor. See above, Vol. XIV, p. 177.

of *sa* to *cha* and *va* to *ma* is common. The Chāhamānas of Nādol were hereditary enemies of the Paramāras of Mālwa, Chāhamāna Śōbhita, son of Lakshmana is styled lord of Dhārā in an inscription<sup>1</sup> which showed that he had defeated Vākpata Muñja, the king of Dhārā, and become for some time the lord of the city and the surrounding country. Śōbhita's son, Bahrīja, again, is said to have routed the army of Muñjarāja.<sup>2</sup> Chāhamāna Anahilla of the same family is said to have slain Sādha, a general of king Bhōja.<sup>3</sup> To avenge this defeat and death of his *dandanāyaka* Bhōja might have waged a war with the Chāhamāna king and defeated him with the help of Śūrāditya of our inscription.

Though the actual construction in the record may be taken to denote that Śūrāditya of the Śravanabhadrā family, whose son issued the present grant, had migrated from Kanauj, it is equally possible that the family of Śūrāditya had migrated from Kanauj at an earlier date. We know that the Pratihāras of Kanauj were sovereign lords of Gujarāt for some time as is evidenced by the Wadhvān plates of Mahīpāla<sup>4</sup> and the Ūnā plates of Mahēndrapāla.<sup>5</sup> In their palmy days it is not surprising if some fortune seekers<sup>6</sup> like the ancestor of Śūrāditya founded a principality in Gujarāt. The name Śravanabhadrā of his family denotes that it was probably a Kshatriya family like the Uttamabhadrā family of Śaka Ushavadāta's Nāsik inscription.<sup>7</sup>

The reason why this grant, though it belongs to the time of the sovereign Bhōja, does not contain the usual relief<sup>8</sup> of *Garuda* of the Paramāra family must no doubt be that the record was issued by a feudatory of Bhōja and that the latter had nothing in fact to do with the actual issuing of the grant. The Kalavana plates also, issued by a local authority under a feudatory of Bhōja do not contain the usual *Garuda* and snake seal of the Paramāras.<sup>9</sup> It must at the same time be noted that more space in the record is devoted towards the praise of the sovereign family than of the family of the actual donor of the grant.

The grant was issued on Monday, the Amāvāsyā (*sōma-parvan*) day of the month of Mārgasīras in the year 1103 of Vikramāditya. The Christian equivalent of the date, as kindly calculated for me by Mr K. N. Dikshit is most probably Monday, the 11th November 1045 A.D. taking the month as the *Pūrṇimānta* and the year as a *Southern Vikrama Year*, which should be ordinarily prevalent in the locality in question.

## NO 26—KHAROD INSCRIPTION OF RATNADEVA III—CHEDI SAMVAT 933

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab affixed to the temple of Lakṣmīśvara (Lakshman-ēśvara) in Kharod, a village in District Bilaspur, C.P., 37 miles from the district headquarters. It has been noticed<sup>10</sup> before but is published here for the first time. It contains 28 lines of writing covering a space of about 3' broad by 1' 5½' high. The size of the letters is about ½". The writing has suffered a good deal the whole way down, particularly, towards the proper left. The

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 308

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vols. IX, p. 71 and XI, p. 67

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 68

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 183

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 1

<sup>6</sup> In a number of plates found of this period the donors are said to have migrated from *Madhyadēsa*.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 78. [The recently discovered Nerval plates of Vākpata Muñja contain references to Śravanabhadrā as a locality from which certain Brahman donors originated. Again, some of the names of Brahmans in the same grant end in *-āditya*. It is therefore not improbable that Śūrāditya belonged to a Brahman family originally from Śravanabhadrā, that may have settled in Mālwa.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Similarly the Kalavana plates of the feudatory of Bhōjadēva do not contain the *Garuda* relief and other peculiar features of Paramāra grants. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 226

<sup>10</sup> Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vols. VII, p. 201 and XVII, p. 43, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 62 f., *PRAS. W. C.*, 1903-04, pp. 53 f., Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd edition), pp. 117 f.

characters are Nāgarī of the 12th Century A D The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of *Om namah Śivāya* at the beginning and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse The verses are all numbered, their total being 44 The orthography does not call for any special remark with the exception of the facts that *avagraha* has been frequently used where necessary and *v* and *b* have not been distinguished

The inscription is important as it gives a complete genealogy of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur down to Ratnadēva III It has been noticed by several scholars but owing to the damaged condition of the stone the information so far given was meagre and unsatisfactory and also contained several errors I cannot claim to have deciphered the whole record but I have been able to make out with a fair amount of certainty all that is important in it The inscription is divided into two parts, the first containing verses 1-19 and the second verses 20 to the end Like several other records of this dynasty the present record is Śaiva The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva and the third that of the Moon to whose race the Kalachuri family is said to belong The next verse brings in the princes of the Haihaya lineage of whom *Sahasrārjuna* is said to have imprisoned "the overlord of Lankā" In verse 5 Kōkalla and his eighteen sons are mentioned after whom comes *Kalingarāja*—one of the younger if not the youngest of Kōkalla's sons—who by propitiating *Bankāśvara* or Śiva obtained the overlordship of Tumnāni He was followed in regular descent by *Kamala*, *Ratnadēva* (I) and *Prithvidēva* (I) Verse 6 speaks of *Prithvidēva*'s son, *Jājalladēva* (I) who defeated in battle *Bhujabala*, the lord of *Suvānapura* In the next two verses are described the exploits of his son and successor *Ratnadēva* (II) who defeated the king *Chōḍaganga*, the lord of *Kalngadāsa*. His son was *Prithvidēva* (II) who is credited with defeating the king *Jatēśvara* (vv 9-10) His son was *Jājalladēva* (II) (vv 11-12) After his death his elder brother (?) *Jagaddēva* 'came from the Eastern countries' and became king (v 13) The next verse (v 14) speaks of the able rule of this king Verse 15 gives the name of his wife as *Sōmalladēvī* Their son was *Ratnadēva* (III) who is glorified in the next three verses (vv 16-19)

The second part, an imperfect account of which was given by Prof D R Bhandarkar<sup>1</sup> for the first time, begins with verse 20 in l 15 It gives the pedigree of *Gangādihara*, a minister of *Ratnadēva* (III) and also an account of his various charitable and pious deeds There was one *Dīva-dhara* belonging to *Kiśyapa gōtṛa* His son was *[Rājā]dēva* The name of his wife occurs in l 16 but is now not quite legible Probably her name was *Jivā* They had a son named *Gangādihara* who afterwards became a minister of *Ratnadēva* (III) The rest of the inscription is devoted to the praise of *Gangādihara*'s virtues and records his benefactions It appears from verse 25 that when the kingdom of *Ratnadēva* was in a critical situation, most probably when the king was engaged in fighting a powerful adversary, *Gangādihara*, through his wonderful ability, restored the peace and prosperity of the kingdom We also learn from verse 27 that it was through the advice of this capable minister that *Ratnadēva* made his kingdom free from all foes *Gangādihara* had two wives named *Rāmnā* (?) and *Padmā* The former gave birth to two sons *Prada* and *Jijāka* while the latter had one son born to her named *Khadgasimha* Verses 30-40 mention a series of charitable and pious acts performed by *Gangādihara* He built a temple of Śiva, which is evidently identical with the *Lakṣmēśvar* temple at *Kharod* where the inscription is found To the south of this temple he constructed a *matha* made of well seasoned wood for the habitation of the ascetics He also built, evidently at the same place, a beautiful *mandapa* for Śaiva (Vishnu) On the top of a hill to the west of *Ratanapura*, he constructed a temple of *Ēlavirā* which resembled a *Pushpaka*<sup>2</sup> In the forest of *Vadāda* (*vanē Vadadē*)<sup>3</sup> he built a *mandapa* for 'the enemy of the

<sup>1</sup> PRAS W C, 1903 04, pp 53 f

<sup>2</sup> For a description of *Pushpaka* see P K Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, pp 113 14 [The temple of *Ēlavirā* still exists on a hill to the west of *Ratanpur*—Ed]

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar reads *Nēvadade* and Hiralal *Tanarādē*

(three) cities', i.e., Śiva, as well as extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇeśa. In the fortress (*durga*) he built a temple for the goddess Durgā. He also seems to have dedicated a shrine to the Sun (*Ravi*) at a place the name of which is not clear and also erected a Śiva temple at Pōratha. To the north of Ratnapura he built a temple for Tuntā(=Dhundhī<sup>1</sup>)-Ganapati. He also had tanks excavated in the villages of Tipuraga<sup>2</sup>, Girahali<sup>3</sup>, Uluvā and Sēnā[da<sup>4</sup>]rā. Besides the above-mentioned pious donations he raised a beautiful flower garden at Nīrāyanapura and also a *sarva-satrī* or public almshouse abounding in savoury food and drink.

The *prasasti* was composed by Kumārapāla of the Haihava lineage who appears to have had a younger brother of the name of Jalhana<sup>5</sup>. It was written by himself on the slab and engraved by one Nātū who was clever in this art. The Kumārapāla of this inscription is evidently identical with the Kalachuri Kumārapāla, the composer of the Śeornarayan<sup>1</sup> and Malhār<sup>2</sup> inscriptions. According to the last verse it seems that a part (*kalā*) of the inscription was composed by the *Śrīśikṣin* Jalhana who was the minister in charge of religious endowments (*Dharmakarm ādhikārī*) in the reign of Ratnadēva (III).

The date of the inscription is given in the last line as Chēdi samvat 933 without any further details and would correspond to 1181-82 A.D.

In most of the inscriptions of the Ratanpur rulers a reference is made to Kōkalla and his 18 sons. Kielhorn seems to have taken him to be Kōkalla (I),<sup>3</sup> the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. We know from the Benares Plates of Karnadēva<sup>4</sup> that Kōkalla (I) was contemporary of Bhōjādēva of Kanauj, Vallabharāja or the Rāshtrakūta Krishnarāja II and the Chandēlla Harsha. He would thus belong to a period between 860 and 900 A.D. as has been pointed out by Kielhorn.<sup>6</sup> But according to the Amōdā Plates<sup>6</sup> of Prithvīdēva I, Kōkalla whose son was the founder of the Ratanpur branch, 'took treasures of the Karnāta, Vanga, Gūrjara, Kōnkana and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turushka and Raghu families'. The absence of any names of these kings renders the identification difficult, but the reference to Turushkas is very significant. If this term has been used in a broad sense to refer to the Muhammadans (which is very probable) and if the exploits mentioned in this inscription are not due to a mere poetical exaggeration, then the reference cannot be to Kōkalla I of the Tripurī family as he belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India. A still better clue is afforded by another reference in verse 9 of the same plates that 'having churned the king of Utkala with emaciated water he (i.e., Kamalarāja, son of Kōkalla II) made over the goddess of wealth (*Śrī*) to his overlord Gāṅgēyadēva'.<sup>7</sup> This latter prince can be no other than Gāṅgēya Vikramāditya, the son of Kōkalla II.<sup>8</sup> The reference to Gāṅgēya's defeating the Utkala king is found also in the Goharwā Plates of Karnadēva.<sup>9</sup> Again, according to the present inscription, Kalingarāja appears to have been a younger son of Kōkalla while according to the Amōdā Plates of Prithvīdēva I, which is the oldest known record of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur, the eldest son of Kōkalla became the ruler of Tripurī and the others were made petty chieftains and Kalingarāja is mentioned as the descendant of one of the younger sons of Kōkalla. The latter pedigree

<sup>1</sup> Hiralal, *Inscriptions in O.P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 122, No. 203 and *PRISWC*, 1903-04, pp. 52 f.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> See Index to *Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. V, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>7</sup> I am unable to accept Hiralal's explanation that 'Kamalarāja endeavoured to equal Gāṅgēyadēva in prosperity'.

<sup>8</sup> R. B. Hiralal has not identified the Utkala prince who was defeated by Kamalarāja. The pun on the words *śhīnōda* and *Gāṅgēya* shows that the prince referred to was probably Kāmārpava, the father of Vajrinasta.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.

is found in other records of the Ratanpur kings and may therefore be accepted as correct. Suvarṇnapura of verse 6 is probably identical with Sonpur on the Mahānadi, the present capital of the homonymous state now transferred to Bihār and Orissa from C P. But we are not aware of Bhujabala the ruler of Suvarṇnapura from any other source. Suvarṇnapura is mentioned in the Sonpur plates<sup>1</sup> of Kumāra Sōmēśvaradēva and the Jatesuga Dungri Plates<sup>2</sup> of Mahāśivagupta which show that Sonpur was at an earlier time under the suzerainty of the Sōmavamāsi rulers of Trikalunga. Only two chiefs of Sonpur are mentioned in the Sonpur Plates, viz, Abhimanyudēva and Sōmēśvaradēva.<sup>3</sup> This as well as other inscriptions of the rulers of Ratanpur show that their relations with the Eastern Gangas, their immediate neighbours on the east, were not friendly. Chōdaganga, the lord of Kalungadēśa who was defeated by Ratnadēva II, is identical with the Eastern Ganga king Anantavarman Chōdaganga. The king Jatēśvara who was defeated in battle by Prithvidēva II is no other than Kāmārṇava, the son of Anantavarman Chōdaganga as we know from an inscription<sup>4</sup> in the *āsthāna-mandapa* at the Mukhalungam temple dated Śaka 1070.

My reading of verse 13 in the text throws some new light on the genealogy of the Ratanpur kings after Jājalladēva II. Kielhorn and following him, Hiralal, were under the impression that Sōmalladēvī was the wife of Jājalladēva II and that Ratnadēva III was their son. No other inscription of Jājalladēva mentions the name of his wife. But in verse 13 of the present inscription it is clearly stated that after the death of Jājalladēva II, Jagaddēva, probably his elder brother, came from the eastern countries and became king. The reading appears to be *ṛyāyān=asya* and not *=putrō* or *=sūtō*. If Jagaddēva was the son of Jājalladēva the succession would have been in quite a natural order. But if Jagaddēva was the elder brother of Jājalladēva and thus the eldest son of Prithvidēva, as the reading of verse 13 appears to show, I do not understand why he did not become king after the death of his father Prithvidēva II. The most plausible explanation seems to be that Jagaddēva was all the time engaged in a conflict with the Eastern Gangas and was thus obliged to be absent from the capital and that owing to his long absence Jājalladēva took the reins of government in his own hands. The verse under consideration seems to imply that Jājalladēva's death took place somewhat suddenly and that was probably the reason why Jagaddēva hastened back from the eastern countries to take charge of the government.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription several have already been identified by Hiralal. Thus Tummāna, the original capital of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, exists under the name of Tumāna in the Lāphī Zamindari of Bilāspur. Suvarṇnapura, as has been pointed out already, may be Sonpur. Ratnapura is the present Ratanpur and Nārāyanapura and Pōratha are still known by the same names (the latter as Portha) and are situated, respectively, about 20 miles S W and 30 miles N E of Kharod. The name read as Vanavauda by Hiralal, I have read as *vana Vadada* which may be Balodā<sup>5</sup> near Kharod. If the reading Sōnādarā is correct, it may be identified with the present-day Sendri between Bilāspur and Ratanpur. Uluvā is probably the same as Ulba in Raipur District. I cannot identify the other places mentioned in the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff.

<sup>2</sup> J B O R S, Vol. II, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>3</sup> B C Majumdar identifies this Sōmēśvara with the king defeated by Jājalladēva as mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription (above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.). Hiralal, however, identifies this latter Sōmēśvara with the Nṛgavamāsi king of Bastar. If Mr Majumdar is correct in his identification, then Bhujabala would be only a *virūda* of Sōmēśvara.

<sup>4</sup> S I I Vol. V, No. 1044.

<sup>5</sup> [Baloda, 30 miles north of Kharod, must be the Vadada of this record. Being the headquarters of a forest range, it is aptly called *vanē*. Baloda (or Baloda Bazar, as it is called) is the headquarters of a Tahsil in Raipur District, but there is no forest in its immediate vicinity.—Ed.]

In editing the Amōḍa Plates of Prithivīdēva I, Hirālāl suggested that the term Vankēśvara, which is found in the present inscription also, might refer to an 'aboriginal local deity'. In Sanskrit and Prākṛit *vanla* has the same meaning as Skt *valra* and the latter is a name of Rudra according to the *Anēkārthasāra* of Dharaṇīdāsa. Thus Vankēśvara may signify Śiva and the word *īśvara* added after Vanka would point to the same conclusion. This explanation seems quite justified as we know that the Kalachuris of Ratanpur were adherents of the Śaiva faith.

I edit this inscription from an impression found amongst those received from the office of the Director General of Archaeology in India by the Government Epigraphist for India

TEXT

[ Metres vv 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 25, 26, 42, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v 2, *Śikharnī*, vv 3, 30, 41, *Sraḡdharā*, v 4, *Bhujangaprayāta*, vv 6, 8, 36, 38, 39, *Āryā*, vv 11, 13, 15, 17-19, 27-29, 31-35, 37, 40, 43, 44, *Anushtubh*, v 12, *Māhnī* v 16, *Mandākrāntā*, v 20, *Upajāti*, vv 21, 23, 24, *Vasantatilakā*, and v 22, *Vamśasthavilā* ]

- [illegible]

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol XX, p 77

- 10 Tasmā-j-āṣṣalladōvō-'bhūj-janānām janak āpnanuh | ājagaram yad guṇa grāmam  
varunayanti mahā[bbhū]jah ||11|| Atha kila [hu]ta dāivād rājū Jāṣalladāc  
Kālichuri-kula chandit vā(bra)hmanā — — — | jagat idam-a[pa-rākam]  
sarvatō-dy ābhūdhil āram kaly ka-
- 11 Iti vācā vāsta lōkam-va(ba)bhūva ||12|| Yāyā[n-rava] Jagaddōvas-tatah prīg-  
dātato=ūjasā | samūtya rājy ādhipatir-va(ba)bhūva-ādibhūta vil rimala ||13||  
Chaurair-a — — pram prajātam-a — — vail [prabhinnam] — — — — —  
— — — — — da-
- 12 [rī] kōnc=ribhūh samsthitam | tasmun-śaurya [v]īśa dīna rācīt rājya sthāt bhūpa-  
[tau] [vā]ghrīd apy-iddhikām vajr [na] lurat bhūh-janah parvatam  
||14|| Jal śmīr ya Mur irātē Ratnat Pushpadharmamah | rī[jūrah] Śrīnallā-  
dāy[ti] — — — — —
- 13 bhavat ||15|| Putras-tibhūm (trayō ) tridāśa vamtī gita kīrtit pṛthi[vy]īm īd-āśa ku-  
hara-viharach chārū līrti pratīnah | — — — vī'tīkṛtī-urā-tarūh saugar-ōddā-  
ma [vai]ri — — — [śrī] — — pa dāyitō [Ratna]dōvah pravarah ||16|| — — — — —  
— — — — —
- 14 [m]pīz ākshī nayan ōtsavam | āvīś dhalam hrīv-īv īd-anugō Mākaradhvajah ||17||  
Samskrā ādī-pada-mā[ram] vāchit[vy]a chitra dīvamī | jūhī rāg-ānagat vās a  
narīn[rti] ? — — kṛtī (?) ||18|| [Rājadhām] dharā bharttū-tasya — — — — —  
— — — — — — — — — — —
- 15 m=abhūd=atmanōharam ||19|| Chhā || Gōtrē-'bhūvat-Kāśyapa nāmadhāt īd-āśa-mūdhur=  
D[vy]ādharō dharāīm | vā[thā] dharō ldhār-vadhū dhurūt Haris=athī  
sō=pi vipad lat inā[m] ||20|| Putraar — — — — — — — — — — — ratasya śrī [Rājadhā]va  
iti — — — — — pī-
- 16 vōdhūh | vāstrī hu śīstra-mahāt-hu param pravatō nīn-ōpamīnam=ha īd-pi  
na samjagāma ||21|| —  
dhuri samsthitā prīā | vā(ba)bhūva [h]v=ēti ? vā-sudhā ā — — [śhā]mī  
gūham [śachha]ritasya tasya\* ||22|| Tābhūm-rājā-
- 17 vata guṇ ōtkare ratna sudhur-Gaṅgādharō- ddbhūta matih eujan āka vā[m](bra)-  
dhūh | dhanyasya yat-ksharam-ap-ihā prārōpākrīd=am it-kad' hū=api na  
vyasanam=va(ba)bhūva ||23|| Yen mūnaram rukṣa sīa dāy ō[prānti] — — —  
[manh] ? — [lō ?]-
- 18 bhā trishn ādibhūh paratō(ta) ēva kṛtō mīśrah ||24|| Kō-ē nīśam-upīgatē gaja-  
va(ba)l kshūc=īrīv jānē durbhuksh ōpāhatim grātē janapādē dīnām  
dāśīm=āśritē | vān-ō[chchah] padam-īpadām — — — — — — — — — — —  
[prabliō rājyam] mam[dāva(ba)lā] —
- 19 punah sapt ānga-sampūrnātām\* ||25|| Dhairya-andīra-vācā vikrama-yaśah saśūha-  
śīstrīny-athō śauchi-āchāra-parām=anarva-sadrasīm Chānakya-vādī-ā-matī[m]  
dīpshā [ch=uvā] mīntā [tīptā] manasā śrī-Ratnadāina vāh sarva-  
ā[chā]ra-dhūri[na] c[shā] vīhāt prīdhāny-amīv ē padē
- 20 ||26|| Yasya mamtrēna sarvatra nījit-ārātī-māndalah | śrī-Ratnadāva-bhūpīlāś=  
chakrē rājyam=alantakam ||27|| Rī[ma] ? Padm ībhūdhī [cha dāc] bhāryā  
bhakti-prīvanē | vā(ba)bhūvatnā sad-āśchāra pavitrīra-kula-dāyē ||28|| Ek=ātra  
Prada Jī[ī]kav sushūc tany-ōttamau | smahī(ha)-

\* [The la. unra may be filled up as *oṃ nam āptē*.—J d.]

\* A syllable at the end appears to be missing

\* Read *alrita*

\* *Stany amātya svī, t lōśa rashtra-durga lalanī cha* These are the seven constituent parts of a kingdom

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12  
14  
16  
18  
20  
22  
24  
26  
28

The image shows a highly degraded and noisy scan of a Khari inscription. The text is written in a script that appears to be Khari, which is a form of the Brahmi script used in the Chedi region. The inscription is arranged in approximately 14 horizontal lines. Due to the poor quality of the scan, the individual characters are difficult to decipher, but the overall structure of the text is visible. The lines are numbered 2 through 28 on the right side of the image, indicating the line number for each line of text. The text is written in a dark ink on a light background, and the noise is most prominent in the middle and right portions of the image.





- 21 v[kr̥]mām=anyā eha Khadgasamham=ajījanat ||29|| Ālōky=ānēnā vidyut-tatī-  
taralītar-īśīra-tārūya-[dadhuīm] Lakshmīm=a — — — m=ēvīm eha [u]ta-mṛgadṛśām  
pṛīṭam=a[py]=anganānām | — — — k-ā[pta]ḥ t[ṛat-punar]=īha sukritair=[dri]ṣṭa — —  
ptā-āḥ(bō)dhād=ūtach=chakrē navīnam saḥyā-śubhā-ina-
- 22 tīr=innamandapam Bhūtabharttuh ||30|| Mithah kathōra-kīśth-aughair=atr=aiv=  
īkīri dhīmātā | dēva-dīkshina-dig-bhāgē nivāsīrthan=tiprasvīm ||31|| Kīritam  
vīstritā[m] Sūri-mandapam<sup>1</sup> punyā-kārinā | Gangādhārēnā [dharanēr=blī-  
shām]=cī=ītisundarīm ||32|| Śrīnad-Ratnapurē chā-
- 23 ru prātiehyīm Pushpāk-ōpamam | akarōd=śkavīrāyā mandapam giri-mūrdham  
||33|| Mandapam vānē Vadadē<sup>2</sup> [Pu]r-irātīr=vīnirmitam | Hara-Hēramvayōś=  
chakrē tātīr=iva v[sa]d[ī]lavan ||34|| Dēvi-Durgā-griham durggē Ravēh  
Pāha[takē(?) purē] | Pōrthē bhavanam Śambhōr=a-
- 24 bhramkasham=achīkarat ||35|| Ratnapurasy=ōdiehyīm dīśī Tumtā-Ganapatēi=asau  
chakrē | mandapam=aśēsha-vāñchita-phala-dītur=īghna-hantay=cha ||36|| ||<sup>3</sup>  
Saras=[T]ipuruga[grī]mē nirmala[n\*] vīkach-āmān(bu)jam | tathā Girahī-  
[grāmē] sphārīm pūshkarīm=apī ||37|| ○○○○○○
- 25 kṛitām=malām sarasīya-ruehram sadā jagat-sēyam | tāp-āpāham=nru-harīm=iva  
[U]nā grāmē saraś=chakrē ||38|| Guñjan-mūñja-madhuvratī-chaya chumvita-vīka-  
chā-paṭhājām=akarōt | pushkarīm=apī śōbhāya-Sōnā[dā]r-ā[blu]dha-[grā]mē ||39||  
Mīst-īnna-pāna-sampannā[m sa]-
- 26 rāsātī[m] vyadhād=asau | Nīrīyanpurē pushpa-vātikīm=apī śōbhanām ||40||  
Yīal=īlāatīnām nāvana-sarasīya-prīta-samsthō Manōbhūr=yāvan=Mainīka-  
pāshā-āyala-chātula-chalad-vīlu-mālāh pāḍhīh | chandr-ārkkau jāvad=ētau  
gagana-tāla-samud[ī]vōtamīnau prabhītis=tā-
- 27 vad=Gangādhārāyā pravara-guna-nidhēh sthāyatīm=ctu kīrtitā ||41|| Dīkshō  
lakshīnā-nirṇa(rnnā)ṇē kavī-kēś-sarvā[sva] vīrīma-bhūś=chhandīh sundarī-  
(bu)ddhīr=adbhūta-matīh sīhītya Chīnāyāyōh | kīrītō Harīya-varuśabhūh  
kavī-vīshī yasy=ānūyō Ja[hana]=tēn=ākīr Kumārāpāla-kṛitā [chēyam ?]
- 28 prāstīr=munudā ||42|| Lakshīr=mauktik-ākārais=tēn=aiv=īlīkhi kautukāt | [Nīti]-  
nāmnā samutkīrnā śīpā-vijūinā śālinā ||43|| Śrēsthīnā Ralhanēn=ātra  
dharmnā-karmāddhīrīnā | kṛitī kalā kalāpājā-jana-sūrutī-  
v(bu)ddhīnā||44|| Chēdi Samvat 933 ||\*|| Mangalam=astu ||

## No 27 —THE UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN, A D 988

By PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M A, MADRAS

This inscription<sup>4</sup> is engraved, along with some other Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century A D, on the west wall of the central shrine in the Anantīśvarasvāmī temple at Udaiyārgudi, a hamlet of Kāttumannārkōyil, in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District. The village is celebrated in the hagiology of South Indian Vaishnavism as the birth-place of Nāthamuni and his grandson Yāmunāchārya, also called Ālīvandār, the spiritual preceptor of Rāmānuja. In the inscriptions, the place is called Vīranārāyana-chaturvēdamangalam, the same as the Vīranārāyanapuram of Vaishnava literature and our inscription further describes

<sup>1</sup> Read *Sauri*. Probably the length is introduced for the sake of the metre<sup>2</sup> The metre is irregular here<sup>3</sup> Here in this and the next line enough space for 3 or 4 letters is left unscrubed<sup>4</sup> No 577 of 1920 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1920-21, part II, paragraph 71

it as a *brahmādīya* on the Northern bank (evidently of the Coleroon). Most probably, it was an *agrahāra* founded by Parāntaka I Viranūrayana (A.D. 907-53), whose inscriptions are also found in the Arantīśvara temple.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription consists of eight lines of almost equal length, and occupies a space of about 12' by 1½'. Except for the loss of some letters at the end of the first and second lines, it is in a fair state of preservation. The size of the letters is on an average well over an inch, some of the ligatures being 2' high. The characters employed are Tamil and Grantha. The writing is of the regular type found in the Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century. The chiselling of the letters is very good and hardly excelled in its beauty by any stone inscription of the period outside the Tenjore temple. In general appearance, our inscription strikingly resembles the Tamil part of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla<sup>2</sup>, allowance being made for the difference in the material on which the inscriptions are engraved. The loops in *n* are fully developed, but not so in *ṇ*. Medial *ā* and *r* are clearly distinguished though not always, the first two lines contain several instances where the distinction is maintained, while *r* is written exactly like the subsidiary *ā* in *pṛappanmāridum* and *māmanmāridum* in line 3, and in *āhār* in line 7. Medial *ī* and *ū* are sometimes, but by no means always, distinguished from *i* and *u* by loops, the loop indicating length in *ī* being placed at the end of the left arm of the curve indicating *i* instead of at the end of the right arm as at present. The long *ī* is best seen in the letters *Śrī* and *Vī* and in *nī* in *tannūr* (line 7). The long *ū* is sometimes indicated by the short *u*-sign attached to the main letter and followed by the *ā*-sign as in *malar-yanūārū* in line 2 and *nūṇṇorupallu* in line 6, the regular sign with the loop occurs in *Kottayūr* in line 4, *māridum* in line 5, and twice in *Vennayūr* in line 6. Though the length of these medial vowels is not always indicated in the inscription, I have added it in my readings where necessary. The letter *y* is invariably written in the Grantha form as in some of the Uttaramūṇṇar inscriptions of Parāntaka I and in the Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla. The *pulli* is not marked.<sup>3</sup> Ligatures are almost invariably in Grantha form, *lla* is written in two forms in line 6—*Palla* and *Malla*—in the one case, a Grantha *la* placed over a Tamil *la* and in the other, two Tamil *la*s placed one above the other.

As regards orthography, a tendency to omit *r* is noticed in such forms as *ṇagal* (lines 2 and 3 and 4). The only other features calling for notice are the insertion of *y* in *mīy-piḍāgar* in line 5.

The language of the inscription is Tamil. The construction of the second sentence (ll. 1-4), the most important in the whole inscription, is much obscured by its faulty grammar. It gives a list of the names of some persons involved in treason, and of their relatives, but the first five names in the list are in the nominative case, while the remaining eight are virtually in the genitive as indicated by the possessive suffix *idum* attached to each of them and by the phrase summing up the whole (*ṇanaiar*) being clearly employed in a possessive sense. Line 4 also contains a similar confusion of case endings.

The object of the inscription is to record an endowment by Arayan Bharatan alias Vyālagajamalla-Pallavarayan, the son of Nakkan Arayanarayan alias Pallava-Muttarayan, the lord of Vennayūr. The aim of the endowment was to provide for the supply of drinking water in a *maṇḍapa* before the temple in which the inscription is engraved, and for the daily feeding of fifteen Brahmans. The endowment took the form of land, and in the narration of the

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1920-21, part II, para. 24 and Appendix B, Nos. 539, 547, 549, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 128. [While in the Uttama Chōla plates, the letter for *r* is almost a plain vertical stroke without any curve at the top as in the sign for medial long *u*, in the present inscription the symbols for both of these have a curve at the top, usually open on the proper right side.—C. R. K.]

<sup>3</sup> [The *pulli* is marked in a few cases e.g., see *mangalattu p perunguṇi p peru*<sup>o</sup> in l. 1, though in the rest of the inscription it is not so.—C. R. K.]

circumstances of the purchase of the land by the donor, the important historical fact is disclosed that Āditya II Karikāla fell a victim to assassination at the hands of some persons who, to judge from their names and titles, must have been highly placed Brahman officials of the army.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription opens by stating that in the second year of Kō-Rājakesarivarmān, a letter (*śrīmukham*) was sent by the Emperor to the Great Sabhā of Viranārāyaṇa chaturvīdimangalam (line 1). The letter is next reproduced (lines 1-4). It recounts that Sōman, and his younger brothers Ravidāsa and Parantāśvara had been found guilty of treason (*drōhikal=āna*) for their murder of Karikāla Sōla 'who took the head of the Pāndya' (ll 1-2), the properties<sup>2</sup> of these three persons and their relatives specified (ll 2-3) were to be taken over<sup>3</sup> by Brahman-śrīrājan of Kottaiyūr and Chandrasūkhara-bhatta of Pullimangalam (l 4), the Sabhā (*tāngalam*) were to arrange, in co operation with these two persons, for the sale at current prices of all these lands and to remit the proceeds to the Treasury in accordance with the king's order (l 4). The letter concludes with the statement that it was written out by Kurukādi Kilān (l 4). In accordance with this letter, the lands of Rāvadāsa<sup>4</sup> (either the second of the traitors named above or more probably his *udappirandān* Malayānūrān), Rāvadāsa's son and his mother, situated in the western *padāga* of Viranārāyaṇa chaturvīdimangalam (line 5) were bought from the *sabhā* by Bharatāśaśaśa Viśālagajamallan. The property purchased comprised, according to an old measurement (*paṭṭanibadi*), two (*ūḷi*) and three quarters and one twentieth, and six residential houses (line 6), and the price paid was 112 *talaiṇṇu* of gold (lines 6-7). In the month of Mēsha in this year, on a Sunday which was a Pūrattāḍi day, Bharatāśaśaśa gave this land and these houses to be utilised in the Anantāśvara temple for the purposes specified (lines 7-8).

The astronomical details given in line 7 will be seen, from a reference to Mr L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Almanacs*, to be correct for Sunday, the 15th April, A.D. 988, which would fall in the third regnal year of Rājārāja I, whose accession has been fixed by Kielhorn between 25th June and 25th July 985 A.D.<sup>5</sup> The regnal year cited in our inscription is the second, and this must be understood to be, not the current, but the expired year. The chronology of the record, its reference to the murder of Karikāla 'who took the head of the Pāndya', i.e., Āditya II, the elder brother of Rājārāja I, and its paleographical peculiarities alike point to the identity of the Rājāśari of this inscription with Rājārāja I who began his rule in A.D. 985. In fact there is no other Rājakesari in the period after Āditya II whom the facts recorded in the inscription suit so well.

The interval between the close of the reign of Parāntakā I and the beginning of that of Rājārāja I is still one of the rather obscure periods in Chōla history. The order of succession of the kings who ruled in this period is far from clear, and the length of each reign does not lend itself to precise determination. There is no doubt, however, that the immediate predecessor of Rājārāja

<sup>1</sup> [There is nothing to suggest that the officials belonged to the army.—C. R. K.]

<sup>2</sup> See n. 1, p. 170 post.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *perattandam* makes it appear like a gift to these two persons. But in view of what follows this cannot be understood literally. [The expression has to be read as '*perattandam*' in the sense of 'nomination' cf. *S. I. J.*, Vol. III, p. 404, l. 128 and p. 429. If the sense intended were 'obtaining' the original should be *peratt*—C. R. K.]

<sup>4</sup> The second of the traitors named at the beginning of line 2 is called Ravidāsaṇṇa Pañchavaṇa Brahman dūrāṇa. The name given in line 5 is Rāvadāsa, a slightly different form, though it is possible that the sign of medial *e* preceding *ra* in the beginning of line 2 or at the end of line 1 has not come out in the impression. But Rāvadāsa is here called a Kramavitta and has the alias Malayānūrān, facts which strengthen the doubt that he may be different from Ravidāsa of line 2. But the preceding phrase *śrīmukham mēppaṭṭa* means that the same man is mentioned in the letter reproduced earlier in the inscription, and thus may be a reference either to Ravidāsa or Malayānūrān of line 2. [The surname 'Malayānūrān' clearly proves that the reference is to the latter of the two persons.—C. R. K.]

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, App. 2, p. 22.

I was Madhurāntaka Uttama Chōla, who had a reign of about sixteen years (A.D. 969-85)<sup>1</sup> Of Āditya II, the Parakṣari 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya,' we have inscriptions bearing the fifth regnal year<sup>2</sup> He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōla, and it is generally admitted that the period of his rule must lie between the end of Sundara-Chōla's reign and the commencement of that of Uttama Chōla. The latter was the son of Gandarāditya and most probably a baby at the time of his father's death<sup>3</sup> This was doubtless the reason why the succession passed to a junior branch of the family, and Ariṅgaya, his son Parāntaka II, and his son Āditya succeeded one after another. After Āditya, we find Uttama Chōla ruling for sixteen years before the crown passed to Āditya's younger brother Rājārāja. The Tiruvāṅgādī plates of Rājendra Chōla I seem to furnish a clue which, when interpreted with the aid of the present inscription, enables us to trace the probable course of events. Verses 69 and 70 of the plates state that though on the death of Āditya, the people, in their eagerness to witness the destruction of the increasing darkness of *Kali*, desired Arumoli Varman, i.e., Rājārāja, to take up the reins of government, he the true Kṣatriya, did not desire to rule his kingdom so long as his paternal uncle coveted it, and that Arumoli was made the *Yuvarāja* by Madhurāntaka Uttama Chōla who became king.

Though the Tiruvāṅgādī plates and other Chōla records tell us nothing of the manner of Āditya's death, the reference to the increasing darkness of *Kali* looks like a thinly veiled allusion to the state of anarchy that prevailed at the sudden demise of the late king. The people's wish to have Arumoli as king, Arumoli's unwillingness to accept the throne when his paternal uncle coveted it, and the recognition of Arumoli as heir apparent, may be taken to indicate the troubles of a disputed succession ended by a political compromise by which Uttama Chōla was indeed to enjoy the fulfilment of his heart's desire, but the succession was to revert to the ruling line, i.e., that of Ariṅgaya. A certain Madhurāntakan Gandarādhita is found in the service of Rājārāja I, and it is probable that he was a son of Uttama Chōla. If this view is correct, he must be taken to have acquiesced in his exclusion from the succession which was the direct result of Arumoli having been made the *Yuvarāja* at the time of Uttama's accession. Apparently the choice before Arumoli after his brother's death was between a civil war with his paternal uncle and a compromise such as the one actually adopted; Arumoli preferred the latter course, and his wisdom seems to be commended in the phrase *Aśhatradharmnūrtihirīdī* (v. 69) of the Tiruvāṅgādī plates.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Malayānūr and Kottaiyūr cannot be identified without more details. Pullamaṅgalam may be the same as Pullamangai, a village near Pasupatikōvil, about nine miles south of Tanjore. Vonnaiyūr-nādu may be the same as the subdivision of Vadagarai-Rājendrasimha-velanādu in the Śōḷamandalam<sup>4</sup> If that is so, Vennaiyūr must be included in the list of villages in the *nāḷu* given by Venkaya.

I edit the text from a set of estampages received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

#### TEXT

- 1 Svasti Śrī [ ] Kō-Rājakēsarivarmanmarkku yāndu 2-ūadu Vadagarai-brahmadēyam Śrī-Viranārāya[na]-chchaturvvēdīmamgalattu=pperunguri=pperumakkalukku Chakravartti-śrīmukham Pāṇḍyanan=ttal=ṛ-konda Karukāla-Sōlanai=kkonru drōhika-[l-a]ṇa Sōma[n] <sup>5</sup>ṛambi

<sup>1</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III Nos. 135, 138 and 144

<sup>2</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 204

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114]

<sup>4</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, II Introduction, p. 24

<sup>5</sup> The stone is damaged here but there can be no doubt about the missing letter

<sup>6</sup> There is a gap of seven or eight letters here. They must form the rest of the name of the first *drōhi* followed by *van*.

- 2 Ravidāsan=āna Pañchavan-Brahmādhīrājanum ivan-rambi Paramēśvaran=āna Irumudi-chchōḷa-Brahmādhīrājanum ivagal-udappiranda Malaiyanū<sup>1</sup>rānum ivagal=tambi-mārum=ivagal-makkalidum ivar-brāhmanum[ār]<sup>2</sup>-pērālum=1 <sup>3</sup>ramattam
- 3 pērappanmāridum=ivagal makkalidum=ivagalukku=ppillai-kudutta māmanmāridum tāyōd=udappiranda māman māmanmāridum<sup>4</sup>=ivagal udappiranda pengalai vēttārnnavum=ivagal-makkalai vēttārnnavum=āga ivv-anaivar [muṇi]yum namn-ānaikk=uriyavāru Ko-
- 4 ttaiyūr Brahmaśrīrājanum Pullamangalattu Chandrasēkhara-Bhattanaiyum pera-ttandōm tāngalum=ivagal kankānyodum=ivagal šonnavāru namn ānai-  
kk=uriyavāru kudiyodu kudipērum vilai<sup>5</sup>kku virru=ttālattiduga ivai Kuru[kādi] kīlān-clutt=enru<sup>6</sup> i-ppariśu vara i-
- 5 śrīmukhattin mērppatta Malaiyanūran=āna<sup>6</sup> Pāppanachchēri Rēvadāsa-kramavi-ttanum ivan-maganum=ivan-rāy Periyangai-chchānyum=i-mmūvaridum=āna nilam śrī-Vīranārāyana-chchatu[r]vvēḍimamgalattu miy-padāgai Dēvanmangalam=āṇa pattiḷa nilam śrī-Vīranārāyana-chchatu[r<sup>4</sup>] vvēḍi-
- 6 mamgalattu sabhaiyār-pakkal Vennaiyūr-nāttu Vennaiyūr-udaiyān Nakkaṇ=Ara-vanaiyān=āna Pallava-Muttaraiya magan Baratan=āna Vyālagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyanēn=i-nnilam palambadi irandē-mukkālēy=oru-māvum=agamanai-y=ārum=āga i-nnilamum=i-mmanaiyum nūrr-orupatt-i<sup>7</sup>-
- 7 ru-kalañju pon kuduttu vilai-kond=ivvūr Tiruv-Anantēśvarattu Bhattārakar-kōyilāy=ivv=āttai Mēsha-nāyarṇu Nāyarru-kkalamai perra Pūratādī-ñānru chandr-ādityavat ālvār kōyil-munbu [Mūvā]yirattarunūrruvanāna nilaiy-ambalattu tannīr=attum brāhmanan=oruvanukku ni[śa]-
- 8 dam paḍi-nāḷi nellum=āttaiyattam=oru kāsūm nīśadam paḍinaiyvar brāhmanar=unbadarkum=āga paḍināru ivarrulēy=aiyvar śivavōḡika]=u[nn]ayum vaiyittēn Araiyan Bharatan=āna Vyālagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyanēn i-dha[r]mmam rakshikkīnra mahā sabhaiyār śrī-pādangal=en-talai<sup>8</sup>mēlana[|\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Hail <sup>1</sup> Prosperity <sup>1</sup> (In the) second year of (the reign of) King Rājakēsarivarman, the order of the Emperor (*addressed*) to the members of the Great Assembly of Śrī-Vīranārāyanachaturvēḍimangalam, a *brahmāḍēya* on the North bank

<sup>1</sup> Length is marked by the sign for secondary ā

<sup>2</sup> The signs for ā and r are lost just below the missing letter noticed in note 5 above

<sup>3</sup> A gap of the same length as at the end of line 1

<sup>4</sup> Cancel the second māman

<sup>5</sup> Read °/ilān°

<sup>6</sup> See n. 4, p 167 ante

<sup>7</sup> The length of subsidiary ū in nū is expressed by the sign for subsidiary ā The letters *poru* and *ti* seem to have been corrected from the original *guru* and *to*

II 1-2 Sōman , his younger brother Ravidāsan *alias* Pañchavan Brahmadhūrjan, and his younger brother Paramācharan *alias* Irumudhehēḷa Brahmadhūrjan have been guilty of treason as they murdered Karikūlaḷōla who took the head of the Pāṇḍya ,

II 2 4 We have ordered that the (*properties* ?)<sup>1</sup> (of these persons), of their brother Malayānūrān, of their younger brothers and sons, of their wives , of the elder brothers of their father and their children, of their fathers-in-law (*lit* of their uncles who have given their daughters in marriage to them), of their uncles who are brothers of their mother, of the persons who have married their sisters, and of their sons-in-law<sup>2</sup>—these (*properties* ?) shall, in accordance with our command, be obtained<sup>3</sup> by Brahmasrīrājan of Kottayūr and Chandrasākharā-Bhatta of Pulla mangalam

II 4-7 You shall,<sup>4</sup> in the presence of these (*two*) persons and in pursuance of what they say and in pursuance of our command, sell at the prevailing price<sup>5</sup> and remit (*the amount*) to the treasury<sup>6</sup> This is the writing of Kurukūḷ-kilāp When this (*letter*) was received, the lands of the three persons, *viz*, Malayānūrān *alias* Ravidāsa-Kramavittan of Pāppantheḷi, who is mentioned above in the letter, his son, and his mother Periyanaṅgai eḷiḷim, these lands in the *pattu* known as Dēvanmangalam in the western *palāṅai* of Viranūrāyana (chaturēḍimangalam and including, by the old measurement, two and three quarters and one twentieth (*of a iḷi*) and six residential houses, these lands and these houses, were bought of the members of the Sabbā of Viranūrāyana-chaturēḍimangalam by me, Bharataṅ *alias* Vyālagajamalla-Pallavaraiyan, son of Nakkān Aravanai in *alias* Pallava-Muttarayan, (a resident) of Vennaiūr in Vennaiūr-nīdu, after payment of one hundred and twelve *kalanju* of gold

II 7-8 In the month of Mōsha in this year, on the Pūrattādī day which was a Sunday, I, Arayan Bharataṅ *alias* Vyālagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyan, endowed these (*lands and houses*) in order that, as long as the sun and the moon endure, one Brahmin, who supplies water in the (*mandapa called*) Three-thousand-six hundred *alias* Nilayambalam in front of the Āḷṭār shrine in the temple of Tiru-Anantiśvarattu-Bhattiraka of this village, may get ten *nāḷi* of paddy every day and one *iāṣu* in a year, and that fifteen Brahmins may be fed every day, (*provided that*) among these sixteen<sup>7</sup>, five *śrayōḡis*<sup>8</sup> shall be fed The sacred feet of the members of the *mahāsabbā* who protect this charity (*will be borne by me*) on my head

<sup>1</sup> The gap after *aga* *iranaicar* and before *yam* in line 3 greatly obscures the meaning The space is just enough for two letters, and I think the first of them is most probably *mu* Some word like *muṇi* in the sense of 'portion' or 'share' may be suggested The general sense is, however, clear from what follows, and I have followed this in filling the gap in the translation with (*properties* ?) No 112 of 1911 is another instance of the confiscation of the property of persons found guilty of treason (*drōhikaj*) in the reign of Rājārāja III

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'of those who have married their children'

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p 167, f n 2—C R K]

<sup>4</sup> The pronouns '*laṅgalum*' and '*naṅgal*' are at first puzzling, but a little consideration shows that the former must refer to the members of the Sabbā to whom the letter is addressed and the latter to the two persons to whom a part of the confiscated rights was assigned by the king What this exactly was is not clear on account of the gap noted above—n 1 I have understood *Kaṇṭaṅ* in its abstract sense Though *Kaṇṭaṅ* also means 'superintendent,' the meaning hardly suits the present context [The expression means 'under the supervision of these people'—O R K]

<sup>5</sup> Literally, 'at the price which one person gets from another'.

<sup>6</sup> That *talam* means 'treasury' will be seen from the following '*Nilamum viṭṭu pāṇḍi kulāsanī mārāyar danda tālattu iḍuga eṇṇu śrīmukam vara āḷa tonnūru kāsūm . . mārāyar danda tālattu vaittu*' (No 553 of 1921), and '*Variyūḷṭa poṇ kadavar muṇṇuppu iṇḍu puraiyāyṇḍu pōnamayil pōnār svam pōmaru pōḷharattu kaṇṇipōḷṭu tālattu vaittu taravu kōṭha eṇṇu mahā sabbaiḱku kḷadaiyidu vara*' (No 379 of 1922)

<sup>7</sup> '*āham*' and '*manai*' occur in the sense of 'house' and 'house-ate' respectively in the Uttaramēṇūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I

<sup>8</sup> [This number includes also the water Brahmin—O R. K.]

<sup>9</sup> See *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol III, p 382

## No 28 —THE PALANPUR PLATES OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA (V S 1120)

By K N DIKSHIT, M A, CALCUTTA

These plates were received from Pālanpur by Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, M A, LL B, of 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, who brought them to me for decipherment and for the preparation of impressions. They consist of two unusually thick ( $\frac{1}{4}$ " to  $\frac{1}{2}$ ") plates joined together by a ring  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter, passed through a hole  $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter in the middle of the edge of the longer side. Only the inner side of the plates is inscribed, in all there being 15 lines of bold writing. The dimensions are  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ " of which about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " of the rim has been raised on all sides to protect the writing. The thickness of each plate is  $\frac{1}{4}$ " but there are two knobs on either side of the ring where the thickness is about half an inch. The plates weigh  $106\frac{1}{2}$  tolas.

The characters of the record are Dīvanāgarī and the language Sanskrit prose calling for no special remarks. The engraving is full of mistakes. The document refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmadēva* (I) apparently of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujārāt, who was encamped at Ilā, its object being the grant of 3 *halas* of land at a village named Varanāvādā to a Mōdha Brāhmana named Jānaka. The boundaries of the land are specified as 'to the east, the way to the village Vāra-Asavalī, to the south, the village Pādra, to the west, the way to Chhīmdriyālā, to the north, the field of Kēsava and Vālana.'

The date of the grant is mentioned as the fifteenth of the bright half of Pausa in the Vikrama year 1120. It is further stated that the grant was made by Bhīmadēva, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana parvan* or winter solstice. Now the particular coincidence of the full-moon day of Pausa and the *uttarāyana* occurs neither in any of the possible equivalents of Samvat 1120, taking the year as northern or southern, current or expired, nor within a few years on either side. It is therefore apparent that either the details of the date are wrong or that the actual date of issuing the grant was somewhat later than the date of the donation. In the latter case, it is probable that the date of issue of the grant was 6th January 1064 A.D. while the *Maharasanhranti* or *uttarāyana* which occurred on 25th December 1063 A.D. was the occasion of the king's donation.

The date of the grant is interesting inasmuch as it is the last recorded date of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva. According to Mērutunga in his *Prabandha-chintāmanī*, Bhīmadēva's accession took place in V S 1078 (1022-3 A.D.), which must be regarded fairly accurate, inasmuch as we have V S 1076 as the last recorded date of his predecessor Durlabharāja. From the testimony of the Muhammadan chroniclers it is apparent that Bhīmadēva was the ruler of Gujārāt and Southern Kāthiāwār at the time of the well-known sack of the Sōmanātha temple in 1024 A.D. (circa 1080 V S). The first epigraphical date for Bhīmadēva known from his Rādhānpur<sup>1</sup> and Mundakā grants<sup>2</sup> is V S 1086. The next reference is in the Mount Abu Vimala<sup>3</sup> temple inscription, where it is stated how in V S 1088 (1031-2 A.D.) Vimala, who had been appointed *dandapati* by Bhīmadēva, founded the temple. The duration of the reign of Bhīmadēva as given by Mērutunga was from V S 1078 to V S 1120, but practically no records of the latter part of his long reign have survived. The date of another donation made at the Vimala Shih temple by a minister of Bhīmadēva in V S 1119<sup>4</sup> can now be definitely accepted as made within the monarch's reign and life-time. The date of the accession of Bhīmadēva's successor Karnadēva is given by Mērutunga as V S 1120, *Chaitra sudi 3 Śanau*. It is clear that this date can be reconciled with

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff.<sup>2</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 49.<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 48 ff.<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 137.



that of the present grant, only on the supposition that the year used was the Southern Vikrama year commencing with the month of Kārtika Bhīmadēva must therefore have died during the period between Pausa and Chaitra of the Southern Vikrama year 1120. On verification, however, the date of Karna's accession as given by Mērutunga appears to work out regularly only for Saturday, 12th March 1065 (=Southern V S 1121), which is more than a year removed from the date of the present grant. The first epigraphical dates for Karna are those provided by his Navsārī<sup>1</sup> grants dated Śaka 996 and V S 1131 (=1074 A D.)

The writer of the grant was Kēkkaka, the son of the Kāyastha Vatēsvara, who appears to belong to a family of hereditary scribes of the Chaulukyas. Thus we know the Kāyastha Vatēsvara to be the writer of the Rādhanpur grant of Bhīmadēva and Kēkkaka himself to be the writer of the Navsārī<sup>1</sup> and Sūnak<sup>2</sup> plates of Karna. The *Dūtaka* was the illustrious Bhōgāditya, the minister of peace and war, who also figures in the Navsārī plates.

Of the geographical names, *Ilā*, the place of the king's encampment, can possibly be identified with the modern Ilol, a petty state in the Mahikanttha Agency,<sup>3</sup> to the south-east of Pālanpur. The ending *-ol* of place names in North Gujarāt (*e g*, Halol, Kalol, Palol) is to be considered the local equivalent of *pur*, through *ur* and *ul*. *Ilāpura* can thus be a good Sanskrit equivalent to Ilol. I am unable to identify the other places.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> Vikrama-Samvat 1120 Pausa sudī 15 ady=ēha lāla Ilā-
- 2 vāsita-śrīmad-vijayī-katakē samasta-rāj-āvalī-virāji-
- 3 ta-mahārājādhirāja-srī-Bhīmadēvah svabhujyamāna-Dhānadā-
- 4 hāra-pathakē samasta-rāja-purashān<sup>4</sup> janapadāmś=cha bōdhaya-
- 5 ty=astu vah samviditam yathā ady=ōtvarōyana<sup>5</sup>-parvanī Mahēsva-
- 6 ra=abhyarchya pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha punya-yasō<sup>6</sup>bhividdhayē Mōdha-Brā-
- 7 hmana-Jānakāya Varanāvādā-grānē(mē) Pātū-satka-kshētrē | Vi-
- 8 vuka-satka-kshētrē cha iti hala-trayasya halam 3 bhūmī<sup>7</sup>

#### Second Plate

- 9 śāsanān<sup>8</sup>=ōdaka-pūrvam=asmābhīh pradattū= 'syāmś=cha<sup>9</sup> pūrva-<sup>10</sup>
- 10 sām(syām) Vīra-Asavah-grāma-mārgah | dakshinasyām grāma-Pādrām | pa-
- 11 śchīmīyām Chhīmdriyālā-mārgah | uttarasyām Kaśava<sup>11</sup>-Vālanayōh
- 12 kshūtram=iti chatur-āghāt-ōpalakshītāyāh bhūmēr=asyāh pa-
- 13 ripamthnū kēn=āpī na kāryū | lsi(khī)tam=dam śāsanam kā-
- 14 yatu<sup>12</sup>-Vatēsvara-suta-Kēkkakēna | Dūtako<sup>13</sup>-tra mahā-sām-
- 15 dhivijrahika-srī-Bhōgāditya iti<sup>13</sup> śrī-Bhīmadēvā<sup>14</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXVI, pp. 252 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Gp. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 317 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Read *purushān*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-ti'arāyana-*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *yaso*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *bhūmīh*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *śāsanān*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *syās=cha*.

<sup>10</sup> *Va* looks like *da*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *Kāśava*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *vastha*.

<sup>13</sup> The symbol after *;* either stands for a punctuation mark or abbreviation of *ti*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *Bhīmadēvah*.

2

१ विक्रमराक्षस ११२० पोवश्चरि १५ अशितकालशुला  
 २ वासिने श्रीमहिज्जयिकटकसनन्नराजावलीविशक्ति  
 ३ तमदा राजा विराजशीरुमीम एवः सत्तुसैमानसालरा  
 ४ दापयसकिमवभ्रराज पुनवा नूनन पयथतावय  
 ५ तशुतः संतिदिने यवायैश्यातु शोयण पर्वणिमदश  
 ६ यमराद्यैयिधारातनथपुण्ययसाहिदुःखात्तादव  
 ७ द्यपजानकायवरुणा वाडया नपादभक्तकविवा  
 ८ युक्तयत्तु (क) च ४४ तिद लवयसा हत ३२ मी

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१ शासनादकसर्वमन्त्रा लिखदत्ता स्थाप्युर्द  
 २ सा कर्तुं सप्तवलिशाममार्गिणदक्षिणस्थायामपादपा  
 ३ सिनायालीदियाप्तामार्गिणदक्षिणस्थायामपादपा  
 ४ तयमिनिचक्रयायायपल्लितायाः तन्मरुत्पाः प  
 ५ रियं प्रनाकनापिनवाया लिखितमिदं शासनं  
 ६ यत्तु वदिथुं श्रुतं कर्तव्यं कर्तव्यं कर्तव्यं कर्तव्यं  
 ७ विविधदिकथीसायादित्यु १ श्रीरुमीमदेवा॥



## No 29—HALDIPUR PLATES OF THE PALLAVA CHIEF GOPALADEVA.

By N LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M A, OOTACAMUND

The existence of these plates was brought to the notice of Mr K N Dikshit, M A, Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, by Mr S. V Haldipur, B A, LL B, M B E, Officer Supervisor, Judge Advocate General's Department, Army Headquarters, Simla. They were discovered several years ago when digging in the garden belonging to Mr Haldipur's family in Guddehittal at Haldipur, a village in the Honavar Taluka of the North Kanara District, Bombay Presidency. I now edit the inscription engraved on them from ink-impressions as well as the originals kindly placed at my disposal by Mr K N Dikshit who obtained the plates on loan from the owner.

The plates which are in an excellent state of preservation are three in number, each measuring about  $6\frac{1}{4}$ " in length,  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness. The first and the third plates bear writing only on one side while the second is written on both the sides. Their rims are slightly raised in order to protect the writing from damage. They are strung together on an almost circular ring which has a diameter of about  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of the ring are soldered on to the back of the seal which is circular in shape, with a diameter of about 1". Together with the ring and the seal the plates weigh 96 *tolas*.

On the seal is shown in bold relief the figure of a rampant lion facing the proper right. The head of the animal is erect, its mouth open, the right forepaw raised and the tail twisted over its back. The Uruvapalli<sup>1</sup> grant of the Pallava king Vishnugōpavarman and the Pīkura<sup>2</sup> grant of Simhavarman of the same dynasty bear on their seals the figures of the same animal. In the monolithic shrine at Śīyamangalam<sup>3</sup> excavated by the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I and the Undavalli caves, also attributed to the Pallavas<sup>4</sup>, we find representations of the lion. The figure in the Undavalli caves bears a striking resemblance to that found on the seal of the present grant<sup>5</sup>. Thus the emblem of a Pallava chief on the present seal confirms the view expressed by the late Mr V Venkayya<sup>6</sup> that "along with the recumbent bull usually associated with the emblem of the Pallavas, the lion was also the Pallava crest at some period of their history."

The characters of the inscription belong to the southern type which were in use in the Kanarese country during the eighth century A D. The writing is beautifully executed and there are hardly any mistakes in engraving. The characters are round and upright unlike the longish and slanting ones found in Early Chālukya grants. In general appearance the alphabet of our grant is certainly earlier than that of the Manne Plates<sup>7</sup> of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III dated Śaka 732, and the plates of the same king bearing the date Śaka 726<sup>8</sup>. It closely resembles the characters of the Ālupa inscriptions of Udiyāvāra<sup>9</sup> in the South Kanara District which the late Dr. Hultzsch has assigned to about A D 800 and those of the Kovalavettu grant<sup>10</sup> of the Western

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol XI, p 338 and *Ind Ant*, Vol V, plate facing p 50

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol VIII, p 160

<sup>3</sup> *A S R*, 1906 07, p 232, f n 6

<sup>4</sup> Longhurst *Pallava Architecture*, Pt I, p 5

<sup>5</sup> Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p 33, the author is, however, of the opinion that the caves were the work of the Vishnukundins

<sup>6</sup> *A S R*, 1906 07, p 232, f n 6, see also above, Vol XI, p 343

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol XIV, plate facing p 82

<sup>8</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XI, plate facing p 126

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol IX, pp 15 ff and plates

<sup>10</sup> *Mys Arch Report*, 1927, plates facing pp. 106 and 107

Ganga king Śrīpuruṣa for whom we have a sure date in Śaka 710<sup>1</sup> and who began to rule, according to the Dēvarahallī plates<sup>2</sup>, if they are accepted as genuine (and I think they can be), in A D 726. But the most striking resemblance the present grant bears in respect of palaeography is to the Annigeri inscription<sup>3</sup> of the 6th year of the reign of the Early Chālukya monarch Kīrtti-varman II (i.e., A D 752), the form of every letter except *l* being exactly alike in both the records. As regards individual letters in the present epigraph, we have the initial vowel *a* in *anēla* (ll 3 and 4), *arunūrvvaru* (l 7), *ardham* (l 14), *arunūru* and *agrahāra* (l 17). The initial *ā* occurs only once in *Ārida* (l 8). The curves at the ends of these two letters have not yet closed completely at the top. The initial *ṛ* consisting of two dots below a double curve occurs thrice in *Idevetta* (l 13), in *ṛdu* (l 16) and *ṛtaḥ-param* (l 17). Initial *ē* occurs in line 13 and *o* in line 16. Among medial vowels *ī* is distinguished from *i* by a small loop in the circular *i* sign (cf *Lakṣmī* with *nivāsa*, l 3). Medial *u* is marked in two ways, when it is attached to the letter *r* it is denoted by a hook bending downwards at the proper left of this letter but in other cases it is denoted by a U-shaped symbol at the bottom of the letter to which it is added (cf *puruṣa* and *guna* in line 3). In medial *ū* the length is indicated by the addition of a downward curve. No distinction is made between short and long *e* and *o*. Medial *ai* is made up of two strokes, one attached to the serif or the *talekattu* of the consonant and the other to the letter itself, both placed on the proper right (e.g., *Kaṛ* in *Kaṛkēya*, l 2). Medial *o* is merely a combination of the *e* and the *ā* strokes, the one on the proper right and the other on the proper left of the consonant. Among the consonants, the epigraph contains the letters *n*, *ṇ*, *b* and *l* which along with *lh* (not found here) furnish, according to Dr Fleet, the leading test letters in determining the approximate period of undated records. The *n* which occurs only once in *tenkannā* (l 12) differs from *ṇ* only in the absence of the centre prong. We have *ṇ* in *rāja* (l 2), *ṇana* (l 4), *rājēna* (l 6), *gōtraṇa* (l 8), *ṇamalī* (l 16) and as a second member of the conjunct consonant in *peḷṇavasī* (l 14). *B* appears twice, first in *bāhu* (l 5) and a second time in *kombe* (l 15). All of them are of the earlier type found in records prior to the ninth century. *L* is used more frequently and though it is of a cursive type, the down-stroke of the letter on its proper right side is not yet prolonged up to the top of the letter on the left (e.g., *vallabha* and *Pallava* in line 1, *vipula* in line 4, *tale* in l 8, etc.). According to Fleet this form of *l* cannot be placed much before A D 800 in records coming from Western India<sup>4</sup>. But it should be noted that this cursive form of the letter already appears in the Rāygaḍ Plates<sup>5</sup> of the Early Chālukya king Vijayāditya dated Śaka 625 and in the Bopgaon Plates<sup>6</sup> of the same king dated Śaka 640. The record includes final *n* (l 9) and *r* (ll 10, 17 and 18). Lingual *ḍ* can be distinguished from the dental *ḍ* by the lower part of the letter turning upwards and ending in a loop as in *ḍu* of *paduvannā* (l 12) and *ḍe* of *mūḍe* (l 16). But the distinct form of *ḍ* is not shown in *ṇḍa* of *Chandamahāsēna* (l 5) and *ṇḍam* of *karsapindam* (l 15) and, as Fleet has remarked, "it was seldom, if ever, the early practice to use the distinct form of the *ḍ* in the combination *ṇḍ*"<sup>7</sup>. The Dravidian *ṛ* as well as *l* are represented in the record, the former in *arunūrvvarum* (l 7), *Neydalgere* (l 13), *nīrraga*, (l 14), *nūrṛpattentu* (l 15) and *arunūru* (l 17) and the latter in *kalani* (l 11), *Peramale* (l 12), *Gārapālī* (l 12), *ahvōr* (l 17) and *ahvōrā* (l 18) and as the first component of the conjunct consonants in *ṛḍu* (l 10) and *peḷṇavasī* (l 14). These two letters differ considerably from their later varieties used, for instance, in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 42

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, pp. 233 ff. and plates.

<sup>3</sup> Below, p. 204

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 41

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. X, plate between pages 16 and 17

<sup>6</sup> From ink-impressions in the possession of Mr. K. N. Dikshit.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 203

Mantrawādī<sup>1</sup> and Sirūr<sup>2</sup> inscriptions of Amōghavarsha I while they are almost exactly similar to those in the Anugerī inscription<sup>3</sup> and the Kendūr Plates<sup>4</sup> of Kīrtivarman II and the Hattimattūr inscription<sup>5</sup> of Kṛṣṇa I. Thus palaeographical considerations point to the middle of the 8th century A.D. as the probable period of the present record.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and Kanarese. Lines 1 to 6 are written in Sanskrit prose and the rest in Kanarese prose which may be considered among the oldest specimens of the language. Particular attention may be drawn to the following linguistic and grammatical features. The accusative termination *ān* as in *bhūgamān* (l. 9), *-idān* (l. 17) and *Vāranasīyūmān* (l. 18) is found only in early records like the Pattadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II<sup>6</sup> in which we find *ḍigulamān* (l. 2), *idān* (l. 8) and the Bādāmi inscription<sup>7</sup> of Maṅgalāśa which has *ittodān* (l. 3). In later records this case suffix is *an* or *am*. In masculine nouns ending in *a* the dative termination *ge* is preceded by *n* as in *gūtrajange* and *Panyārānge* (l. 8). With this we may compare the datives *namirānge* and *odeyonge* found in the Udiyāvara inscription<sup>8</sup> of Ranasūgara and Śīlāvāhana, and *mādhuryyange* (l. 5) in the inscription of Kappe-Arabiatta of about the 8th century at Bādāmi<sup>9</sup>. In other inscriptions of this period the nasal *n* takes the place of the dental *n*<sup>10</sup> (cf. *Dharcgīsange* in the Udiyāvara inscription of Pṛthivīśīgara<sup>11</sup>). The genitive suffix is long *ā* and not short *a* as found in later records (e.g., *Kūśampalliyā* in line 9 and *Acydalgercyā* in line 13). Instances of this form of the genitive are found in the Lakṣmīśvar pillar inscription<sup>12</sup> of the Yuvārāja Vikramāditya (II) (cf. *Poriagercyā*, *soiagercyā*, etc.), but obviously it is seldom used in records of the Later Chāluḃyas of Kalyāṇi<sup>13</sup>. The peculiar forms *adagamā* (l. 11), *padurennā*, *tenlannā* (l. 12) and *mūdannā* (l. 13) (which denote the four points of the compass) involving a double *na* are, so far as I am aware, found nowhere else either in epigraphical or literary Kanarese. Characteristic of the archaic nature of the language are the verbal nouns *apponge* (l. 8) and *alidorū* (l. 18), with which may be compared the words *apporoge* and *enidu* in the Lakṣmīśvar inscription referred to above and *ulidorge* and *parūjisidorū* of the Pattadakal Inscriptions of Vikramāditya II.<sup>14</sup> The adverb *ullappinam* meaning 'as long as (they) exist' is another archaic formation<sup>15</sup>. The word *lalanī* which denotes a wet land or a rice field is not generally found in epigraphical records later than the 10th Century. With the rather rare expression *bhukt-ānubhuktam* used in the sense of 'to be in continued enjoyment' we may compare *bhukt-ānubhūgam* of the Lakṣmīśvar pillar inscription. The imprecation found in the present grant, viz., those who destroy this will go to the world of those who destroy *Vāranāśī*, etc., occurs

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 201

<sup>2</sup> Below, plate facing p. 206

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 162

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 61

<sup>10</sup> According to the *sūtra* *alāk=chaturthyās=tritiyās=nustura pūrrah=puṇis* of Nāgavarma's *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* R. Narasimhaachar's edition p. 28, *sūtra* No. 62), the earliest extant Kanarese grammar of the 12th century A.D. the dative termination *ge* is preceded by an *anuvāra*. It is thus evident that the forms used in our grant had become obsolete by the time of this grammarian.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 20

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, p. 189

<sup>13</sup> It may be noted, however, that the genitive suffix long *ā* and the accusative suffix *ān* are allowed optionally by Nāgavarma in the *sūtras* *dirgh-ādāśaś=śhaśhyā yathāśhaśam* (*Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa*, No. 67) and *dvitīy-āntasya vā svarē* (*ibid.*, No. 68) but the examples he cites to illustrate the latter appear to be from the works of two writers who lived before him, viz., Haripāla and the poet Bhuvanailavira.

<sup>14</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

<sup>15</sup> On this word Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhaachar has kindly written to me as follows:—"Usually we have the adverb *ullinam* but here the form is *ullappinam*. May it be for *ullar appinam*?"

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 204

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 205

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 161

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 18 and 19

also in lithic records of an early period (cf. The Udiyāvara Inscription of Vijayāditya) <sup>1</sup> The significance of certain incomes, the halves of which were granted to the donee, viz., *kolaguppe peljavasi*, *kānasoppu* and *vāral* is not quite clear. I may suggest, however, that *kolaguppe* may denote a heap (*luppe*) made up of the share due to the state on every *lola* (a measure of capacity) of the produce. *Javasi* may mean a tax in kind on *javasa* (Skt. *yavasa*) meaning meadow grass, *peljavasi* would then be a tax levied on big (meadows of) straw. *Kāna* or *kān* means forest and *soppu* means foliage in Kanarese. *Kānasoppu* may therefore be a tax on the foliage of the forest used by the cultivators for manure and other purposes. In Tamil *vāral* means spoil<sup>2</sup>, and it is not unlikely that it had the same connotation in Kanarese. The words *larsa-pindam*<sup>3</sup> and *kombe-gāṇodam* are obscure and do not occur in any of the Kanarese inscriptions so far published.

The orthography of the record does not call for any remarks except that *-entu* has been engraved for *-entu* in line 15, that the name of the donor is written as *Gōpala*<sup>o</sup> instead of *Gōpālā*<sup>o</sup> in line 16, that *ha* has been written for *hā* in lines 5 and 18 and that there appears to be a superfluous *anusvāra* at the end of the word *padeyam* in line 16. These mistakes are apparently due to the engraver.

The donor of the grant was the Pallava chief Gōpālādēva who also bore the surname Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya (l. 1). It is clear that he belongs to the well-known lineage of the Pallavas as he is twice described as Pallavarāja (ll. 1 and 6) and, as noted above, uses the lion-crest of the Pallavas. The phrase *Kaṅkēya-īamś-ōdbhāv-ōddhata-pradhāna-puruṣa* (l. 2) might only indicate that he was connected with the Kaṅkēyas probably on his mother's side. In line 5 we are told that he was the son of Chandamahāsēna and that he was the lord of the city Payvegundu. The record does not tell us anything more about the donor beyond bestowing some ordinary praise on him. The object of the grant was the equal share (i.e., half) of the village Kāsampalli, (l. 9) along with certain incomes, the details of which are given (ll. 14-16), to Singitale-Panyāra of the Hīṁta-gōtra (l. 8). Similar instances of the endowment of a moiety of the taxes (*ardha-dāna*) also occur in Nos. VI and VIII of the inscriptions of Udiyāvara <sup>4</sup>. As we learn from line 17 that the village had six hundred pieces of land the portion granted must have consisted of three hundred pieces. The grant was made in the presence of the *mantri*, the *purōhita*, the *śrīkarana* the one-thousand and the six-hundred. The last two were probably the *mahājanas* (the Brahmanical Assembly) and either the *nāḍu* (non-Brahmanical Assembly) or the *nagara* of the place. As Kāsampalli appears to be a village it is likely that it did not have the *nagara* or the merchant guild. The reference to such bodies merely by their numbers is not uncommon <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted for this suggestion to Rao Bahadur P. Narasimhachar.

<sup>3</sup> Since *larsa pindam* is specified as 128 it appears to me that it denotes the gift of a lump sum (*pinda*). If so, *karsa* may be taken to be the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *karṣa* (= *karṣhāpaṇa*). *Karsapindam* would then mean the *kārṣapana*s paid in a lump unlike the taxes noted above, of which the donee was to receive a half. This explanation seems to gain strength by the use of a somewhat similar expression in an inscription, of the 11th year of the Chālukya king Pratāpachakravartī Jagadētamalla II (No. 503 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915), the passage runs as — *tanna tolūya manneyaram kānskey āya dāya sarv āya buddhi varsham prati han-neradu gadyanama pinda ādanvāgi oḍambatlu dharu pūrvālam maḍi 1 oḍṭa*. Here the twelve *gadyānas* (gold coin) were granted as a lump sum.

<sup>4</sup> Above Vol. IX, pp. 21 and 23.

<sup>5</sup> An inscription of about the 7th or 8th century at Aihole (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 287) calls the five hundred *mahājanas* of the place as simply the 'five hundred'. The 'mahājanas of Chimehili' in the Gadag Taluka who are stated to be fifty-six in a Rāshtrakūṭa record of Śaka 319 (No. 104 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1926-27) are referred to merely as the 'fifty-six' in another lithic record of the same place (No. 101 of the same collection). Similarly while the one thousand *mahājanas* of Lohigundi are designated as such in an inscription (No. 51 of the same collection) of that place, another inscription (No. 52 of the same collection) describes them as the 'one thousand'.

Till now no Pallava chief was known to have ruled in North Kanara or on the West Coast. Since there is little doubt that Gōpālādēva was only a feudatory chief, it is not likely that he was directly related to the imperial Pallavas of Kāñchī who continued to rule till the Chōla King Āditya I took possession of their territory towards the close of the 9th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The only family that claimed connection with the Pallavas of Kāñchī and is known to have been flourishing in the 8th century was that of the Nolamba-Pallavas. But their sway was then confined to portions of Tumkur and Chitaldroog Districts in Mysore and part of the Anantapur District in the Madras Presidency. Chandamahāsēna, the father of Gōpālādēva figures in this record for the first time. The only Chandamahāsēna known to Epigraphy was a Chāhāvāna and is referred to in an inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 898 from Dhōlpur.<sup>2</sup> A Chandadanda of Kāñchī is, however, known to have been defeated by the Kadamba king Ravivarman in the 6th century.<sup>3</sup>

The Kaikēyas who seem to have given a princess of their family in marriage to Chandamahāsēna of the present record are known to have contracted similar matrimonial alliances with the Ikshvākus<sup>4</sup>, probably of the Telugu country, and the Early Kadambas of Banavāsī. The wife of Krishnavarman I of the Kadamba dynasty was a Kaikēya princess<sup>5</sup> and Mrigēśvaravarman, the brother of Ravivarman was married to Prabhāvatī who "was born in the noble Kaikēya family".<sup>6</sup> On the authority of the Purānas Pargiter places the Kaikēyas in the Panjab<sup>7</sup> but no information is available as to when and how they came to the south.

The record is not dated but, as shown above, it can be assigned on palæographic grounds to the middle of the 8th century. Other internal evidence also supports this view. We know that Satyāśraya was a distinctive and well-known *bnuda* of the Chālukya kings and among the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi there were two kings of the name Vikramāditya. The surname Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya of the donor of the present grant would therefore lead one to infer that either Gōpālādēva himself adopted the name of his overlord the Chālukya Vikramāditya, most probably the second of that name, or that Chandamahāsēna who owed allegiance to the Chālukya king named his son after his suzerain. This grant might therefore either belong to the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733-34 to 746-47, or in the absence of mention of any paramount sovereign it may not be impossible that it was issued at a time when the central authority of the Chālukyas had become weak and, along with other feudatory chiefs, Gōpālādēva also tried to assume independence. The Chālukya power had not only waned towards the end of the reign of Kīrttivarman II, the latest date available for whom is A.D. 757, but a portion of their territory had also been conquered by the Rāshtrakūta king Dantidurga. But it was Krishna I who dispossessed the Chālukyas of all their territory and established the Rāshtrakūta supremacy by 'transforming into a deer the great boar' which was the emblem of the Chālukyas.<sup>8</sup> Since Krishna I must have ceased to rule sometime between 772, the date of his Bhāndak plates<sup>9</sup> and 775, the date of the Pimpri plates of Dhāravarsha,<sup>10</sup> the final overthrow of the Chālukyas may be placed somewhere about 770. Thus our record may have to be allotted to a period between 735 and 770.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. R., 1906-07, p. 239 and above, Vol. XIX, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> No. 12 of Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. But we know of an earlier Chandamahāsēna who was the king of Avanti and father of Vāsavadattī so well known to Sanskrit literature.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 161.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1911, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 264 and 293.

<sup>8</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 391.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. Gōvinda II for whom we have no dated records seems to have ruled only for short time before 775.



Of the places mentioned in the grant Payvegundu can be identified with Haigunda, a village about 12 miles east of Honavar, on the bank of the river Śārāvati. Peramale has probably to be identified with the modern village Heravali which lies at a distance of about six miles north-west of Haigunda, and Tanvalli may be the same as the present Tumboli, also close to Haigunda.

## TEXT.

## First Plate

- 1 ॐ Svasti [I\*] Vikramāditya-Satyāsraya-śrī-prithuvī(thvī)-vallabha Palla-  
 2 va-rāja-Gōpāladēvasya Kaikēya-vamś-ōdbhav-ōddhata-pradhāna-pu-  
 3 rushasya anēka-guna-gan-ālamkṛita-prasēvyā-Lakshmī-nivā-  
 4 sa-vaksha-sṭhalsaya anēka-rana-vipula-śatru-jana-prabhāñjana-ka-  
 5 ri-kar-ākāra-bāhu-dvayasya Chandamaha(ā)sēna-putrasya Payve-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 6 gundu-pur-ēsvarasya Pallava-rājēna dattah<sup>1</sup> [I\*] Mantri-purōhita-śrīkara-  
 7 namum sāsuvvarum arunūvvarum salitam tamra prasāda-paran=a-  
 8 pponge Ārida(Hārita)-gōtrajange Simgitale-Panyārange Kāsampa-  
 9 llyā sama-bhāgamān chandra-sūryar=ullappinam sarvva-viruddha-ra-  
 10 hitam Gōpāladēva[r\*] kottar bhukt-ānubhuktam salutt-īdudu [I\*]

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 Mane dānamum Palage-gantam modal-āge kalaniyum vadagaṇṇā sime  
 12 Peramale paduvannā sime Tanvalli Gārapāli tenkannā sime  
 13 Neydalgerēyā ēri mūdānnā sime Idevettadā vadaga-  
 14 nnā nīriraga ॐ Kolaguppe peljavasi ardham kānasoppin=ardham  
 15 vāral=ardham karsa pindam nūr-irpatt-entu(ntu) kombe gāroḍam pa-

## Third Plate

- 16 deyam mentu(entu) mūde jamali ondu ॐ Idu Gōpa(ā)ladēvarā da-  
 17 tti itan-param=idān=alivōr ī arunūru bhūmi agra-  
 18 ha(ā)ramum Vāranāsiyumān=īdiorā lōkakke salvār [I\*]

## TRANSLATION

Lines 1-6 Hail ' This is the gift of the Pallava chief Gōpāladēva alias Vikramāditya-Satyāsraya, who was the favourite of Fortune and Earth, the chief among the exalted personages born of the Kaikēya family, who was adorned with a multitude of virtues and whose breast was the abode of the (goddess) Lakshmī, who had a pair of arms which resembled the elephant's trunk in shape and which had destroyed the hosts of enemies in several battles, who was the son of Chandamahāsēna and the lord of the city of Payvegundu.

Ll 6-10 Gōpāladēva, attended by his minister, the purōhita (family priest), the Śrīkarana (officer of Accounts), the one-thousand (mahājanas) and the six-hundred (vāḍu) granted, free from all opposition, to Simgitale-Panyāra of the Hārita-gōtra who had earned his (Gōpāladēva's) favour the equal share (i.e., half) of the village Kāsampalli (to be enjoyed) as long as the sun and the moon exist (This estate) was in (his) continued enjoyment.

<sup>1</sup> Read Pallava-rājasya dattah

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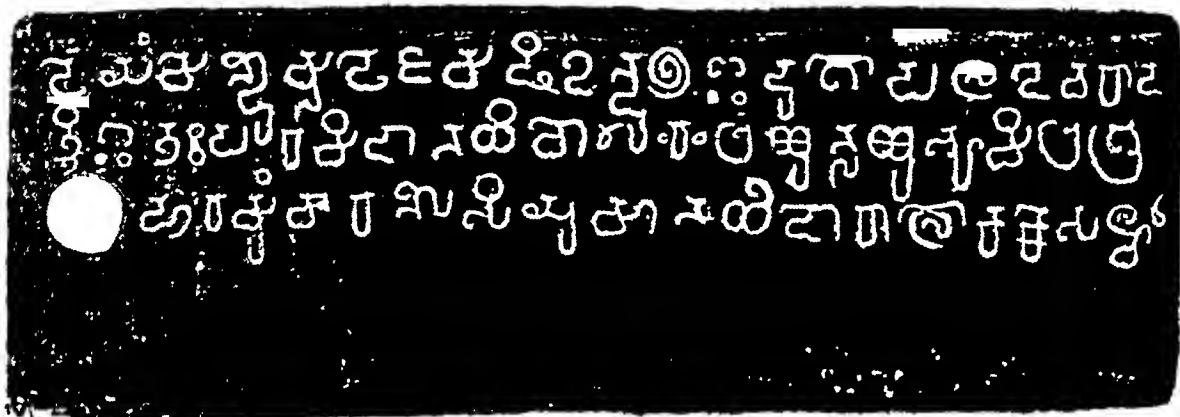
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SEAL



THREE TIMES THE ACTUAL SIZE

Ll 11-14 (*The portion granted was as follows*) —The house site and the rice fields beginning from (*the place called*<sup>1</sup>) Palage-ganta The northern boundary (*of this was*) the (*village*) Peramale, the western boundary (*consisted of the villages*) Tanvali and Gārapāli, the southern boundary (*was*) the embankment of the (*tank called*) Neydalgere and the eastern boundary (*was*) the lake on the north of (*the hill called*) Idevetta

Ll 14-16 (*Besides this*) he was granted one half of the incomes *kolaguppe*<sup>1</sup> and *peljavasi*, one-half of *kāna-soppu* and one-half of *vāral* and a lump sum of one hundred and twenty eight *harsa* (= *kārshāpana* <sup>2</sup>) and a pair of eight *mūdes*

Ll 16-18 This was the gift of Gōpālādēva He who destroys this will enter the world of those who destroy this *agrahāra* comprising six hundred lands and Benares

## No 30—TWO UNPUBLISHED VALABHI GRANTS

By D B DISKATKAR, M A

### A —Bantia Plates of Dharasēna II [Valabhī-] Samvat 257

While examining the old records of the Watson Museum, Rājkot, I found two impressions of two plates of a Valabhī grant hitherto unpublished On the cover of the impressions the late Mr Vallabhji H Acharya, formerly Curator of the Watson Museum, had made the remark that the impressions were given to him by a vernacular school master of the village Bantia, in the Bāntwā *talukā* in the south-west of Kāthiāwār, in 1904 It seems that the late Mr Acharya was not successful in obtaining the original plates My efforts to trace them have not yet been successful But considering the importance of the inscription I think it proper to publish it here with the help of the impressions only

Unfortunately the impressions were not properly taken and being kept in the files for the last 22 years the paper has become very fragile It is clear, however, that the two plates were in a perfect state of preservation, and formed a complete grant Each plate measures 12½" by 8" and contains two holes meant for the rings The first plate contains 17 and the second 15 lines of writing

The characters are those usually used in Valabhī grants As regards orthography it is sufficient to note that the name of the grantor king is spelt as Dharsēna (l 15) instead of Dharasēna as is usually found in the grants The symbols of *Jihvāmūliya* and *Upadhīmānīya* are used only once in l 15 and l 30 respectively The word *bhuktā* (or *dattā* as in some grants) is left to be engraved after *bahubhūrasvasudhā* in l 30 The record is however generally free from mistakes

The record opens with the name of the place, viz, Valabhī from which the grant was issued Then as usual the genealogy of the Maitraka family from Bhatārka, the founder, to Dharasēna II, the donor of the present grant is given with poetical description of each ruler, which is identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasēna II The donee is a Brāhmana named Dēva-datta, of Śāndilya-gōtra and Maitrāyaṇīya-Śākhā (l 20) <sup>3</sup> The property granted consists of a village named Bhattaka- (or Bhadraka) patra (dra <sup>2</sup>) in the northern part (*uttarapallē*) of Kaundinyapura in the Surāshtras (ll 11, 17, 18). The purpose for which the grant was made is, as usual with grants to Brāhmanas, for the maintenance of the five sacrifices' rites (l 20) The names of officers (ll 15-16) who were addressed by the grantor king as also the privileges (ll 18-19) accompanying the enjoyment of the grant are the same as in the grant of Dharasēna of Sam

<sup>1</sup> For the explanation of these terms see above p 176.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of *loms gārodam* is not clear

<sup>3</sup> The place of residence of the Brāhmanā is not mentioned

252<sup>1</sup> The grant was written by Skandabhata, the minister for peace and war (l 31), and the Dūtaka was Chirbbira (l 32) The date of the grant is the **fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaisākha of (the Gupta-Valabhī) Samvat 254** (l 32) when there was a solar eclipse (*Sūry-ōparāga* l 22)

Both the Dūtaka and the writer in this grant are the same as in the seven grants<sup>2</sup> of Dhara-sēna II of Sam 252 In his grant of Sam 269 however the Dūtaka was a different person

As regards the localities mentioned in the grant it is well known that Valabhī is modern Valā in Kāthiāwār The village of Kaundinyapura can be identified with Kodinār in south Kāthiāwār The village Bhattakapat(d)ra in the Surāshtras cannot be identified

Of Dhara-sēna II as many as twelve grants are known seven<sup>3</sup> of these are of Sam 252, one<sup>4</sup> of Sam 269, two<sup>5</sup> of Sam 270 and the remaining two<sup>6</sup> being fragmentary do not give the dates The most interesting point about the date of the present grant is the mention of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaisākha in Sam 254 Though as many as 9 grants were issued by Valabhī kings on the *amāvāsya* day (mostly on the *amāvāsya* of Vaisākha), it is only this grant that makes mention of a solar eclipse It is also probably the earliest mention of an eclipse in an epigraphical record According to Mr L D Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol I, part I, pp 220 f) there was a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra (i e, Vaisākha according to the *Pūrnimānta* calculation) on 19th March 573 A D which may be taken to be the date of the grant

### TEXT

#### First Plate

1 ओ सखि [१] वलभीतः प्रसभ-<sup>7</sup> . . . . .

15 पाथिवश्रीः परमसाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजधर्मेन्द्रशर्मा सवर्निवायुताक . . .

. . . . .

17 . . . . . वासये सुराङ्गेषु

#### Second Plate

18 कौण्डिन्य[पुर]उत्तरपट्टे मङ्कपत्र(द्र)ग्रामस्रोद्वज्ज . . . . .

20 मैत्रायणिकासम्रज्जचारिशिखण्डित्यसर्गोन्नतान्नपदेवदत्ताय बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रा-  
तिथिपंचमहायाज्ञिका-

21 ना क्रियाणां समुत्सर्ग्यार्थमाचन्द्रार्कौर्णवसरिचि(ति)समकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रा-  
न्वयसौम्यः पूर्व-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol XI, p 80

<sup>2</sup> See n 3

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vols ΔV, p 187, VII, p 68, VIII, p 301, XIII, p 160, *Skt and Pkt Insors of Kathiawad*, p 85, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol IV, pp 38 ff and Above Vol XI, p 80

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol VI, p 9

<sup>5</sup> *I B B R A S*, Vol I (N S), p 66, *Ind Ant*, Vol VII, p 70

<sup>6</sup> *I B B R A S*, Vol I (N S), pp 24 and 21

<sup>7</sup> As the text is practically identical with that of the Palitana grant of Sam 252 (Above, Vol XI, p 80) only the most important portion is given here It may be noted that the names of Bhatārka, Drōgasimha, Dhruva sēna, Dhara-pāda and Guhasēna, are recorded in the lines 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 12 respectively

<sup>8</sup> Read चरसेन

22 भुज्यमान[वृत्त्येन] सूर्योपरगि उदकसर्गण ब्रह्मदेयो निवृष्टः . .

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31 दिभिः [1<sup>\*</sup>] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ।  
विहित सन्निविष्टाधिष्ठितस्तन्दभटेन ॥

32 खल्लो मम महाराजश्रीधरसेनस्य ॥ दू चिन्मिर. स २०० ५० ४ ।  
वैशख<sup>२</sup> व १० ५ ॥

**B—Bhavnagar plates of Dharasena III—[Valabhi-] Samvat 304**

Prof B K Thakore, B A, I E S (retired), kindly gave me information of the plates edited here, which are lying with a grain merchant named Dīpasang Kānāji in Bhāvnagar in Kāthiāwād. Through the good offices of Prof Narasimhaprasād Bhatta of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti Bhavan, Bhāvnagar and other friends I have been able to purchase them from the owner.

The plates are two in number each measuring 12½" × 8½". They contain 24 and 20 lines of writing respectively, which is in an excellent state of preservation. Each plate contains two holes as are commonly found with Valabhī plates and meant for the insertion of copper rings holding both the plates together. But both the rings, one of which must have contained the usual Valabhī seal, are missing. The characters are those usually found in Valabhī grants. They are neatly engraved though not in perfect straight lines. The writing is almost free from mistakes. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

At the beginning of the record is mentioned the military camp, Khēṭaka-*pradvāra* from which the grant was issued by Dharasēna III, the son of Kharagraha, who was the younger brother of Śilāditya. The introductory portion containing the description of each ruler from Bhatārka, the founder of the family, to Dharasēna III, the donor of the grant, is practically identical with that in the grant of Dhruvasēna II of Sam 310<sup>3</sup>. The grantor king bears only the epithet *paramamāhēśvara*. The donee is a Brāhmana named Mitrayāsa, son of Brāhmana Vishnuyāsa, of Ātrēya-gūṭra and a follower of Atharva-Vēda, resident of Hastavapra. The property granted to him recorded in the grant consists of the following—

(1) 100 *pādārtas* of land called Kōḷikā, ploughed by Kutumbī Gōmīyaka and situated in the north-west quarter in the village Amākārakūpa in the Hastavapra-*āhāra* in the Surāshtrā<sup>4</sup>-*vishaya*. The boundaries of the field are to the south, the village cattle-track, to the west, the junction of the boundary of the village Chūtikā (with that of the village Amākārakūpa), to the east,<sup>5</sup> the rising ground of a stone quarry (and) to the north, the field called Pālāsika (?) of the Kutumbins Chārabhataka and Chandravaka, as well as the field belonging to Karīraka in the north of the Rōhidaka *māla* adjoining the Arishtajikā-*sthalī*.

(2) A ploughed field of Kutumbī Kapardiyaka in the north-west quarter in the village Dabhaka in the Kālāpaka-*pathaka*. It lies to the west of the field Avakrishtī (2 e ,

<sup>1</sup> The usual imprecatory verses and injunctions

<sup>2</sup> Read वैशख

<sup>3</sup> It is well known that in grants beginning with and later than the year 286 the names of the rulers between Bhatārka and Guhasēna are dropped. See above, Vol XI, p 175 and J. B B R A S (N S), Vol I, p 24.

<sup>4</sup> The word is generally used in the masculine but in a few cases it is used in the feminine as in the present case. Cf. above Vol XVII, p 108.

<sup>5</sup> It may be seen that the boundaries are not given in the proper order.

unploughable land<sup>1</sup>), to the north of the field of Khuddaka, to the east of the field of Nannuvaka, (and) to the south of the junction of the boundary of the village Bhadāsaka (with that of the village Dabhaka)

(3) In the same village in its south-east quarter an irrigation well with an area of eighteen *pādāvaritas*, dug by Kutumbī Kapardiya of the same village. It lies to the west of the field irrigated by (*prachchihā*) the Khajjūri well, to the north of the field of Sōssaka and a canal, to the east of the play-ground (and) to the south of the old way by the side of Dabhaka.

(4) Similarly, in the village Hastihridaka in the *Sīrīvātākāka-sthalī* in its southern quarter seventy superfluous (*ulbana*) *pādāvaritas* of the field of Kutumbī Nāgūlaka, to the west of (the temple of ?) Śāṅkarikā (i.e., goddess Bhavānī) built by the villagers, to the north of the field of Khachchabbaya, to the east of the junction of the boundary of Sauviraka, to the south of the limit of the field irrigated by (*prachchihā*) the well called Sīridraha.

The Dūtaka, who executed the grant was the prince *Sāmanta* Śīlāditya and it was written by Vattrabhadda, the chief secretary and the minister for peace and war.

The record concludes with the date the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha of (Gupta-Valabhī) Samvat 304 and the sign-manual (of the king)

The historical importance of the inscription lies in the fact that no date was hitherto found between Samvat 292,<sup>1</sup> the latest date of Śīlāditya I and 310,<sup>2</sup> the earliest date of Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya. Although we know that two rulers (*viz.*, Kharagraha (I) and Dharasēna III) had ruled in the intervening period no record was so far found of either of them. The present grant gives us a record and a date for one of these rulers<sup>3</sup> and partly fills up the gap existing between Sam 292 and 310.

The Dūtaka of the present grant, *viz.*, *Sāmanta* Śīlāditya, is the same as is found in the earlier grants of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya. The writer Vattrabhadda is mentioned in the grants of Śīlāditya-Dharmāditya beginning with the year 286 and also in the grants of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya at least up to the year 313. From Sam 320 to 330 his son Skandabhata succeeded him as the keeper of records and writer of grants and from 334 to 365 Ananila the son of Skandabhata. We know that another Skandabhata (probably the father of Vattrabhadda) was the writer of the later grants of Guhasēna beginning with the year 246 and in all the grants of Dharasēna II from 252 to 270 just before Vattrabhadda. The office was thus held by four generations in this family for at least 120 years.

The following places are mentioned in the record. *Surāshtrā* mentioned as a *visaya*, *Hastavapra* mentioned as an *āhāra*, *Kālāpaka* mentioned as a *pathaka*, *Suāvātākāka* and *Arish-tijukā*, mentioned as *sthalis* and *Amākarakūpa*, *Dabhaka*, *Bhadāsaka*, *Hastihridaka* and *Chūtikā* all these mentioned as villages. Of these *Surāshtrā* is the old name of the Kāthiāwār peninsula. Though in later times and at the present day Soratha denotes only the southern part of Kāthiāwār, it appears that eastern Kāthiāwār was once included in *Surāshtra* since *Hastavapra*, which is modern Hāthab<sup>4</sup> in Bhāvnagar State is said to be in *Surāshtrī*. *Kālāpaka*

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp 117 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant.*, Vol VI, p 12

<sup>3</sup> Very recently Mr. Gadhre, the present Curator of the Rajkot Museum has discovered a grant of Kharagraha dated Sam 297 of *Ann Rep Watson Mus* 1931 32, p 7

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant.*, Vol LIV App p 40

which is mentioned in the grants of Sam 310 and 326 and perhaps also of 286 is modern Kālāvāda, 60 miles north-west of Porbandar <sup>1</sup> The other places cannot be identified

The expression Khūtaka-*pradvāra* seems to denote that the king had probably encamped just outside (*pradvāra*) the city of Khūtaka The use of the word *pradvāra* is also found used in connection with Valabhī itself, the capital of the dynasty, in the Dhānk<sup>2</sup> grant of the year 290 as विजयस्कन्धावाराहलभोप्रहारहोम्रवासकात् It is also found used in a Gurjara grant<sup>3</sup> of Śaka 417 as भरुकच्छप्रहारवासकात् In fact, the use of *pradvāra* in the ancient grants would appear to be analogous to that of the modern *parā* which is added to the names of several towns in Kāthiāwār to indicate the preinets or suburbs in the vicinity

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराहलभोप्रहारवासकात्प्रसमप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलव-  
लसपन्नमण्डलामोगससत्प्रहार<sup>4</sup>

#### Second Plate

- 25 निखिलप्रतिपक्षदण्डोदय. स्वधनु.प्रभावपरिमृतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानः सकलनृपतिमण्डला-  
मिन्दितशासन. पर-
- 26 ममाहेश्वर. श्रीधरसेन X कुशली सर्वानिव यथासंवध्यमानकान्समाजापयत्यस्तु वो  
विदित यथा मया मातापित्री
- 27 पुण्याप्यायनाय हस्तवप्रवास्तुव्याधेयसगोत्रार्थव्युत्पन्नसन्निवारिणे ब्राह्मणविष्णुयशःपुत्र-  
ब्राह्मणमित्रयशसे सु-
- 28 राट्राविषये हस्तवप्राहारे अमाकारकूपग्रामे पूर्वोत्तरसीमि गोमित्यकाकुटुम्बिष्ठ-  
कोलिकाचेत्रपादावर्तयत यस्यावाटनानि
- 29 दक्षिणेन ग्रामगोसरपथः अपरतश्चूटिकाग्रामसीमासन्धिः पूर्वतः पाप्यास्थलिकाम-  
स्तक(कं) उत्तरेण चौरमटकचन्द्रवकाकुटुम्बिचेत्र
- 30 पालशिकं तथा अरिष्टिज्जिकास्थलीप्रत्यासन्नरोहिडकमालादुत्तरतः करीरकसत्काचेत्रं २  
तथा कालापकपथके उभयग्रामे
- 31 उत्तरापरसीमाया कपटि(हिं)यकाकुटुम्बिष्ठसीता अवकापिचेत्रादपरतः खुडुकाचेत्रा-  
दुत्तरतः नण्डुवकाचेत्रात्पूर्वतः मडासका-
- 32 सीमासन्धेर्दक्षिणतः तथात्रैव ग्रामे पूर्वदक्षिणसीमि कुटुम्बिकपट्टिकाट(कर्तृ)काकृष्टा  
अष्टादशपादावर्तपरिसरा वीपी-खजूरि [वीपी]

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p 18

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol IX, p 237

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, Vol XVIII, p 82

<sup>4</sup> For the portion ll 2 24 omitted here as being common with other Valabhi plates of above, Vol VIII, pp 190 ff, 196 ff



- 33 प्रवीताया[<sup>१</sup>] अपरत' गोष्ककनेचवतादुत्तरत' रीत्तपाव्या-प्रर्वत' उभकात्रे पुगण-  
कागसिजार्गादृच्छित्त. तथा सो[रादा]टाका[क]
- 34 स्वया चित्तर दकथाम दत्तिगमीति नागिगकाकुदुस्विनेचोन्वयापोदावर्ता सप्तति.  
गामीगनिर्भित्तगगिवाय्या[परत]
- 35 रयचयचैत्रादुत्तरत. सौदीरकगीसामन्वे. पृथ्वत. सैरिद्रवापीप्रदीचामर्यादाया  
दत्तिगत' गवसतद् सोदृत्त'
- 42 नञ्जे वरित् ॥ दृतकोच राजपुत्र सामन्तगीनादित्य. ॥ निमित्त चेदं मन्वि-  
विगताधिष्ठितदिविरपतिवच द्विना ॥ स ३०० ४
- 43 साध ग ७ स्वस्ती सम १

#### NO. 11.—THE PALLAVARAYANPLETHI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II

By V. V. KARASUBIA B.A., Madras

The inscription\* published below is engraved on the south wall of the temple in front of the central shrine in the Sundaravar temple at Pallavarayanpēttai near Mayavaram in the Tanjore district. It is in a fair state of preservation though the inscribed surface is broken in certain portions and especially in ll 9 and 10, thereby slightly obscuring the sense of the record. Some of the words lost can, however, be restored from the context.

The record is written in the Tamil language and is of the 12th century A.D. Orthographical peculiarities are very few. Some of the words used in the inscription, however, deserve to be noticed. The word *Kōṭṭu* (l 6) may be rendered as 'the palace establishment,' *ṭōṭṭu* meaning 'palace' and *ṭōṭṭu* 'division' or 'establishment'.<sup>2</sup> The word *ṭōṭṭu* (l 6) may be explained as 'the body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace.' The first part of the compound names 'the others' are attached to the inner circle, in which sense the word, however, has no object. The significance of the term *ṭōṭṭu* (l 6) is not quite clear from the context it seems to denote 'a division' or 'a department'. In this sense it lingers to the present day in masons' vocabulary. *Muṭṭu* (l 7) may be taken to denote the class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution. The word *ṭōṭṭu* (l 21), not ordinarily found in inscriptions, means 'a married woman'. The term *ṭōṭṭu* (l 25) may be explained as 'an extract from the tax-register issued by the State to a person for the actual enjoyment of a grant'. The *ṭōṭṭu* documents are invariably used over the signatures of the revenue officers of the State.

The inscription is dated in the eighth year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājakōsari-varman Rājādhiraṇḍēva (II) and begins with the words '*ṭōṭṭu*,' etc., which usually introduce this monarch in his inscriptions. The object of the record is the grant of an *ṭōṭṭu*

\* The portion ll 36-41 contains the usual privilege accompanying the gift of a land and the impracatory verse.

<sup>2</sup> Registered as No. 133 of 1924 in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24. The inscription is noticed in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 57, but the readings and the interpretation given there require great alteration.

<sup>3</sup> [The word means also 'a household' or 'family' see Wanslow's Tamil English Dictionary.—C. R. K.]

regarding the estate of Tiruchchirambalam-Udayān Perumānambī *alias* Pallavarāyar of Kāriṅai-Kuḷattūr, which had been made tax-free on his death. In giving an account of this Pallavarāyar, who appears to have been a trusted officer of Rājārāja II, the inscription recounts his services to the crown in connection with the Chōla succession and the Singhalese invasion of South India in the latter half of the 12th century A D

The record, which is mainly historical in character, may be divided into three sections. In the first are stated the circumstances under which Pallavarāyar brought in Rājādhirāja II and placed him on the throne, in the second, the help rendered by the Chōla king to the Pāṇḍya refugee Kulaśākhara, Pallavarāyar's victory over the Singhalese army and the restitution of Madura to Kulaśākhara are detailed at length, and in the third section, are recorded the demise of Pallavarāyar, the grant of tax-free lands to his relatives and their distribution among them by Vēdavanam-Udayān Ammayappaṇ *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ and the final grant of an *uḷṭari* for this, signed by royal officers.

From the inscription, we are given to understand that the Chōla king Rājārāja II having had no male issue for a long time, the question as to who should succeed him came up for consideration and the king himself selected Edirili-Perumāḷ, the son of Neṅṅudai-Perumāḷ and the grandson of Vikramaśōḷadēvar, residing at Gaṅgaikondaśōḷapuram, and appointed him as his successor by investing him with the crown. However, soon after making this selection, Rājārāja II had two sons born to himself, but before any arrangements could be made for their succession, the king passed away. At the time of the king's demise his sons (*pillaigal*)<sup>1</sup> were aged one and two years respectively and the minister Pallavarāyar escorted them to Rājārājapuram along with the harem<sup>2</sup> from the stronghold at Āvirattai. Then in accordance with the original intention of the departed king this officer placed on the throne Edirili-Perumāḷ<sup>3</sup> under the title Rājādhirāja (II) with the consent of the *udai-ḷṭṭam* and the *nādu* in the fourth year of installation<sup>4</sup>. Since the inscription is damaged at this portion, more information is not available about the prince selected

<sup>1</sup> The common term *pillaigal* is to be interpreted here as 'male children', because in this inscription daughters are clearly distinguished as *pen mallaḷ* (l. 21).

- [If the daughter of Pallavarāyar, who is described as 'the wife of Rājārājādēva with her sons' (l. 26) and to whom by far the largest share of his property has been allotted in this inscription (as many as 8 out of 40 *uḷṭis* of land), is the same as the queen who bore two sons to Rājārāja II in the last three years of his life, we can understand how Pallavarāyar could obtain the control of the harem and household of the late king. His tactful removal of the king's infant sons (probably his own grandchildren) to a place of safety and his helping the former king's successor designate to the throne during their minority must have been prompted alike by his anxiety for the safety and good government of the realm as by personal considerations for his own daughter and grandchildren.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> There could have been no grounds for resentment since only a member of the elder branch of the royal family was chosen for the throne.

<sup>3</sup> No. 337 of 1914 from Madattukōyil in the Pudukōṭṭai State belonging to Rājādhirāja II gives the date '2nd year, Makara 7, Monday, Śvātī', corresponding to A D 1162, December 3, Monday. Prof. Kielhorn has fixed the date of accession of this king between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A D. According to the present inscription, Rājādhirāja II was invested with the crown over three years earlier, i.e., in 1160-61 A D. His second year, therefore, would be 1161-62 and the Madattukōyil grant was probably issued while Rājādhirāja was a crown prince. A record from Punganūr in the Cuddalore district (No. 209 of 1931-32) gives the date '14th year which was equal to the 12th year of Rājādhirājādēva', thus counting the date from the time of his nomination.

[There are, however, three other inscriptions (Nos. 571 of 1907, *above* Vol. X, p. 127, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) the dates of which work regularly for the year 1166 A D as the first year of Rājādhirāja II's reign, on the other hand there is at least one record (No. 96 of 1920) according to which Rājārāja II was ruling till 25th December 1163 A D, i.e., about 8 months subsequent to the date of his successor's accession as fixed by Kielhorn. The resulting confusion can possibly be cleared up by future discoveries.—Ed.]

Though Rājārāja II had no sons at the time he selected Edirili-Perumāl to succeed him, it is clear from the inscription that he did not die without leaving an heir apparent to the throne. Since it is said that the princes were one and two years old respectively at the time of Rājārāja's demise, when Edirili-Perumāl was crowned king as Rājādhirāja, they must have been 17 and 18 years old respectively and therefore fit to assume the reins of government in A.D. 1178, which was the last year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II and the year of accession of his successor Kulōttunga Chōla III. It is, therefore, likely that Kulōttunga Chōla III was one of the two sons of Rājārāja II and that during the former's minority,<sup>1</sup> Rājādhirāja II was brought in to rule the Chōla country. The fact that the inscriptions of Rājārāja II and those of Kulōttunga Chōla III commence with the identical eulogistical expressions 'Pū maruṇiya' and 'Puyal-āṇṇu,' etc., also lends support to this view.

After crowning Edirili Perumāl under the title Rājādhirāja, the next service of Pallavarāvar to the Chōla kingdom was in connection with the war of the Pāṇḍya succession<sup>2</sup> waged by the two rival claimants Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulāśkhara-Pāṇḍya for the throne of Madura. The inscription states that the forces of Ceylon entered the Pāṇḍya country in large numbers and forced its king Kulāśkhara to leave his territory, whereupon this king is said to have sought the shelter of the Chōla king, entreating him to get back his kingdom. Pallavarāvar undertook to lead the Chōla army into the Pāṇḍya country, to restore Kulāśkhara to the throne, to decapitate the Singhalese commanders and nail their heads on the gates of Madura<sup>3</sup> so as to inspire terror in the enemy's camp. Kulāśkhara<sup>4</sup> is stated to have stayed in the Chōla country for some time before he started with the necessary forces to win back his kingdom. Pallavarāvar carried out all his undertakings and as a result of his invasion the Singhalese forces were driven out of India and Kulāśkhara was installed on the throne of his forefathers.

Only three other records of Rājādhirāja II refer to this war, viz., one from Ārpāl-kam<sup>5</sup> in the Chingleput district, dated in the 5th year, another from Tiruvālgāṇḍu<sup>6</sup> near Madras, dated in the 12th year, and the third from Tirumayānam<sup>7</sup> in the Tanjore district, dated also in the 12th year.

<sup>1</sup> Copper plate No. 23 of 1916-17 which belongs to Rājārāja II as the ruler of the Vengi country couples the Śalā year 1091 (= A.D. 1169) with the 23rd regnal year. We know that Rājārāja II was not alive in A.D. 1169 and that the Chōla country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here as a continuation of Rājārāja's reign. Inevitably, however, we see from the record that the Chōla hold on the Vengi country was not lost even after the death of Rājārāja II, whose very rule over this part of the country was doubted (*A.R.* for 1917, para. 26).

<sup>2</sup> *A.R.* No. 173 of 1908, also *I.R.* for 1909, para. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *A.R.* No. 154 of 1907. For similar commencement with the introduction of predecessors, see *A.R.* for 1913, para. 33, and *A.R.* for 1924, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> This war is detailed at length in chapters 76 and 77 of the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* and its authenticity is borne out by inscriptional evidence. The chronicle is one-sided in its version, inasmuch as it assigns victory to the Singhalese general, but from Tamil lithic records we find that the Singhalese general was not only routed but that the heads of this general and of his subordinates were cut off and nailed to the gates of Madura by the Chōla general. The help that the Pāṇḍya king Kulāśkhara received from Rājādhirāja II is mentioned at considerable length in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, which fact is also corroborated by the present record.

<sup>5</sup> Such grueesome acts are not uncommon in the warfare of the Tamils (see *S.I.I.*, Vol. III pp. 37 and 68).

<sup>6</sup> In this connection it may be noted that Kulāśkhara sought help from his uncle, the Kongu king Kulōttunga Chōla, who also seems to have taken an active part in the restitution of his nephew to the Pāṇḍya throne (*A.R.* No. 336 of 1928). The *Mahāvaṃsa* also corroborates the help received by Kulāśkhara from the king of Kongu. The chronicle states that 'Kulāśkhara gathered together the forces of Tirunelveli and those also of his mother's brethren which were at Ton Kongu and Vada Kongu' (Wijesinha's translation p. 245).

<sup>7</sup> No. 20 of 1899 of the Madras Epigraphical collection and *S.I.I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, p. 188 ff.

<sup>8</sup> No. 465 of 1905 of the same collection.

<sup>9</sup> No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection.

These epigraphs confirm and supplement the information given in our record and are, therefore, valuable sources for the history of this war, our knowledge of which, in the absence of any reference to it in Tamil literature, has been hitherto wholly based on the one-sided account of the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*. In this war the two Chōla generals that took prominent part were, Pallavarāyar mentioned in our present record, and after him, Vēdavanam-Udayān Ammaiappan *alias* Annan Pallavarāyan, the officer who distributed the lands among the former's relatives. After detailing the events recorded in the present inscription, the Tiruvālangādu epigraph sets forth that Vēdavanam-Udayān Ammaiappan *alias* Annan Pallavarāyan counter-acted the subsequent machinations of the Singhalese king. Finding that his attempts to place Vira-Pāndya on the Pāndya throne were frustrated by the intervention of the Chōla king and that his own generals were defeated and killed, the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu<sup>1</sup> mobilised his forces in his camps at Ūrātturai,<sup>2</sup> Pulaichchēri,<sup>3</sup> Mātōttam,<sup>4</sup> Vallikāmam,<sup>5</sup> Mattivāl<sup>6</sup> and other places and was busy preparing his ships for a naval attack. Hearing of this, the Chōla king summoned Śrīvallabha,<sup>7</sup> the nephew of the king of Ceylon and a previous claimant to the throne of Īlam, supplied him with what was necessary and helped him to enter Ūrātturai, Vallikāmam, Mattivāl and other places with large forces with the result that Pulaichchēri, Mātōttam and other villages were destroyed, the elephants stationed therein were captured, more than 20 *kādam* of land in extent from east to west and 30 *kādam* of land from south to north in Īla-mandalam was devastated, and among the Singhalese chiefs that were stationed in the region, some were killed and others taken captive. The general Vēdavanam-Udayān Ammaiappan *alias* Annan Pallavarāyan then sent for these captives, the booty and the captured elephants and presented them to the Chōla king.

At this stage, the Tiruvālangādu inscription states that the Pāndya king Kulaśēkhara, ignoring the good done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Īlam and conspired with him against the Chōlas. In furtherance of this policy, he drove to the north of the river Vellīru the Chōla generals Rājarāja-Karkudiyarāyan, Rājagambhīra-Añjukōttanādālvān and others that were

<sup>1</sup> Parākramabāhu (A D 1163-1186), the greatest ruler of Ceylon, is remembered chiefly for his activities in building cities, constructing and restoring large tanks and for his imperialistic attempts to extend his authority over Southern India. There is a statue of this king, carved on a rock at Polonnaruwa.

<sup>2</sup> Ūrātturai is now known by the Dutch name Kayts and is situated on an island to the west of Jaffna. In Singhalese works the place is called Hūrā (or Ūrā) tōta and in the *Mahāvamsa* it is referred to by the name Sūkaratittha. It was an important port in the time of Parākramabāhu.

<sup>3</sup> Pulaichchēri is the same as Pulaceeri of the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch 83, V 17).

<sup>4</sup> Mātōttam is the Mahātuttha of the Pāli chronicles. In Tamil inscriptions it is called Rājarājapuram (S I I (Texts), Vol IV, Nos 1412 and 1414). It is now known as Māntai or Tiruklōdisvaram and is situated about 6 miles to the east of Mannar. There was a temple called Rājarāja Īsvarattu Mahadēva in this village (A R for 1913, para 21).

<sup>5</sup> Vallikāmam may be identified with Valikāmam about 5 miles to the south east of Mannar. The village is called Vālikagāma in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch 83, V 17).

<sup>6</sup> Mattivāl may be identified with Mattuvil, a village about 10 miles to the east of Jaffna. A sea port of this name is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch 60, V 34).

<sup>7</sup> The assistance rendered by Śrī Vallabha to the Chōla king is not noticed in the *Mahāvamsa*. In the Tiruvālangādu inscription it is clearly stated that Śrī Vallabha was the nephew (*marumagan*) of the Singhalese king. He was the son of princess Mittā, sister of Parākramabāhu (see genealogical table facing page 59, *Ep Zeylonica*, Vol II). His father Mānābharana was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon, and before the latter ascended the throne, there was a protracted struggle between the two claimants for sovereignty. Mānābharana was in the end worsted, but his son does not seem to have been reconciled to the conqueror. It may be said that the Jaffna kings had been the allies of the Chōla emperors and so, when help was needed, Śrī Vallabha readily embraced the opportunity. It is not certain whether Śrī Vallabha went to the assistance of the Chōla king with the connivance of Parākramabāhu. It cannot also be affirmed whether the treachery of Kulaśēkhara, which stands unexplained in the inscriptions, is in any way to be traced to Śrī Vallabha.



in charge of this village, but it is not certain if he was in any way related to the Pallavarāyar of our record Jayankondasōla-mandalam and Gangaikondasōla-puram are well known to Tamil epigraphy Āyirattalī was a quarter of Niyamam, a village situated close to Palamānērī in the Tanjore district The village is also mentioned in the 'Virasōhīyam' of Buddhāmītra and mentioned as 'a place of thousand temples' Rājādhīrājan-Kulattūr probably formed a portion of the present village Pallavarāyanpēttai which is known in inscriptions as Kulattūr and must have been called Pallavarāyanpēttai later to perpetuate the name of the Chōla general Virudarājabhayankara-valanāu was evidently named after the surname 'Virudarājabhayankara' of Kulōttunga-Chōla I<sup>1</sup>

## TEXT

- 1 Svastī śrī [||\*] Kadal-śūlnda Pār-mādarum Pū-mādarum=Kalai-mādarum=adal-śūlnda Pōr-mādaruñ=Chīr-mādarum [amarndu-vāla]<sup>2</sup>
- 2 nār kadal-śūl puvi-ēlum pār-kadal-pōl<sup>3</sup> pugāl parappa ādiyugamm=en[na]<sup>4</sup> śōdmudī punaindarulī aru-śamayamum
- 3 aim-būdamum neriyil nūru pārippat<sup>5</sup>-Te[n\*]navaruñ=Chēralaruñ<sup>6</sup> [Śīngala]ru=mudalāya man[navargal] tī[rai] śumandu van[d=iraiñji] śē[vippa]<sup>7</sup>ūlī śēngōl eḷu-p[ā]rum=inid=alippach=chem=po vī-
- 4 ra-simhāsānattu Ulagudai-Mukkōkkalānadigalōdum vīrrirundaruhiya Kōv=Irājakēsari=panmar āna<sup>8</sup> [Tribhu]vanachchakravartigal<sup>9</sup> Śrī-Rājādhīrājadēvarkku yāndu ettāvadu ॐ ||||
- 5 Jayangondaśōla-mandalattu Āmūrk-kōttattuch=Chirukunra-nāttuk=Kārigaik-Kulatturk-Ku[la]ttulān Tīruchchirrambalam-Udaiyān Perumānamb.yār=āna Pallava-
- 6 rāyar Periyadēvar Rājavarājadēvar pērttu kōyir-kottum=āvark=kudirai-agambadi-nūyāyam ullitta turaigalukcum mudalgalum=āy mudalgal=ōpādī kāriyat-
- 7 tukkun=kadavarum=āy e[|\*]lā varisāigalum mun-ēval ullittu mudalgal perakkadava ērrangalum perru nūṇu Periyadēvar<sup>10</sup> tūñji-arulip=pillaiga[lu]kkku onrum irandum tirunakshatram=ā-
- 8 gaiyāl Āyirattalīp-padaividum vittup=pōdavēndip=pōdugira-idattut=tiruv=antapuramum  
<sup>11</sup> ārangalum ull[t\*]tana ellām parigarittuk=[kūt tī]k=kodu-pōndu Rāja-
- 9 [rā\*]ja[pu]ra[t\*]tālē irunda ida[ttukku] [śūl]nda idan yaru mūgudī-p [ra]ttu udan-kūttatt[ā] [rā]lum ellāk=[kalakka] [Śōlarāyāt<sup>12</sup> tukku yē iruppār] kāranavarud
- 10 vēndip=purattu ellā adaiyu kēdugalum va[rāda] idattu in lum parigarittu iv Periyadēvar eḷundaru[h] <sup>13</sup> n[ā]hlē tīru-abhi[shēgattuk]ku uriya pillaigal inriyē [rukka]-

<sup>1</sup> S I I, Vol III, p 152

<sup>2</sup> *Amarnduvāla* is another reading for *amarndu vāla* (No 58 of 1906)

<sup>3</sup> For *pōl* some inscriptions read *ēl*

<sup>4</sup> Other readings are *ādiyugam vandadena* (No 20 of 1899) and *ādiyugam āmennā* (No 474 of 1905).

<sup>5</sup> *Vandu parikkā* is another reading (No 20 of 1899)

<sup>6</sup> No 20 of 1899 gives in addition *Konganarum Pallavarum* <sup>7</sup> No 465 of 1905 has *vantindich hēvippa*

<sup>8</sup> No 20 of 1899 has *parakēsariarman, nma* in *panmarāna* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters

<sup>9</sup> Some inscriptions have *Madurayyūm Itamum Lonḍarūhiya* in addition (cf No 474 of, 1905) *chēcha* in *chēchalavartigal* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters

<sup>10</sup> The letter *ya* is inserted between *ri* and *ḍē*

<sup>11</sup> The gap may be filled up with the letters *pariv*

<sup>12</sup> *Jya* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters

<sup>13</sup> The word *yirunda* may have been lost here.

- 11 rapadiyai pārttu [mu]n-nāhlē kāriyam irundapadi vi <sup>1</sup> ś[e]ydu Gangaiko[n\*]da-  
śōlapura <sup>2</sup> daruli iru[k\*]kīra pillaigalai <sup>3</sup>yānam pannu <sup>4</sup>daiyār  
Vikk[1]ramasōladēvar-pēranār
- 12 Nerudaipperumā[1\*]-tīrumaganār Edin[1]pperumālap=peri <sup>5</sup>[u]-arulina nāhlē  
mandai kavipittu <sup>6</sup> dār-ānavārē ivarait=tiru-abhi[shēgam pannu]vikkak=kad-  
avarā[ga] <sup>7</sup>tu nālān=tirunakshatrattilē Rājādhirāja<sup>8</sup>dēvar e-
- 13 nru tīru-ā(a)bhishēgam pannuvittu udan-kūttamum nādu-k<sup>9</sup>onruppattuch=chellumpadi  
pannu[vitt-arul]nār [i\*] mīgai śeyyādapadi[yum] pari[ga]rttu ivargal el <sup>10</sup>n=  
chērap=piddittup=pani alagid-ā-
- 14 gach=cheyvad-orupadiyum panni [i\*] Ilattān Pāndi nāttilē padaigalun=kāraṇavar=  
ānārayu[m\*] mīgudip <sup>11</sup>vittu i-nnādu kaikollak=kadavan-āgap=pannina  
<sup>1</sup> <sup>12</sup> [P]āndiyanār Kulasēkharadēvar
- 15 ta[m]mudaiyā rājyam<sup>13</sup> vittuch=Chōlarājya[<sup>14</sup>t\*]tūlē pugundu ennudaiva rājya<sup>15</sup>m nān  
perumpa[d=ppan]navēnum=en[ru] ś[o]lla ivar Udayār <sup>16</sup> var perumpadi  
panna-kada-
- 16 var=āgavum inda rājya<sup>8</sup>tti[lē] pugun]du [vandu] kaikkonda Ilankāpuri-Dandanāyakan-  
ulittāraik=konru Pāndiya[r\*]gal=i-
- 17 ruppāna Madurai-vāsahilē ivar[gal] talai taippikkak=kadavarāgavuñ=chollu ipadiellām  
vinnappa[n\*]=cheydu tiruvullam=ānapadiyē Pāndiyanār Kulasēkharadēvar Sōlarāj-  
ya<sup>8</sup>ttil irunda nāhil ivarkku vē-
- 18 nduvanav=ellān=kurai-ara-cheydu parikarittu balattālum<sup>17</sup> arttattālum ursāga<sup>18</sup>[t\*]tālum  
Pāndi-nādu kaikkonda tūñ=chonnāpadiyē Ilankāpuri-Dandanāyakan-ulittāraik=  
ko ru ivargal-talai
- 19 Madurai-vāsahilē taippittu Pāndiyanār Kulasēkharadēvar Madurai(yi)lē pugukaikkuch=  
che[y\*]ya-vēnduvanavum van [jya]tu śeyvittu ivarai Madurai(yi)lē pugavittup-  
Pāndi-nādu Īla-nād=āgād a-
- 20 padī parikarittuch=Chōla-rājya<sup>8</sup>m śenra-padi[kku] idāgat=Tondai-nādu Pāndi-nā<sup>19</sup>dum  
shellumpadiyum panni rāja<sup>8</sup>-kāriyan-kondu nirvagikka=kkadava ma ku-ttan-katt-  
alai=ittu=k[kāi]yan=kondu-scluttināpadiyē tamakku pi-
- 21 nbum i-kkattalaiyilē kāriyañ=chelvadorupadi kāriyan=kondu śel[va]ttā[1\*] nīrka [i\*] ivai  
viyādi-pattu mīyē olindamaiyil ivar-virun[danga]lukkum makkalukkum ivargal-  
virundangalukku[m\*] makkalukkam pen-makkalukkum tāyārkkum uda-

<sup>1</sup> The letters *nnappañ* may be inserted here<sup>2</sup> The letters *pīra* may be inserted here<sup>3</sup> The letters *yādēvar tūñ* may be inserted here<sup>4</sup> The letters *nichchayil* may be inserted here<sup>5</sup> The expression intended was probably *naḍum onruppattu*<sup>6</sup> The letters *loraiyu* may be inserted here<sup>7</sup> The letters *pōda* may be inserted here<sup>8</sup> *Jya* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters<sup>9</sup> The letters *Kulasēl haradē* may be inserted here<sup>10</sup> The letter *ba* is written in *Grantha* characters<sup>11</sup> The letter *sa* is engraved in *Grantha* characters<sup>12</sup> There is an extra secondary length after the letter *na*<sup>13</sup> The letters *ttilē elun* may be inserted here<sup>14</sup> The letters *vittu U* may be inserted here<sup>15</sup> The letters *ppon* may be inserted here<sup>16</sup> Engraved in *Grantha* characters<sup>17</sup> The letters *dattu* may be inserted here

- 22 *npīrandālukkum ival-mak[kalukku]m ivargal-vargattārkkum Virudarājabhayankara-  
valanāttuk=Kurukkai-nāttu ivar-kāmy=āna Chō[ll]ēndirasinganallūril paḷam=peyar  
tavirn[du yā]ndu ettāvadu-muda[l] antarāyam pāttam=utpada 1-*
- 23 *ṛayilyāy vēru-pirinda Rā[jādhi]rājan<sup>1</sup>-Kulattū[r] nilam nārpadiṛru-vēli [l\*] in=nilam anu-  
bavikkumpadikkku Jayankondaśōḷa-mandalattu Mēṇmalaiṇ Paḷaiyanūr-[nāttu]p=  
Paḷaiyanūr-udaiyān Vēdavaṇam-uḍaiyān Am-*
- 24 *maiappaṇār=āna Pallavarā[yan ni]ehchayit[ttapadiyāy anubavikkum virundangalil  
Śīrālattūrudaiyān-magalukku nilam mū-vēli[yu]m Ālinādudaiyān-magalukku  
nila[m] mū-[vēliyum ival]-makkaḷ v[āt]kaippa ngal<sup>2</sup> mūvarukku*
- 25 *pērāl nilam iru-vēliy=āga <sup>3</sup> aru-vēliyum Nerkunran-kilār Kalappālarāyar-magalukku  
nilam mū-vēliyum ival-makkaḷil Aḷagiyadēvanukku nilam mū-vēliyum pen-[makkaḷu]-  
kku pērāl nilam iru-vēliy=āga nilam aruvēli-*
- 26 *yum Ambar Aruvandai Kāṅgarāyar-magalukku nilam mū-vēliyum makkaḷil Śētta[n\*]<sup>4</sup>  
Tirunattamādi Virana[mbi] Dēvan(k)gu[daiyā]n-magalukkum ival-magalukkum nilam  
iru-vēliyum Rājarājadēva<sup>5</sup>[r]-virundangalukkum makkaḷukkum nilam en-vēliyum  
tāyār Vairppū-*
- 27 *rudaiyār-magalārkkku nilam vēliyum u[dan] piranda pengalil Viḷiyūrudaiyānukku pukka  
pennukkum iva[l]-magalukkum nilam iru-vēliyum āga ni[lam] nārpadiṛru-vēliyum  
antarāyam pāttam utpada iraiḷi-*
- 28 *ittamaikkul[—ulvarikkul eluttittār [—Nandiyarāyar [—Amarakōṇār [—Kanakarāyar [—  
Mūvēndarāyar [—Jinattara[yar]] [—Viśaiyarāyar [—Purayuvani-Śrīkaranā-  
nā[yakam]] [—Śīrukudaiyān [—Kunrankiḷāṇ [—Kānūr-kuḷavan [—Nariya[nū]r-  
Udaiyān [—*
- 29 *Purayuvani Śrīkaranattu Mugave[t\*]ti Ūgai-Udaiyān [—Ārūr=Udaiyān [—Tattainallūr-  
Udaiyān [—Śīrunallūr-Udaiyān [—ippadikkku pirasādañcheyd<sup>6</sup>-aru[lina Śrī]-  
mugat-tukku eluttittār Chēdirāśar [—Vāṇādhira<sup>7</sup> [va]rāśar*
- 30 *Rā [ja\*] rā[ja\*] Viḷupparayar [—Śingalarāyar [—Nilagangarayar [—Dīpattarayar [—  
eludinān tirumandira-ōlai Minavan Mūvē[ṇda]vēlān [—*

## TRANSLATION

Ll 1-8 Hail ' Prosperity ' In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *ahas* the glorious Rājādhirājadēva, the emperor of the three worlds, when he was pleased to be seated along with (*his queen*) Ulagudai-Mukkōkklānadigal on the throne of heroes, made of pure gold, having been pleased to put on the lustrous crown (so that) the Goddess of the Earth surrounded by the sea, the goddess (*residing in*) the flower (i.e., Lakṣmī), the Goddess of Learning, the Goddess of War endowed with power and the Goddess of Prosperity all lived in amity as in the first *yuga*, (*his*) fame, white as the milky ocean, spread in the seven worlds surrounded by the four oceans, the six systems of philosophy (*flourished*), the five elements stood in their respective positions protecting the people, such kings as the Tennavar (Pāndyas), Śīralar (Chēras), Śingalar (Singhalese) came carrying (*with them*) tribute and made their obeisance (*to him*), and his hoary sceptre well protected the seven worlds,

<sup>1</sup> The word *Rājādhirāja* is engraved in *Grantha*

<sup>2</sup> The gap may be filled with the letters *ṭṭa pe*

<sup>3</sup> The word intended was perhaps *Śēdan*

<sup>4</sup> The letter *sa* is engraved in *Grantha* characters

<sup>5</sup> The letters *dh* and *rā* are engraved in *Grantha* characters.

<sup>6</sup> The word *nilam* may be lost here

<sup>7</sup> The letters *Rajaraja* are engraved in *Grantha*





Vēdavanam-Udayān Ammayappan *alias* Pallavarāyan of Mēnmalaip-Paḷaiyanūr in Jayangonda-śōḷa-maṇḍalam for enjoyment (*as follows*) —

Ll 24 28	Among ( <i>Pallavarāyar's</i> ) wives (a), (b), (c) and (d)	(a) to the daughter of Sūrrālattūr Udayān	three <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land
		(b) to the daughter of Ālinād Udayān	three <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land
		(c) to the daughter of Nor kuuran Iḷār Kaḷappāḷa rāyar	three <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land
	To the three married daughters of (b) above		six <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land at two <i>ēḷi</i> per head
	Among the sons of (c) above	to Maḡiyādūvan	three <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land
	To the (three) daughters of (c) above		six <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land at two <i>ēḷi</i> per head
		(d) to the daughter of Ambar Aruvandai Kāḷingarāyar	three <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land
	To the daughter of the son of (d) above, Śc[ti]ta[n*] Tirunaṭṭamādi Virana- [mbi] Dēvanguḍaiyān and her daughter		two <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land
	To the wife of Rājarājadūvar (who must have been another daughter of Pallavarāyar from (d) above) and her sons		eight <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land
	To his mother	the daughter of Vaippūr Udayār	one <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land
	Among his sisters	to the wife of Vahyūr Udayān and her daughter	two <i>ēḷi</i> (of) land

On the whole 40 *ēḷi* of land was thus distributed, free of taxes, including *antarāyam* and *pūḷṭam*

Ll 28 30 The signatories to the *uḷari* (are) —

Nandiyarāyar||— Amarakōṇār||— Kanakarāyar||— Mūvṇḍarāyar||— Chhinattara[*yar*]]||— Viśaiyarāyar||— The *Puravuvāri Śrīlāraṇa-nāyaḷam* are — Śirukudaiyān||— Kunrankiḷān ||— Kānūr-kiḷavan||— Nariyanūr-Udayān||— The *puravuvāri Śrīlāraṇattu Mugaḷetti* are — Inḡai-Udayān||— Ārūr-Udayān||— Tattaimallūr-Udayān||— Śirunallūr-Udayān||— For the royal order that was issued, (*the attestors are*) — Chēḍirāśar||— Vānādhizā [va]rāsar Rā[ja\*]r i[ja\*]v iḷupparāyar||— Śuḡaḷarāyar||— Nilagangarayar||— Dīpattarayar||— (*This royal order*) is the draft of the royal secretary Mīnavan Mūv[ṇḍa]v[ē]ḷān ||—

## No 32 —TWO BRICK INSCRIPTIONS FROM NALANDA

BY N P CHAKRAVARTI, M A , PH D , OOTACAMUND

The Buddhist *sūtra* forming the subject of this article is found in duplicate on two incised bricks which were discovered in 1924 by Mr J A Page, the then Superintendent of the Central Circle, in small votive *stūpas* near the main *stūpa* at Nālandā <sup>1</sup> The inscription on Brick A begins on the top surface and is continued on three sides, the right hand side and the bottom

<sup>1</sup> See *A S I An Rep*, 1923 24, p 71

surface being left uninscribed. The writing on the top surface covers a space of  $11\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and  $8\frac{3}{4}$ " in breadth while the breadth of the inscribed sides ranges from 1" to  $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The inscription consists altogether of thirty one lines of writing of which twenty two lines are inscribed on the top surface and three on each of the three other sides. Brick B, which contains twenty-three lines of writing, is inscribed only on the top surface, the inscription covering a space which measures  $11\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8". In A, the portions of writing coming in the middle of the top and the left hand side are damaged while the inscription on B is in a fair state of preservation. The letters in both A and B are not uniformly executed, their average size being from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an inch approximately.

Before proceeding with the discussion of palaeography, I may point out that the two documents under discussion hold a peculiar position as epigraphs. It appears that the letters have not been inscribed in the same way as inscriptions on stone or copper plates. It is clear from the shape of the letters that the scribe has engraved the text on the brick with a stylus or similar sharp instrument. Thus we have to consider the documents more in the nature of manuscripts than inscriptions and, as one would expect in such records, the writing is in a much more cursive hand than one would ordinarily find in inscriptions. The characters found on these records belong to the Gupta script of a comparatively later period—more strictly to the period of transition from the Gupta to the acute-angled stage and may be ascribed to the sixth century of the Christian era. As to their palaeography the following points may be noticed:—of the initial vowels the lower portion of *a* and *ā* shows a curve open to the left and the sign for the length of *ā* is expressed by a hook attached to the foot of the right vertical. *I* is denoted by three dots and in *ī* the apex of the triangle is pointed downwards. Of the consonants, single *l* is written in the same way as in the Gupta period and does not yet show a loop on the left but such loops are noticed in places in ligatures (cf. *samślāra* in l 3, *ślandha* in l 11 etc.). The triangle of *lh* stands at the right of the vertical and not to its left as found in the acute-angled alphabet, but in common with the latter the third *a*, well as the central horizontal line of *y* are slanting downwards and *d* has a serif in the lower end. In *n* the right stroke has not yet become vertical as we find from the 7th century onwards, though a loop has been attached to its left. *Bh* is as in the Gupta period<sup>1</sup> and has not yet formed the triangle on the left. *Ṣ* is tripartite with a hook to the left which led up to the later bipartite *y*. *D* is rounded at the top of the middle vertical touching the right and the left limbs. Lingual *l* occurs twice in the document (cf. *lhula lhula*, B l 19), a peculiarity not found in later documents. The *Virāma* is denoted by a stroke above the consonant (cf. *latamat*, ll 10, 11, 15) and the superscript *r* is denoted by an angular stroke on top evidently owing to cursive forms of letters.

The language of both the documents is Sanskrit and is on the whole correct. Rules of *sandhi* have not been strictly adhered to. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the following points. Consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have at times been doubled, e.g., *rahirdhā* (B l 6), *pūrvālam* (A l 11), *avāllrūntir* (A l 21). *Sk* is frequently written as *ls* in A, e.g., *samślāra* for *samślāra* (A l 3, etc.). *l* and *b* have not been distinguished except in *lubja* (B l 19, A l 23). Two different marks of punctuation have been used, one, the ordinary mark represented by a small curve (∩) like a comma written horizontally, and the other, a rare one, denoted by two vertical lines (cf. B l 15 after *cha* and A l 30 after *iti*). The former has been shown in the transcript below, with a *danda*.

The text of the *sūtra* as found in both the bricks is substantially the same. I have given below only the text of B, which is the better preserved of the two documents, while the slight differences in reading, occurring in A, have been noticed in the foot-notes. They confirm the text of the well-known *Pratītyasamutpāda* or *Nidāna-sūtra* as well as its *vibhanga* or division

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the inscription of Toramana, *O. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pl. XXIII A.

The *sūtra*<sup>1</sup> portion is found in Buddhist literature both in Pāli and Sanskrit,<sup>2</sup> while the *vibhanga* portion is closely connected with the *vibhanga* found in the Nidāna Samyutta.<sup>3</sup> B does not give any colophon while at the end of A we find only *Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptah*

In addition to these records, several other bricks and terracotta slabs containing the Nidāna-sūtra have been found at Nālandā. But none of them is complete and they contain only a fragment of the *sūtra* and sometimes that of the *nirōdha*<sup>4</sup> portion as well, but none contains the *vibhanga* as found in the two records under discussion. All are written in a cursive hand (No S 3, Reg 237 of the Central Circle, being the most cursive), just as the two documents dealt with here. Of these, No S 3, Reg 237 contains seven fragmentary lines of the *sūtra* and Brick C seven such lines of the *nirōdha* only. No S 3, Reg 242 is inscribed on both sides (of which portions of five lines only remain on each side) and contains fragments of the *sūtra* with its *nirōdha*. No S 3, Reg 236 originally contained the *sūtra* with its *nirōdha* which was repeated thrice. Only at the end of the *nirōdha* portion we find an additional sentence which reads *iyam samyaka-prakṛitir-asamskrītā nyam-āvalokrā[niēr=iti]*

Inscriptions containing the text of the Nidāna Sūtra have also been found in places other than Nālandā. Bricks with this *sūtra* inscribed on them have been discovered at Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces.<sup>5</sup> Besides these we find the text inscribed on the Kasiā copper-plate<sup>6</sup> and the Kurram casket.<sup>7</sup> Of these the first two are written in the Gupta script and Sanskrit language while the third is written in the Kharoṣṭhī script and a Prākṛit dialect. Palaeographically all the three appear to belong to a period earlier than that of the two Nālandā bricks under discussion, the Kurram casket being the earliest in date. The text in Pāli is not also unknown. A manuscript with leaves of gold but resembling in every way a palm-leaf manuscript, has been discovered within a relic chamber unearthed at Hmawza<sup>8</sup> in Prome District of Lower Burma. The writing is in the South Indian Script of the 6th or 7th century A.D. then in common use in Burma and the language is Pāli. The manuscript contains, among other extracts from the Pīṭakas, the text of the Paṭichcha Samuppāda Sutta.

The text of the *sūtra* on the Gopalpur bricks and the Kasiā copper-plate is on the whole identical. Both contain the positive and the negative arrangements of the 'Propositions of the Theory of Causes', here technically termed as the *āchaya* (i.e., collection) and the *apachaya* (the loss) of Dharma, the latter corresponding to the *nirōdha* portion of the *sūtra* as found in Pāli and Sanskrit texts. The text of the Kurram Casket contains only the positive arrangements of the *sūtra* and is termed *Paṭichsamupade* (Skt. *Pratītyasamutpāda*). The interest of the present

<sup>1</sup> This has been shown in the text in italics for facility of reference while the rest is the *vibhanga*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Vinaya Pīṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg), I, pp. 1 ff., *Samyutta Nikāya*, II, pp. 1 ff., etc., *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 190, 257, *Dvyaṇṇadāna*, pp. 300, 547, *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 1, *Lalitā Vistara* (ed. Lefmann), p. 347. In most of these texts we find the positive as well as the negative (*nirōdha*) arrangement of the *Pratītyasamutpāda*.

<sup>3</sup> *Samyutta Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 2 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The twelve fold *Pratītyasamutpāda* or the propositions of the Buddhist Theory of Causation are often found in their 'positive and negative' arrangement. It is essential for a Buddhist to study and learn the respective links in this chain of causation and to understand it in its positive and negative arrangements, both forward and backward (Pāli, *anuloma* and *patiloma*). For an explanation of this theory cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha* (English translation), pp. 223 ff., Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 155 ff., Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 47 ff., Th. Stehnbatsky, *The Doctrine of the Buddha*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 876 ff., etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1910-11, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 17, and *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1926-27, p. 200.

records, however, lies in the fact that they contain the positive arrangement of the *sūtra* and also a *viḥaṅga* or division which is not met with in other records so far discovered. Besides this the present text has an interest of its own. As has been pointed out by Dr. Bagchi in his notes appended below, it was the same text which was translated by Yuan Chy'ang in 661 A.D., i.e. three years before his death. Recently Prof. G. Tucci has published the fragments of the *Pratītya samutpāda vyākhyā*, a commentary on the *Pratītya samutpāda sūtra* by Vasubandhu<sup>1</sup> (circa 1st or 5th century) a work which was already known through its Tibetan translation. But it will be of great interest to observe that the text on which Vasubandhu, himself a teacher at Nālandā for some time, wrote a commentary, must have been the same as that now published. Thus the Nālandā text of the *Pratītya samutpāda sūtra* reveals to us the original Sanskrit text of a *sūtra* of great importance which was so far known only through translations.

It is to be noted that all these documents containing the text of the *Pratītya samutpāda* were found unbedded in *stūpas*. Of these the Kan' copper plate and the Kurrum Casket contain the names of donors. The former was the gift of one Haribala who deposited it in the (*Parī*) *maṅgala chaitya* while the inscription on the latter informs us that the casket contained the corporeal relics of the Buddha and the *Pratītya samutpāda* was written 'for the honouring of all beings'. The present record and the Gopulpur brick inscriptions contain no names of the donors. Now the question that naturally arises is this: what was the object of writing down the Nidāna Sūtra and depositing it in the *stūpa*? It was done obviously for the sake of gaining merit, but why was the Nidāna Sūtra selected above all others? We know that among the Buddhists there are four classes of objects of worship: (i) the corporeal remains of the Buddha, (ii) objects used by the Buddha himself such as a casket, bowl, pieces of articles forming his robes, etc., (iii) objects indirectly connected with the Buddha and thus regarded as holy such as the *bhūti*-tree, *chaitya*, etc., and (iv) *Dharmas* as preached by the Buddha. It may also give us some interesting information on this point. The priests and laymen in India, as the Chinese pilgrim "make Chaityas or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings wherever they go. Sometimes they build Stūpas of the Buddha by making a pile surrounding it with bricks. These sometimes form the Stūpa in lonely fields and leave them to fall in ruins. Anyone may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again when the people make images and Chaityas which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks and stone, or when they heap up the snow and (lit. sand and snow), they put in the images or Chaityas two kinds of *Sūtras*: 1 The relics of the Great Teacher. 2 The Gāthā of the Chain of Causation"<sup>2</sup>. The *gāthā* referred to by Tsung is the well known Buddhist formula *ye dhammā etc.* supposed to have been spoken by Asvajit to S'riputra<sup>3</sup>. Prof. Oldenburg and Rhys Davids pointed out long ago<sup>4</sup> that this stanza alludes, undoubtedly, to the Nidāna-sūtra, 'which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here *dhammā hetu ppabhavā*'. The Sanskrit version of this stanza is extensively found on Buddhist votive gifts such as images,

<sup>1</sup> *J. R.* 18, 1930 pp. 613 ff. Prof. Tucci in the text published by him has underlined the portion quoted from the *sūtra*, but on comparison with the Nālandā text it will be observed that his division of the original text and the commentary is not everywhere correct. Moreover, I do not agree with him that in Vasubandhu's work *viḥaṅga* was 'the name of the various chapters each corresponding to a particular *niḍāna*' (*ibid.* p. 612, n. 1). The text commented on by Vasubandhu is identical with that obtained at Nālandā and contained at the beginning the Nidāna Sūtra followed by the *viḥaṅga* in connection with each *niḍāna*. Thus he is not right in giving the title *Andyā viḥaṅga* to the first section of the work which deals only with the *sūtra* portion.

<sup>2</sup> Tsung, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (translated by J. Lalalusa), p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Vinaya Piṭaka* (ed. Oldenburg), I, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> See *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIII.

tablets, plaques, etc., throughout the Buddhist world <sup>1</sup> The blessings derived from putting in the images or *chaityas* the *śarīras* mentioned above are abundant <sup>2</sup> The authentic relics of the Buddha were always scarce and must have been more so after the early centuries of the Christian era That is why we find in the *stūpas* at Nālandā and other places only tablets containing the Nidānasūtra, which was part of the *Dhamma* preached by the Buddha himself To a Buddhist this *sūtra* is next in sacredness only to the four venerable truths (*ārya-satyāni*) and is very important since a proper understanding of this leads to the way of Nirvāṇa Nāgārjuna said in his *Sūhṛillēkha* "Even though fire should be burning above our head, .

we ought to waste no time in putting it out, but should keep in view perpetually our Final Liberation (*Mōksha*), reflecting on the truths of the 'Chain of Causality' " <sup>3</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, that this *sūtra* is considered as of paramount importance and has so frequently been found deposited in the votive *stūpas* raised by the Buddhist monks as well as laymen

The following text is transcribed from impressions and photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Central Circle As the Chinese translation, an English rendering of which has been appended below by Dr Bagchi, followed the Sanskrit original quite closely, I have not given a separate translation of the Sanskrit text but have noticed the slight differences found in places in the foot notes to Dr Bagchi's translation

### TEXT

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> [i\*] Ēvam mayī śrutam=ēkasmīn=samayē Bhagavān=chChrāvastyāni viharatī sma Jētavanē Anāthapindadas=īrāmē<sup>5</sup> mahātā blukshu-samghēna sārddham=araddha<sup>6</sup>-trayōdī sabhir=blukshu-satahi [i'] Tatvā Bhagavān blukshū-nām=ī[ma\*]nta-
- 2 yatē<sup>8</sup> sma Pratītya-samutpādasya vō blukshavah ādī[īn\*] vō dēśayishvāmī vibhangam cha<sup>9</sup> tach=chhri[nu\*]ta<sup>10</sup> sīdhu cha sushthu cha manasī kurutī bhāshishyē Pratītya-samutpādas=ādīhī katvā<sup>11</sup> [i\*] yad=ut=āsmīn=sat=ī[ī]dam bhavaty=asy=ūlpāda(dā)<sup>12</sup> d=ida-
- 3 m=utpadyatē<sup>13</sup> yad=ut=āvidyā-pratyayāh samskā<sup>14</sup>ch<sup>12</sup> samskāra-pratyayam viññāna<sup>15</sup> viññāna-pratyayam nāmarūpa[m] nāmarūpa-pratyayam shad-āyatana<sup>16</sup> shad-āyatana-pratyayah sparśhīk (rsah)<sup>13</sup> sparśha-pratyayā vīdanā vīdanā
- 4 pratyayā trishnū trishnū-pratyayā(ya)m=ī<sup>14</sup> upādānam upādāna-pratyayō bhava<sup>15</sup> bhava-pratyayā jātīh jātī-pratyayā jaiā māna-sōl-a-pandēva-dukl ha daurmanasy-ōpāyāsāh sambhā(mbha)ṇamīty<sup>16</sup>=ēvam=asya līlala-

<sup>1</sup> [The latest finds of this kind are from Nālandā and Pāhārpur excavations, where thousands of tiny clay votive stūpas have been discovered in the relic chamber of small stūpas, each encasing little clay seals inscribed with the Buddhist creed — Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> I tsing *A Record etc.*, p. 151

<sup>3</sup> Translated by I tsing in his *Record*, p. 161

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>5</sup> The record A has a mark of punctuation here

<sup>6</sup> A reads *arḍha*

<sup>7</sup> There is a small stroke above *tra* in both which may be accidental

<sup>8</sup> A reads correctly *āmantra*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> A has *āgān=cha*

<sup>10</sup> A reads *chhriṇuta* correctly

<sup>11</sup> A reads *da* correctly

<sup>12</sup> Here and in several other places A reads *samlsī*<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> A has correctly *sparśhīk*

<sup>14</sup> A has *pratyayam*

<sup>15</sup> A reads *sambhāvant*

- 5 *śya mahatō duhḥa śandhasya samudayō* [bha]ḥatī<sup>1</sup> [1\*] *Ayam=uchyatāt Pratyaya-*  
*samutpādasy-ādih* [1\*] *Vibhāṅgaḥ katamāḥ* [1\*] *Arīdyū-pratyayāḥ samśārāḥ*  
 [1\*] *Arīdyū*<sup>2</sup> *katamā* | *Yat=pūrvāntāt*<sup>3</sup> *ajñānam aparāntāt*<sup>4</sup> *ajñā-*
- 6 *nam pūrvānt āparāntāt ajñānam adhyātmanam-ajñānam* *va(ba)hirdhū* *ajñānam*  
*addhyātma-va(ba)hirdhū* *ajñānam* *Armanya-ajñānam* *vipākāt* *ajñānam*  
*karina-vipākāt* *ajñānam* *Vu(Bu)ddhē* *ajñānam* *Dharmāt* *ajñānam* *Saṅghāt*  
*ajñānam*<sup>1</sup> *duhḥ*
- 7 *ajñānam*<sup>2</sup> *samudayāt* *ajñānam* *mūrdhāt* *ajñānam*<sup>1</sup> *mārgāt* *ajñānam*<sup>1</sup> *hētāy=*  
*ajñānam*<sup>1</sup> *hētū samutpannēshu dharmāshv ajñānam*<sup>1</sup> *śūśal ākūśātshu sāvady-*  
*ānāvadytshu*<sup>1</sup> *śītavay āśvāt-*
- 8 *śītavtshu* *hūna prānīta kṛishna śukla sapratibhāga Prātītya samutpannēshu* *dhar-*  
*māshv=ajñānam*<sup>1</sup> *śhatsv* *vī punar śparśāvatanēshu yathābhūta samprativāt-*  
*(bāt)dhāt* *itī* | *Yat-titra tatra yathābhū-*
- 9 *tasv=ajñānam-ādīśānam-anābhīśānamavah* *tajarah* *śāmmōhah* *arīdy-āndhikāram=*  
*ayam=uchyatāt* *arīdy* | *Arīdyā pratyayāḥ* *samskāra* *itī* [1\*] *Samskārah*  
*katamāt* [1\*] *Trayaḥ samsārāḥ* [1\*]
- 10 *Kāya samsārāḥ* *vāk samsārāḥ* *manah samskāra* *itī* | *Samsārā pratyayam* *ajñā-*  
*nam=itī* | *Ajñānam* *Itamāt* [1\*] *Shad-ajñāna-kāyāḥ* [1\*] *Chakshu*  
*(r vijñānam* *śrōtra-ghrīna-jihvā-kāya manō ajñānam* [1\*]
- 11 *Ajñāna pratyayam* *nāma rūpam=itī*<sup>4</sup> | *Nīma* *Itamāt* [1\*] *Chatvārah* *arūpi-*  
*nah śāndhīḥ* [1\*] *katamāt* *chatvārah* [1\*] *Vēdanā śāndhīḥ* *ajñā-*  
*śāndhīḥ* *samskāra śāndhīḥ* *ajñāna-śāndhīḥ* [1\*] *Rūpam* *katamāt* [1\*]
- 12 *Yat-kūśhid-rūpam sarvam tach=chatvāri mahābhūtīm* | *Chatvāri cha mahā-*  
*bhūtīny=upādāya* *it-īdam* *cha rūpam pūrvānam* *cha nāma tad=anādh-*  
*ayam=abhīśāni* *hīpva* *nāma-rūpam=itv=uchyatāt* [1\*]<sup>1</sup> *Nāma rūpa pratyayam* *shad-*  
*āya-*
- 13 *tanam=itī* | *Shad-āvatanam* *Itamāt* [1\*] *Shad=adhyātmit āny=āvatanāni* [1\*]  
*Chakshur ādhyātmitkam-īyatanam* *śrōtra ghrīna-jihvā-kāya manā[h]\**<sup>2</sup> *adh-*  
*yātmitkam=āvatanam* | *Shad āyatava-pratyayah*
- 14 *sparśah* *itī* [1\*] *Sparśah* *katamāḥ* [1\*] *śhat=sparśakūyāḥ* [1\*] *Chakshuh-sam-*  
*sparśah* *śrōtra ghrīna-jihvā-kāya manah-saṅg-sparśah* [1\*] *Sparśa-pratyayā* *vēdan=*  
*itī* | *Vēdanā* *katamā* | *Tīrō* *vēdanīḥ* [1\*] *Sukhā*
- 15 *duhkhā* *aduhkhā=āsukhā* *cha* || *Vēdanā pratyayā* *trīśh=itī* | *Trīśhā* *katamā*  
 [1\*] *Tīśhā* [1\*]<sup>3</sup>=*tīśhānūḥ* [1\*] *Kūma-tīśhā*<sup>4</sup> *rūpa-trīśhā*<sup>5</sup> *arūpa-tīśhā*  
*cha* | *Trīśhā-pratyayam=upādānam=itī* | *Upādānam* *katamāt* [1\*]

<sup>1</sup> A has a mark of punctuation here<sup>2</sup> A reads *ity=arīdyā*<sup>3</sup> A reads *pūrvāntāt* and *aparāntāt* here and in the next line

line

<sup>4</sup> A reads wrongly *m=atī*<sup>5</sup> A has a punctuation mark here<sup>6</sup> A reads *manah*<sup>7</sup> A reads wrongly *sparśasah*<sup>8</sup> A has the correct reading *Tīśhas=*

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript fragment. The text is arranged in two columns, with the left column being more legible than the right. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Sanskrit or a related language. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions of the text obscured by dark, irregular marks and stains, particularly on the right side and bottom. The text is written on a light-colored, possibly parchment or paper, surface.





- 16 Chatvāry=upādānām [i\*] Kām-ōpādānam<sup>1</sup> drishty<sup>2</sup>-upādānam<sup>1</sup> śīla-vrat-ōpādānam  
ātma-vād-ōpādānam<sup>3</sup> | Upādāna-pratyay[ō] bhava iti [i\*] Bhavah katamah  
[i\*] Trayō bhavāh [i\*] Kāma-bhavah rūpa-bhavah arū<sup>4</sup>-
- 17 pya-bhavah [i\*] Bhava-pratyayā jāti=iti | Jātiḥ katamā | Yā tēshām  
tēshām satvānām tasmims<sup>5</sup>=tasmimn(smin)=satva-nikāyē jātiḥ sam-  
jātir=avakramtir<sup>6</sup>=abhimirvrittiḥ prādurbhāvah skandha-pratilambhō dhātu-  
prati-
- 18 lambhah āyatana-pratilambhah skandhānām=abhimirvrittiḥ jīvit-ēndriyasya [prādu]-  
rbhāvah [i\*] Jāti-pratyayam jarā-maranam iti [i\*] Jarā katamā | Yat=  
tat=[kh]ālatyam pālityam valī-prachuratā
- 19 jīratā bhugnatā kubja<sup>7</sup>-gōpānasī-vankatī tūla-kālakā-chita-gātratā |<sup>8</sup> khula-  
khula-praśvāsa-kāyatā purataḥ prāg-bhāra-kāyatā |<sup>8</sup> danda-vishkambhanatā  
|<sup>8</sup> dhandhatvam mandatvam hāniḥ pari[hā\*]niḥ<sup>9</sup>
- 20 indriyānām paripākah paribhēdah samskāranām purāṇibhāvah jarjaribhāvah  
iyam=uchyatē jarā | Maranam katamat [i\*] Yā tēshām tēshām satvā-  
nām tasmāt=tasmāt=sa[tva]-nikā-
- 21 yāt chyutis=chyavanataḥ bhēdō=ntara-hāniḥ iyushō hāniḥ ūshmanō hāniḥ  
jīvit-ēndriyasya nirōdhah skandhānām nikshēpō maranam kāla-kriyā idam=  
uchyatē maranam=iti [i\*]
- 22 Idam cha maranam pū[r]vikā cha jarā tad-ubhayam=aikadhyam=abhisam-  
kshīpya jarā-maranam=ity=uchyatē | Ayam=uchyatē Pratitya samutpādasya  
vibhangah [i\*] Pratitya-samutpādasya ādi[m\*] vō
- 23 dēśayishyāmī vibhangān=cha iti vō yad=uktam=idam=ētat=pratyuktam [i\*] Idam=  
avōchad=Bhagavān=[ātta]manasah<sup>10</sup> stē bhikshavō Bhagavatō bhā-  
shitam=abhyānandam ti (dann=iti)||<sup>11</sup>

### No 33 —A NOTE ON THE PRATITYA SAMUTPADA SUTRA

By P C BAGCHI, M A, D es-lettres, CALCUTTA

The small Sanskrit Buddhist text here published by Dr Chakravarti is of considerable interest for the student of Buddhism. The colophon of the text contained in one of the bricks runs thus—*Pratityasamutpādaḥ samāptah*. The text contains an enumeration of the causes of "dependent production," their definition and division (*vibhanga*). The complete title of the text was apparently, either *Pratityasamutpāda-sūtra* or *Pratitya-samutpādo-sūtra-vibhanga*.

Though the original text was unknown till now we were acquainted with it through the fragment of a commentary of Vasubandhu discovered from Nepal and published by Prof Tucci.<sup>12</sup> Only six leaves of the complete manuscript were found in the admirable collection of His Holiness the Rajaguru Hēmarāja Śarmā. They contain fragments of Vasubandhu's commentary on the five *vibhaṅgas* *avidyā*, *vēdanā*, *trishnā*, *upādāna* and *bhava*. This commentary is preserved

<sup>1</sup> A has a punctuation mark here

<sup>2</sup> A reads wrongly *drishti upā*

<sup>3</sup> A reads *cha* after this

<sup>4</sup> A reads *ārūpya*

<sup>5</sup> A reads *parihāniḥ*

<sup>6</sup> A reads at the end =*abhyānandann=iti* || *Pratityasamu[tpādah] samāptah*

<sup>7</sup> A fragment from the *Pratitya samutpāda vyākhyā* of Vasubandhu, J R A S, 1930, pp 611 623

<sup>5</sup> A has *tasmim tasmimn=*

<sup>6</sup> A gives *°Kīrantir=*

<sup>7</sup> A also gives *kubja*

<sup>8</sup> Mark of punctuation unnecessary

<sup>10</sup> Read *manasas=tē*

in its entirety in the Tibetan collection (Cordier, *Catalogue* p 365). A gloss on the commentary of Vasubandhu made by Gunanāṭi is also preserved in Tibetan in the same volume of the *Bstan lgyur*. The title of Vasubandhu's work as preserved in Tibetan is *Pratītya samutpāda-vibhaṅga-nīrḍḥa* but it was also commonly known as *Pratītya-samutpāda-uyāhhyā* (see the fragment published by Tucci)

The Nālandā text is also preserved in a Chinese translation. It is No 628 *Yuan lu ling* of Nanjio's Catalogue in which Nanjio has inaccurately restored the title as *Nīdāna-sūtra*. The translation has been published in Taishō Edition of the Tripiṭaka, Vol II (Āgama), pp. 547-548 (No 124). The translation was prepared by Hsuan Tsang on the 9th day of the 7th month of the year 661 A.D. The *K'ai yuan she hiao lu* (Tokio Ed p 70b 11) mentions this translation on the authority of an unknown source called *Fan ling tu* and says that it is a different translation of the 46th chapter of the Ekōttarāgama. The text is found in the Taishō Tripiṭaka Vol II, p 794 *Fang niu ling*. The Ekōttarāgama was translated into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadīva in 383 A.D. A separate translation of the same text was made by Kumārajīva a few years later — viz the *Fang niu ling*<sup>1</sup>. The same text is also found in another translation in the Chinese Saṃyukta-Āgama (Taishō II, p 312, Ch 17, Nos 1248-1249). An examination of the texts shows that Saṃyukta 1248 is identical with the Chullagopālaka-suttanta and Saṃyukta 1249 with the Mahāgopālaka-suttanta of the Pāli Majjhima (Nos 34 and 33). To this latter correspond also the text translated by Kumārajīva and that of the Ekōttara. But I fail to understand why the Chinese sources, and after them the Japanese editors, think that the Chinese version of the Gopālaka-sutta is a different translation of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*. Even a superficial examination of this text will show that it has no fundamental relation with the *Pratītyasamutpāda sūtra*.

Dr Chakravartī has suggested a relation of the Nālandā text with the Desanā and Vibhaṅga of the Pāli Saṃyutta, II, pp 1 ff. The Desanā consists of two parts, *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its *nīrḍha*. The first part of the Desanā which deals with the *Pratītya-samutpāda* is almost identical with the corresponding part of the Nālandā text but the portion dealing with the *nīrḍha* is not found in the Nālandā text. Besides, though the Vibhaṅga portion is fundamentally the same in both the texts, in the Saṃyutta text it is given in an inverse order beginning with the *jaṭi-marana*. Moreover the Vibhaṅga portion in the Saṃyutta is much more amplified than that in the Nālandā text. The Saṃyutta text (including the *Pratītya-samutpāda*, its *nīrḍha* and its *vibhaṅga*) really corresponds with section 298 of the Chinese Saṃyukta (Taishō Ed II, pp 85 ff) which was translated by Gunabhadra in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. The original text of the Saṃyukta had been brought to China from India by Fa Hien in 414 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit original of the Desanā (the *Pratītya samutpāda* and *Nīrḍha* portions only) was discovered by Dr Hirananda Sastri in a copper plate inscription found at Kasiā (ancient Kuśinagara). It was published by Mr F E Pargiter in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* 1910-1911, pp 71 ff. A comparison of the Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the Desanā shows that the Sanskrit text was the original on which the Chinese translation was based. The formula, *yad=ut=āsmīn=sat=īdam bhavaty=asy=otpādād=īdam=utpadyati*, which occurs in the Kasiā and Nālandā text is not found in the Pāli Desanā but occurs in the Chinese translation. The Chinese text of the Saṃyukta has on the whole greater affinities with the Nālandā and Kasiā texts of the *Pratītya samutpāda* and its *Vibhaṅga* than with the Saṃyutta text of Desanā and *Vibhaṅga*.

<sup>1</sup> Nanjio 627, Taishō Ed II, p 546, Bagehi, *Le Canon Bouddhique* I, p 106 "Sūtra on a pastor".

<sup>2</sup> See Bagehi, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, pp 347 and 382.

It is however clear that the Nālandā text did not exactly belong either to the Samyukta or to any other Āgama. Though the translation of Huan Tsang is included in the Āgama volume of the Chinese Tripitaka, it does not precisely form part of any of the Āgamas there. It is printed there at the end of the Samyuktāgama. It probably shows that Huan Tsang himself as well as the later Chinese writers on the Tripitaka had some doubts about the canonical character of the text. As Vasubandhu in all probability flourished towards the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. and commented on the text, it must have been in existence before that time.

The *Pratītyasamutpāda* formula is mentioned in very ancient texts. The *Sūtrālamkāra* of Āśvaghoṣa, now preserved only in a Chinese translation made by Kumārajīva, narrates the story of the conversion of the Brahman Kauśika of Pātaliputra. This Brahman while searching sacred texts in the house of his relative came upon a Buddhist text called the "Sūtra of the twelve Nidānas," a study of which impressed him so much that he adopted the Buddhist faith.<sup>1</sup>

The chronology of the texts therefore stands thus —

Kurram text ( <i>Pratītya-samutpāda</i> ) <sup>2</sup>	Circa 100 A.D.
Sūtrālamkāra Text ( <i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i> )	Circa 100 A.D.
Chinese Samyukta text ( <i>Pratī°</i> and <i>Vibhanga</i> ) translated by Gunabhadra in	414 A.D.
Kasiā text ( <i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i> )	Circa 450-475 A.D.
Nālandā text ( <i>Pratī°</i> and <i>Vibhanga</i> ) . . .	Circa 500 A.D.

This analysis, it seems to me, throws some light on the formation of the Canon. It shows that the Āgamas were still in the process of formation, even shortly before the time of Vasubandhu (fifth century A.D.). In that case we must assume that the formation of the Pāli Nikāyas had not then been completed, as the Samyutta text of *Desanā* and *Vibhanga* not only embodies all the elements of the texts just analysed (viz. *Pratītya°*, *Nirōdha* and *Vibhanga*) but its *Vibhanga* is much more developed than in the Sanskrit text. The late date of at least parts of the Pāli canon, as established in this case, has also been hinted by other scholars.

I give below an English rendering of the Chinese text (No. 628 *Yuan ki ling* of Nanjo's catalogue) which closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text recovered from Nālandā.

#### The discourse on the chain of Dependent Production

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Śrāvastī and residing in the garden of Anāthapindada in the Jēta forest with innumerable<sup>3</sup> Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men. At that time the Lord said to the assembly of monks,—I will (Oh monks) promulgate to

<sup>1</sup> The text ran thus—"The ignorance produces the *samskāras*, the *samskāras* produce the knowledge, the knowledge produces *nāmarūpa*, the latter produce the six senses, the six senses contact, contact thirst, thirst attachment, attachment existence, existence birth, birth old age, death, suffering and sorrow. If ignorance is suppressed, the *samskāras* are suppressed, the *samskāras* suppressed the knowledge is suppressed, the knowledge suppressed the *nāmarūpa* is suppressed, the *nāmarūpa* suppressed the six senses are suppressed, the six senses suppressed contact is suppressed, contact suppressed thirst is suppressed, thirst suppressed attachment is suppressed, the attachment suppressed the existence is suppressed, the existence suppressed the birth is suppressed, birth, death, suffering and sorrow, all are suppressed." (E. Huber, *Sūtrālamkāra*, Paris, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> For a Prākṛit text inscribed on the Kurram Casket, see Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, C. I. I., Vol. I, pt. 1, No. LXXX.

<sup>3</sup> [The Skt. text refers to 650 monks, but not to 'Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men'—Ed.]

you the meaning of the fundamentals<sup>1</sup> of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its different derivatives You ought to listen to it and bear it in mind perfectly well<sup>2</sup> I will explain<sup>3</sup> it to you to-day

The assembly<sup>4</sup> of the monks expressed its willingness saying—'We shall all be happy to hear it'

Buddha said—How many are the fundamentals of the *Pratītya-samutpāda*? This being, it becomes, this producing, it is produced<sup>5</sup> Nescience is the cause of constituents (*samskāra*), constituents are the cause of consciousness (*viññāna*), consciousness is the cause of individuality (*nāmarūpa*), individuality is the cause of six sense-organs (*śṣadāyatana*), the six sense-organs are the cause of contact (*sparsa*), the contact is the cause of sensation (*vēdanā*), sensation is the cause of thirst (*trishnā*), thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*), attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*), existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*), birth is the cause of old age and death (*jarā-marana*) They produce sorrow, lamentation, pain, troubles and anxieties<sup>6</sup> This is called the origin (*samudaya*) of all that is suffering (*dukkha-saṅkha*)<sup>7</sup> Such is the import of the fundamentals of the chain of dependent production

How many are the derivatives<sup>8</sup> of the chain of dependent production? We have said that nescience is the cause of constituents How manifold is the nescience? It is nescience in the past, nescience in the future and nescience in both the past and the future, it is nescience inside, nescience outside and nescience both in and out, it is nescience in action, nescience in its maturation (*vipāka*) and nescience both in action and its maturation, it is nescience in the Buddha, nescience in Dharma and nescience in Sangha It is nescience in pain, nescience in its origin, nescience in its annihilation, and nescience in the path (*mārga*) It is nescience in cause and nescience in its fruit (*phala*)<sup>9</sup> It is nescience in all *dharma*s that are produced from causes It is nescience in what is good and what is not good It is nescience in what is offensive and what is not offensive It is nescience in what ought to be practised and what ought not to be practised It is nescience in what is low and bad and what is noble<sup>10</sup> and good It is nescience in what is black and what is white It is nescience in different parts It is nescience either in

<sup>1</sup> In Chinese we have a word which literally means "origin", "commencement", etc., which is regularly used for *ādi*. *Ādi* is here used in the sense of "primaries" and  *vibhanga* in the sense of "secondaries" *Vibhanga* is translated in Chinese by "division", "classification", etc. It is here used in the sense of "secondaries". So I have translated the two words as "fundamentals" and "derivatives" respectively. Vasubandhu in his commentary already referred to explains *ādi* as *uddēsa* and *vibhanga* as *nirdeśa*. The Kasi text has *apachaya* instead of *vibhanga* as in that text the *nirōdha* is described instead of *vibhanga*.

<sup>2</sup> Chinese: *li shen* 'li' means "to the highest point", "with perfection", etc., and *shen* means "well", "good". The expression evidently translates Skt *sādhu cha sūchithu cha*. Before *sādhu* the Kasi text has *apachayam cha* instead of *vibhanga*.

<sup>3</sup> Chinese has literally—"To day by making distinction I will tell you"

<sup>4</sup> [This does not occur in the Skt text from Nālandā—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> This formula does not occur in the Pāli text of *Sāmyutta*. The Chinese literally means "(It) relies on its becoming, therefore it becomes. It produces, therefore it is produced". The Kasi text has got the formula in the same form as it is found in the Nālandā text. Tucci (*J R A S*, 1930, p. 614) has collected a number of references to this passage. *Salistamba* ap. de la Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des douze causes*, p. 71, *Prasannapadā*, p. 9 (and note 7 by the editor), *Mahāyāna*, Vol. II, p. 285.

<sup>6</sup> The Nālandā text *sola paridāya dukkha daurmanasya upayāsāh*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ṣaṅkha* is used here in a collective sense, meaning "all that is comprised under *dukkha*, i.e., suffering". The phrase *kālasa dukkhaṅkhandasā samudaya* with reference to the *Pañcchia samuppāda* is very common in Pāli. See *Pāli Dictionary* (Sted and Rhys Davids) sub *iccb*. The compilers translate the phrase as "origin of all that is suffering".

<sup>8</sup> The Kasi text has naturally *dharmānām apachayak* instead of *vibhanga* as what follows in that text is not the derivatives of the chain but means of their destruction (*nirōdha*).

<sup>9</sup> [This is not found in the present *Sūtra*—N P C.]

<sup>10</sup> [This pair of words stand for *hina* and *pravīra* respectively.—N P C.]

what is produced from causes (*pratītyasamutpanna*) or in the six sense-organs. It is nescience in the insight into real nature of things. Similarly wherever there is nescience in the real nature of things, wherever there is no<sup>1</sup> observation and no introspection and wherever there is doubt, nescience and obscurity it is called *avidyā*.

How many are the constituents? The constituents are of three kinds—of body (*lāya-samskāra*), speech (*vāk*) and mind (*manah*). These are called the constituents.

How many are the elements of consciousness (*vyñāna*)? The collection of consciousness consists of six—(i) eye consciousness (*chakṣur-vyñāna*), (ii) ear consciousness (*śrōṇa°*), (iii) nose consciousness (*ghrāṇa°*), (iv) tongue consciousness (*jihvā°*), (v) body consciousness (*lāya°*), (vi) mind consciousness (*manō°*). Such are the consciousnesses.

The consciousness is the cause of individuality (lit. name and form). How many are the names? They are four, having no aggregate of form (*rūpa-skandha*)—(i) aggregate of sensation (*vedanā-skandha*), (ii) aggregate of perception (*samjñā-skandha*), (iii) aggregate of constituents (*samskāra-skandha*), (iv) aggregate of consciousness (*vyñāna-skandha*). How many are the forms (*rūpa*)? All that has form is so called—all the four great elements (*mahā-bhūta*) and all that is created by the four elements. The latter are the forms and, the former, the names which are put together, abridged into one and called *nāma-rūpa*. Such is the individuality or *nāma-rūpa*.

*Nāma-rūpa* is the cause of the six sense organs (*śaḍ-āyatana*). What are the six sense organs? The six internal (*adhyātma*) sense organs are—(i) the internal organ of the eye, (ii) the internal organ of the ear, (iii) the internal organ of the smell, (iv) the internal organ of the tongue, (v) the internal organ of the body, (vi) the internal organ of the mind. Such are the six sense organs.

The six sense organs are the cause of contact (*sparsa*). How many are the contacts? The collection of contacts (*sparsa-lāya*) consists of six—(i) the contact through the eye, (ii) the contact through the ear, (iii) the contact through the nose, (iv) the contact through the tongue, (v) the contact through the body, (vi) the contact through the mind. Such are the contacts.

Contact is the cause of sensation (*vedanā*). How many are the sensations? They are of three kinds—Pleasant sensation, painful sensation and indifferent sensation (lit. not-painful and not-pleasant).

Sensation is the cause of thirst (*trishṇā*). How many are the thirsts? They are of three kinds—sensual thirst (*kāma-trishṇā*), thirst relating to form (*rūpa*) and thirst not relating to form (*arūpa*). Such are the thirsts.

Thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*). How many are the attachments? There are four attachments—(i) attachment arising from the sense desires, (ii) attachment arising from the visual sense, (iii) attachments arising from 'belief in rites',<sup>2</sup> (iv) attachment arising from "belief in soul-theory."

Attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*). How many are the existences? They are of three kinds—sensual existence (*kāma-bhava*), corporal existence (*rūpa*) and incorporeal existence (*arūpa*). Such are the existences.

Existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*). How many are the births? When in particular classes of beings there is birth of particular beings, there is becoming and production,<sup>3</sup> there is becoming of the *skandhas*, there is acquisition of *dhātu*, *āyatana* and *skandha* and there is becoming of the faculty of life it is birth (*jāti*).

<sup>1</sup> [This is more or less a free translation of the Sanskrit text—N P C]

<sup>2</sup> Literally all arising from righteous conduct and religious observances.

<sup>3</sup> [Note the four words *samjāti*, *avakṛānti*, *abhinivṛiti*, and *prādurbhāva* in the Sanskrit text, cf. with this the inscription 'Bhagavato oḥkrānti,' the descent of Bhagavat, on the 'Bharhut pillar, *Ind Ant*, Vol XXI, p 325, No 98—N P C]



is distinguished from *d* both when it occurs singly and when it forms a ligature with *n* (cf *ḍi* of =*māḍisidon*, l 9 and *ḍū* of *gāmundū*, l 8) The Dravidian *r* is found thrice, in *ra* of *āṛaneyū* (l 5) and *idaṛa* (l 10) and in *ri* of *nṛisidā* (l 12), and final *n* is found in *ṇāman* (l 14) The language of the record is archaic Kanarese Attention may be drawn to the accusative suffix *ān* (e g, *chēḍiyamān=*, l 9) and the genitive suffix *ā* (*āṛaneyū*, l 5) and the form of the verb *māḍisidon* (l 9) The orthography is free from any faults except for the use of long *ū* for the short in *gāmundū* There is no distinction between short and long *e* and *o*

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *chēḍiya*, i e, (*chaitya* or Jain temple) by *Kaliyamma* who was holding the office of the headman of *Jēbulagēri* and the erection in front of it of a sculpture by a certain *Kondiṣūlara Kuppā* whose other name was *Kirtti-varmama Gōsīri* The latter is clearly the name of his master (*prabhunāman*) as stated in the last line The writer was one *Diśūpāla*

The record is dated in the sixth year of king *Kirtti-varmama-Satyāśraya* The title *Satyāśraya* affords enough proof to show that the king belonged to the early Chālukya dynasty of *Bādāmi* and as the epigraph is on palaeographic grounds assigned to the 8th century A D *Kirtti-varmama* of our record must be the second king of that name Since his initial year has been fixed by the late Dr Fleet as 746-47 the date of our record would be 751-52 A D Only two stone inscriptions and two copper plates of this king have so far been published Of them the *Pattadakal* pillar inscription<sup>1</sup> and the copper plates are throughout in Sanskrit and the damaged *Ādūr* inscription<sup>2</sup> is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kanarese The present inscription is thus the first complete Kanarese record of this king

Attention may be drawn to the rare Kanarese expression *ond-uttaram* (increasing by one) occurring in this inscription So far as I know this word is found only in two other Rāshtrakūṭa records, viz, the *Nīdagundi* inscription<sup>3</sup> of *Amoghavarsha I* and the *Venkatāpur*<sup>4</sup> inscription of *Krishna II* Fleet, while editing the former inscription has remarked that this expression denoted an elliptical system of reckoning the regnal year of a king in which there was 'an omission of some kind or the other whether intentional or accidental' This supposed omission was in his opinion the word *arutattaneyya* (i e, sixtieth), for "with a cycle of sixty years actually in use in elliptical method of designating years in excess of the number of sixty in such a case as this one is perfectly intelligible and admissible," but it was difficult to recognise anything rational in an elliptical expression being used for the years eleven, twenty-first, thirty-first, etc According to Fleet, the full expression as it ought to be was, therefore, *ond-uttaram arutattaneyya varsham* meaning 'the sixtieth year increased by one' or the sixty-first year of the reign of the king to whom it belonged The learned scholar's conclusion was apparently influenced by the fact that the only record containing the expression known to him was an undated record of a king who reigned for over 60 years But the present inscription and the *Venkatāpur* record referred to above belong to kings whose reigns did not last so long and can be referred respectively to the 6th year of *Kirtti-varman (II)* and to Śaka 828 (which was the 29th regnal year of *Krishna II*) The explanation offered by Fleet is thus entirely out of place and *ond-uttaram* must therefore be interpreted in some other way The context in which it occurs in the three records would show that it is an exact counterpart of the widely used expression *uttar-uttaram*, viz, in

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III, pp 1 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI, p 60

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VII, p 212

<sup>4</sup> No 82 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1920-27 The name of the king is wrongly given as *Amoghavarsha* for *Ahālarsha* (*Krishna II*)



conjunction with the word *rājyam* or *rājyābhivṛddhi*.<sup>1</sup> *Ond-uttaram* can therefore be understood as an idiomatic expression synonymous of *uttar ōttaram*, denoting 'progressively'

*Jēbulagōri* mentioned in the inscription appears to be a part of the town of Annigere.

### TEXT

#### First Face

- 1 Svasti [||\*] Kīrtti[va]rmmā-[Satyā]śraya
- 2 śrī-prithu[ī-vallabha] mahārājā-
- 3 dhīrāja paramēśvara bhātīrara
- 4 rājyam ond-uttaram-abhivṛddhi sa-
- 5 le āraṇeyā varsham prava-

#### Second Face

- 6 rddamānam=āge Jē
- 7 bulagōrige Kalī-
- 8 yamma gāmunḍū(n)-geyd-ī
- 9 chedyamīn=īndisidon
- 10 idara munde Kōndi-

#### Third Face

- 11 śulara-Kuppa Kīrttiavarmmā-
- 12 gōsāsiya nīrisidū
- 13 kīrttana ॐ Dīśpīlasya li-
- 14 khitam ॐ Prabhunīman ॐ

### No 35 — TWO STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA II, SAKA 805

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND

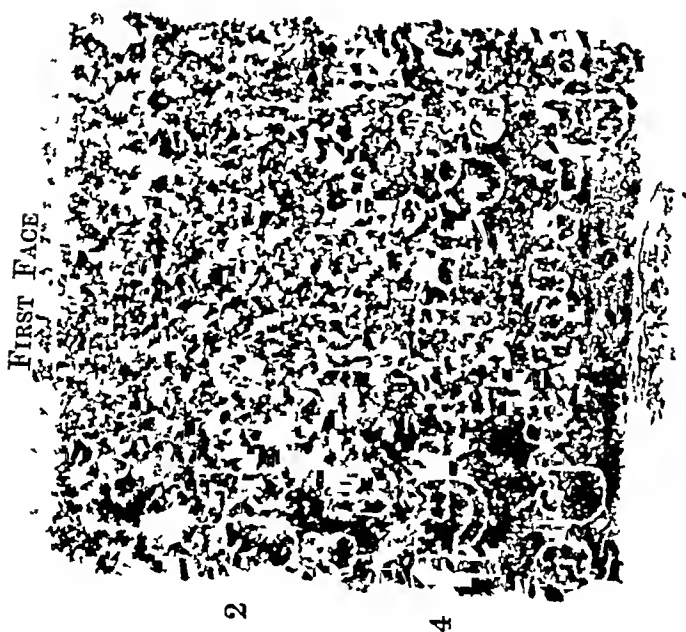
These two inscriptions<sup>2</sup> were copied by me in the year 1926-27 in the villages of Soratūr and Sirumja both in the Gadag Taluka of the Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency Soratūr (ancient Saratavura), where a battle was fought between the Hoysala king Ballāla II and the Yādava king Bhīlāma has already been fully described by the late Dr Fleet on p 176, Vol XIII of this journal Sirumja which is three miles north of Soratūr does not seem to have enjoyed any importance. The inscription at Soratūr, which I shall call A, is incised on a slab set up in front of the Venkatēśa temple and is in an excellent state of preservation. The Sirumja record, which is called B in the sequel, is on a hero stone near the village school and is damaged to some extent, particularly in lines 3 and 4.

The alphabet is **Kanarese** quite regular for the period to which the records refer themselves. Attention may be drawn to the following features which present themselves in this transitional period when the script underwent some radical changes.—the earlier form of initial : consisting

<sup>1</sup> This will become clear by a comparison of the three records using *ond uttaram* with some inscriptions where *uttar ōttaram* occurs —(1) Annigere Inscription (*rājyam ond uttaram=abhivṛddhisalo*), (2) Nīdagundi inscription (*ond uttaram rājyam geyutt-ire*), (3) Venkatāpur Inscription (*rājyābhivṛddhiy=ond-uttaram sale*), (4) Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind Ant Vol XIX, p 18*) (*uttar ōttara pravarddhamāna rājya pañchama śrī varsh*), (5) Sūrur Inscription of Amoghavarsha I (above, Vol VII, p 206) (*pravarddhamāna samvatsaramga=ayatt-eradam=uttar ōttaram rājy-ābhivṛddhi salutt ire*), (6) Rōṇ Inscription of the same king (*Ind, Vol XIII, p 185*) (*rājvad=uttar ōtt(ū)aram=abhivṛddhiyol*)

Nos 73 and 59 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926-27

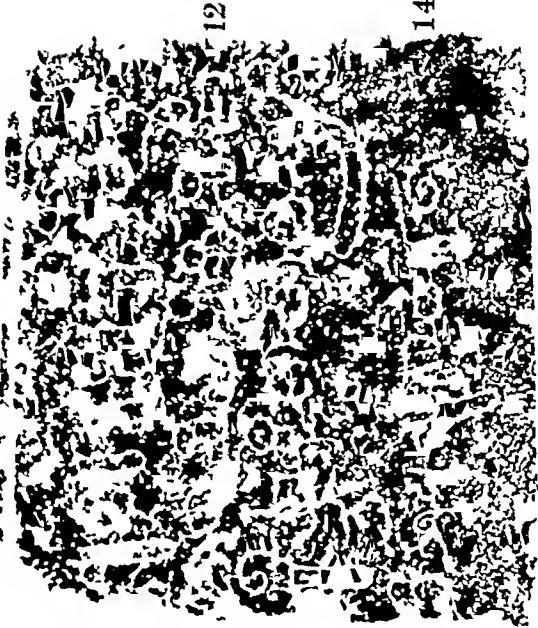
# ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KUTTIVARMAN II — 6th YEAR



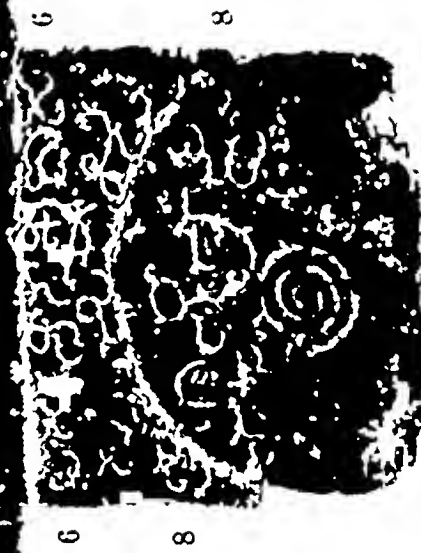
FIRST FACE



SECOND FACE



THIRD FACE



of two curves with two dots below still persists (see *Indapayya* l 4 of A), medial *e* is expressed in two different ways (i) by the addition of a downward stroke at the left of the *talakattu* as in earlier records (cf *mē* of *paramēśvara* in l 2 of A) and (ii) by a superscript mark as in *ge* of *Purigere* (l 5 of A) and *de* of *Puhde* (l 4 of B). As in older records no distinction is made between medial *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. While in A, the later cursive form of *ṛ* is used throughout, only the earlier form is found in B (cf *ja* in *raja* l 1 of A with *rāja* l 1 of B). The letter *l* is of the later cursive type with the miniature of the earlier type in the centre. Both the special Dravidian consonants *r* and *l* are much more developed than in records of the eighth century (e.g., *Purigere* and *ildu* in l 5 of A and *nirisido* and *Puhde* in l 4 of B). The lingual *d* cannot be distinguished from the dental *d* in both the records.

The language of the inscriptions is **Kanarese prose**. Attention may be drawn to the nominal verb *nādayisu* (assemble) from the noun *nādu* which is a rare formation. Another interesting and still unexplained word is *gōsāsa* occurring in l 7 of A. Dr Fleet has suggested<sup>1</sup> that it might be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *gōshāla*. That the word is connected with Sanskrit *gō* (cow) has already been pointed out by him. In the Soratūr record (A) the occurrence of the expression *stan-ābhuriddhi* (prosperity of the udders) immediately after the mention of the gift of *gōsāsa* confirms this view. But Fleet's suggestion that the word may mean a cow-shed is not correct for, it is not possible to derive *gōsāsa* from *gōshāla*, it is more probable that the word is an abbreviation or Kanarese rendering of *gō-sahasra*. This is strengthened by the fact that a certain Kōsigara Kōteyamma who is described as a *gōsāsi* in one of the inscriptions of Belāgi<sup>2</sup> in the Mysore State is described in another record<sup>3</sup> of the same place as *gōsahasram=āldam* (i.e., who was the manager or the keeper of *gōsahasra*). The mention first of a gift of *gō sahasra* and then of a *gō-sāsa* is not found in the Chinchli inscription<sup>4</sup> as supposed by Fleet. In other epigraphs from the Bombay-Karnatak we have similar references to the gifts of *gō-sahasra*<sup>5</sup>.

As regards **orthography**, B is free from any errors except the use of *s* for *ś* in *saka* (l 2), but A is full of mistakes. Unnecessary lengthening of letters such as *Paramēśvarā* for *Paramēśvara* (l 2) and *Indāpāyyā* for *Indapayya* (l 4) is very common in the record. *R* is used for the vowel *ri*, in *prithuvī*, (l 1) and *iddhi* (l 2).

The inscription **A** records the gift of a *gōsāsa* by a certain Chidanna made in the presence of the Fifty (*mahā-janas*) of *Saratavura* who had assembled together when *Indapayya* was governing the *nādu* district). As we are told that *Saratavura* was situated in the *Purigere-nādu* the district which *Indapayya* was administering was evidently *Purigere*. From other inscriptions we know that this was a three-hundred district or a district comprising 300 villages. *Indapayya* who was in charge of this district is introduced to us here for the first time. **B** is a hero-stone recording the death of a certain *Ereyamma* in a cattle-raid at *Nivudi* and the setting up of the stone by *Gurevamma*, the younger brother of *Puhde-gāvunda*.

Both the epigraphs refer themselves to the reign of *Akālavarsha* and are dated in the **Śaka year 805** and A gives, in addition, *Śōbhakrit* as the corresponding cyclic year. Thus the English equivalent of the date is A.D. 883-84. *Akālavarsha* of the records whose proper name *Kaṇnara-bhaṭṭāra* is also given in A is, no other than the Rāshtrakūṭa king **Krishna II**, the successor of *Amoghavarsha I* for whom the latest date known so far is A.D. 877-78. The earliest

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol VI, p 255

<sup>2</sup> *Mys Arch Rep* 1929, p 152, No 79

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p 151, No 78

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol VI, p 265, f n 2

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, No 148 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926-27 and No 11 of the same collection for 1928-29

date hitherto available for Kṛṣṇa II was A D 888<sup>1</sup>. The present records thus furnish the earliest date for this monarch leaving only a gap of six years after the last known year of Amoghavarsha.

Of the places mentioned Saratavura is the modern Soratūr where inscription A was found. Nivudī has probably to be identified with Nigadī, a village about 8 miles south-west of Dharwar.

## TEXT

## A

- 1 ॐ Svasti Śrī[||\*] Akālavarishā(varsha) prithuvī(prithivī)-vāllava(vallabha)  
mārajādī(mahārājādhirāja)rājā]
- 2 paramāśvarā(a) śrīmat-Kannara-bhaṭ[ā]rara rājy-ābhivṛti(vṛddhi) saluttum=ī-
- 3 re Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātita-sambhā(va)tsarāṃgal=ontu-nūṛ-āyda(ayda)ne[ya\*]  
Sū(Śū)-
- 4 bhakṣit ambha(ba) sambha(va)tsarāṃ pra[va\*]rttise Indāpāyyām(Indapayyam)nādān=  
āṇuttī-
- 5 re Puṇḍura-nāda Saratavurad=ī(a)vadumbarum=īdu nāḍayise Māna-
- 6 sigara Chidā(da)ṇṇa[m\*] gōṣī-
- 7 sam=īdo[m]
- 8 stan ābhivṛddhi[||\*]
- 9 nama[li](ॐ)

## B

- 1 Svasti=Akālavarsha śrī-prithuvī(prithivī)-vāllabha mahārājādhirāja paramāśvara  
bhaṭār[ā]
- 2 [sa]kālā-rājy-ābhivṛddhige saluttum=ire Sa(Śa)ka-varsham=ontu-nūṛa
- 3 aydaneya varsham pravarttisutt-ire [Kadalekadhi]pānnū Tṛeyammam Nivudī-  
turugo[o]=kā-
- 4 di sattom|| Ī kalla Puḍide gāvunda[na\*] tamma Guṇeyamma nṛisido||

## No 36—THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III—THE YEAR 347

By the late Mr R D Bhandarkar, M.A.

These plates were discovered, along with the plates of Silāditya IV of the year 387, at Jesar, a village in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāthiāwār. They were sent for inspection to Mr (now Dr) D R Bhandarkar, then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey in 1915 and his summary of the inscription will be found in his Annual Report for the year<sup>2</sup>.

The record is incised on two plates, of copper of equal size, the rims of which are slightly raised. There are two holes in each plate, through one of which is passed a long thick wire of copper. The ends of the wire are joined together by the seal of the Maṭrakas of Valabhī bearing the bull couchant and the ancient legend *Śrī-Bhatakkah*. The second ring is missing. The plates measure 15" × 11½" and are now preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhāvnagar. As the impressions taken in Dr D R Bhandarkar's time were not legible, these plates were obtained on loan

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> This letter *va* which is much smaller than the rest was omitted first and inserted later on.

<sup>3</sup> P. R. A. S. W. C., 1915-16, p. 55, para 10.

from the Bhāvnagar State through the Honourable Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kāthiāwār

There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing on these plates which are evenly distributed. The average height of letters is  $\frac{1}{2}$ " The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate. The characters of the inscription show unmistakable influence of the south, especially in the forms of *h* and *l*. Two forms of *l* have been used side by side: (1) the northern angular form with the base line and (2) the round southern form in which the base line is no longer existent. The base line of *h* also has disappeared. The text is almost an exact copy of the usual text used in other later Valabhī grants such as the Ahna Plates of Śilāditya VI<sup>1</sup>, without any variation and does not contain any additional historical information.

Like other later Valabhī grants this record also mentions Bhaṭṭarka but passes over his sons. The next descendant of Bhaṭṭarka, mentioned in the text, is Guhasāna, the son of Bhaṭṭarka's fourth son Dharaṇṭa. Then comes Guhasāna's son Dharaṇṭa II, his sons Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I. The latter was succeeded by his son Dharaṇṭa IV. The succession then devolved upon Dharaṇṭa III, the son of Dīrabhata who was one of the younger sons of Śilāditya I. Dharaṇṭa III was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha II. This prince was succeeded by his elder brother's (Śilāditya II's) son Śilāditya III, the donor of the present grant. The genealogical portion occupies the first forty-six lines. Unlike the text of the Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV, the text of this inscription is almost free from mistakes.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant by the king himself, of one hundred *pādārtas* of land in the village of Kuklapadra in the *pathala* of Kalāpaka in (the country) of Surāshtra to a Brāhmana with two names Saggala and Prakāsa, who was a Dīkṣita, an inhabitant of Valabhī and an migrant from Puṣyaśimhapura. He was the son of Śimbadatta, belonged to the Kauśika-gotra and was a follower of the *Yajurīda*. The land granted consisted of three pieces of which the first was the largest measuring seventy-three *pādārtas*. The piece lay towards the western boundary of the village and its boundaries were—On the east the *Brahmadāya* field of the Upādhyāya or preceptor, on the south the three royal wells, on the west a field named or belonging to Bhūsvaka and on the north the Vanatikā river. A new word *prachchihā* which is also met with in other Valabhī plates<sup>2</sup> occurs in connection with the above mentioned three wells, and apparently denoted 'a field irrigated by a well'.

The boundaries of the second piece, known as Bappula which consisted of twelve *pādārtas* of land and which was situated on the south western (boundary of the village), were—On the east the field of the Brāhmana ghāṇchaka, on the south the field of the Brāhmana Tatta, on the west the field of the Brāhmana chitta, and on the north the rivulet (*Sūrinī*). The third piece was called Lūsānikā. It was situated on the eastern boundary (of the village) and consisted of fifteen *pādārtas* measures of land. Its boundaries were—On the east the boundary of the village of Kannaśomaka, to the south the *prachchihā* of the well called Śirādandaka, on the west the *prachchihā* of the well called Dhōraka, and on the north the river Vanatikā. The grant also contained the well called Dhōraka extending over twenty-five *pādārtas*. The boundaries of this well were—To the east the piece of land called Lūsānikā, to the south the *prachchihā* of the well called Śirādandaka, to the west the *prachchihā* of the well called the *Pippala* and on the east the crest (*śikhara*) of the village (i.e., the mound on which the village was situated). The *Dūṭala* of the grant was the prince (*Rājaputra*) Dhruvasāna. It was written by the chief scribe (*Dūrapati*) Anahila son of the chief scribe, the *Sandha-*

<sup>1</sup> O I I, Vol III, pp 173 ff

<sup>2</sup> Cf the unpublished Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV and J B, B R A S (NS), Vol I, p 74, l 49, and above, p 164

*vigrahādāhṛita* the illustrious Skandabhaṭṭa. The date of the grant is the (Gupta) year 347, the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha corresponding to 666-67 A.D. The donor Śilāditya III is the brother's son of his predecessor Kharagrha II. With the exception of Valabhī and Surāshṭra, which are represented by modern Walā and Sorath in Kāthiāvār, I am unable to identify any other locality mentioned in the inscription. The inscription is edited from the original plates.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 Om<sup>1</sup> Svasti[!]\* Vijaya skandhāvāra[t\*] Pundhikanaka-vāsakā[t\*] prasabha-praṇat-  
āmitrānām Matrakānām<sup>2</sup>.... . . . . .

#### Second Plate

- 17 . . . . . mūshann=abhimukhānām-āyannhi dvishatām Paramamūhīś-  
varahī śrī Śilādityah-kūśahī sarvān-eva samajñāpīaty-astu vas-samviditam  
48 tathā mayā mātā-pitrōhī punyāpūrvanūya Pushyāśimhapura-vimrggattā-tach-  
chāturvīdyā-sīmūva śrī Valabhī vāstavya-Kausika-sagōtra-Adhivaryu-sabrahmaśūri-  
49 Brāhmanā Sāmbadatta-putra-Brāhmana Saggala Prakāśa-dvīmōma-Dikshutāya Surāshṭra-  
Ka(ā)lāpaka-pūthakē Kukkāpudrā-grāmē bhū-pādāvartta-śatā-parimānam  
50 tri-khand-āvasthutam kshētram yatra prathamā-handam apara-sīmam tri-saptatī-  
bhū-pādāvartta-parimānam vasy=īghūtānām pūrvatah upādhyāya brāhma-  
dīya-kshētram dakṣhinatah  
51 rūjakīya-āpī-traya-prachchihā aparatah [Bhūsvaka] kshētram uttaratah Vāśa-  
tīlā nadī tathā dvitīya-handam apara-dakṣhina-sīmam Bappula-samjñitam  
dvādasa bhū-pādāvartta-parimānam  
52 vasya pūrvatah Brāhmana-Ghāṇchaka-śatka-kshētram dakṣhinatah Brāhmana-  
Tatta-kshētram aparatah Brāhmana-Chatta-śatka-kshētram uttaratah sūrinī  
tathā pūrvā-sīmā  
53 tri(tr)īya-khandam Lūsānka-samjñitam prāchadaśa-bhū-pādāvartta-parimānam vasya  
pūrvatah Kannasōmika-grāma-sīmā dakṣhinatah Śirādandaka-samjñita-āpīnā  
prachchihā  
54 aparatah Dhōrika-samjñita-āpī-prachchihā uttaratah Vāśatikā nadī tathā  
śtat-sīmā=eva Dhōrika-samjñitā pañcha-vinātī-bhū-pādāvartta-parisārā vāpī  
55 vasyāh pūrvatah Lūsānikā-samjñita-kshētra-khandam dakṣhinatah Śirādandaka-  
samjñita-āpīnā<sup>3</sup> prachchihā aparatah Pippala-āpī prachchihā uttaratah  
56 grāma-śikhara-śvan=dam=āghūtana-vīśuddham vāpī-kshētram sōdrangam sōparikaram  
sa-bhūta-āta-pratyāvam sa-dhāna-haram-ādīyam sa-daśūparidham sōtpadya-  
māna-vi-  
57 śatikam sarva-rūjakīyānām=abasta prakshēya(pa)nām pūrvā-pratta-dīva-brāhma-  
dīya-ratatah bhūmi-chchidra-nāyācā=āchandr-ārkk-ārnnava-kshatī-sarita-parvata-  
sana-kālīnam pu-

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>2</sup> The portion of the text (lines 1 to 47) omitted here is in common with other grants of Śilāditya III, cf., for example, Lunsadī plates, above, Vol. IV, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>3</sup> [The termination *na* after *vāpī* may either be taken as a corruption of Sanskrit *nārī*, in which case Śirā and Dandaka may be two separate wells, or more likely a precursor of the modern Gujarati genitive termination—Ed.]

- 58 tra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyam=udak-ātisaggēna<sup>1</sup> dharmma-dāyō nīśīṣṭah yatō=sy=  
ōchitayā brahmadēya-sthityā bhuñjatah kṛṣṇatah karshayatah pratīśātō  
vā na kaiscid=vyasēdhē
- 59 vartitavyam=āgāmī-bhadra-nṛpatibhir=apy=asmad-vaśajair=anyair=vvā anityāny=  
aśvānyāny=asthīram mānushyam sāmānyāñ=cha bhūmī-dāna-phalam=avagach-  
chadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāyō=numantyavyah paripālayitavya-
- 60 ś=ch=ēty=uktaū=cha[ !\* ] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhī[s]=Sagar-ādibhi-  
[h]\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs=tasya tasya tadā phalam|| Yān=iha  
dāndrya-bhayān=narēndrar=ddhanāni dharm-āyatanī-kṛtāni [!\*] nīrbbhukta-  
mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nā-
- 61 ma sādhu=punar=ādadīta || Shashtī[m] varsha-sahasrāni svarggō tīśṭhatī  
bhūmīdah [ !\* ] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vassēt<sup>2</sup> [!\*]  
Dūtākō=tra Rājaputra-Dhruvasēnah||
- 62 Lakṣitam=idam Sandhivigrah-ādihikṛta-Divirapatī śrī-Skandabhata-putra-Divirapatī-  
Śrīmad-Anahilēn=ēti || Sam 100 40 7 Vaiśākha-va 15 Sva-hastō mama ||

## No 37 —SAKTIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA

BY DHIRENDRA CHANDPA GANGULY, M A , PH D , BENARES

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of Lakshmanasēna, the fourth king of the Śēna dynasty, who held sway over Bengal during the latter part of the 12th and the early part of the 13th century A D The other grants of this king, already known to us, are the Anulua copper-plate, the Govindapur copper-plate, the Tarpandighi copper-plate, and the Madhainagar copper-plate, all of which have been included by Mr N G Majumdar, in his book entitled "Inscriptions of Bengal", Vol III The same book also refers to a short inscription of Lakshmanasēna's reign, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Chandī, in the city of Dacca

The new copper-plate was lying in the house of late Mr Siva Chandra Chatterjee, in the village of Saktipur, in the Sadar-Subdivision of the Murshidābād District, Bengal, where it is said to have been worshipped for a long time by a widow, now dead It is now lying in the Museum of the Bangīya Sāhitya-Parishat who obtained it through Mr Satkari Chatterjee The inscription was first edited by Mr Ramesh Basu in the Bengali magazine conducted by the Sāhitya-parishat (Vol XXXVII, pp 216 ff) Mr Basu's paper embodies the transcript of the inscription with some introductory notes As there are some gross errors in his reading, I reedit this inscription with the kind permission of the authorities of the Bangīya Sāhitya-Parishat<sup>3</sup>

This is a **single plate** inscribed on both sides, and measures 1' 6½" long and 1' 2" broad A **seal** representing an effigy of Sadāśiva is attached on the top of it with nails The plate contains altogether 58 lines, 29 on each side The letters are quite distinct and hardly offer any difficulty in reading There is some vacant space in line 26 after *yathā*, and in line 55 after *viś-thāyām*, each of which can provide a letter There is also some vacant space in line 54 after *vrajēt*, which can accommodate two letters The first three letters of the word *vinimayēna* in line 46 are indistinct

<sup>1</sup> Read *ātisarggēna*<sup>2</sup> Read *vassēt*<sup>3</sup> I acknowledge my gratitude to Mr N K Bhattacha, M.A., and Mr R G Basu, M A , for the help they have rendered me in writing this article



The characters are proto Bengali of the type found in Lalishmanasēna's grants. *K*, *t*, *n*, *m*, *ṣ*, *v* and *śh* have already assumed the forms of the modern Bengali characters. The forms of some individual letters call for special remarks. *V* is not always uniformly written (cf. ll 7 and 9). Sometimes *p* and *ṣ* (ll 5 and 7), *v* and *r* (ll 7 and 9), and *r* and *c* (ll 1 and 11) are indistinguishable. The forms of the letters in this inscription and that on the Annah plate are not always identical. Special attention is drawn to the conjunct letters *nd*, and *tlh*.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written both in verse and in prose. Lines from 1 to 17 and from 50 to 58 are in verse, with the exception of *ōm na nō, etc.*, at the commencement, the date at the end and the lines 17 to 50 which are in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *v* denotes both *i* and *b*. The word *duhṭha* is written as *duḥṭha* (l 3) as in the Annah plate. *Tripurārmāḥa* is written as *Tripurārmāha* (ll 57-58). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *śarjja*, *°r riasadhā* (ll 51, 52, 51), *cc*. The words *buddhā* and *dattā* are respectively written as *buddhā* (l 56) and *dattā* (l 12).

The inscription records a grant of Lakshmanasēna, the son of Vallālasēna, grand son of Vijayasēna, and the great grand son of Hōmantasēna. The Deopara inscription<sup>1</sup> of Vijayasēna tells us that Sāmantasēna was the father of Hōmantasēna. Hōmantasēna was the first king of the family. The same inscription<sup>2</sup> mentions Hōmantasēna's wife as Mahārājñī (the great queen). The Barrackpur inscription<sup>3</sup> of the same king designates Hōmanta as Mahārājādhirāja. Nothing is known from our inscription regarding the military achievements of Lalishmanasēna. But the Madhumagar copper plate<sup>4</sup> of the king records that when he was a crown prince, he seized the fortune of the king of Gauda, defeated the Kings of Kalunga, and Kāśī and subdued Kīmarūpa.

The object of the inscription is to record that King Lalishmanasēna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted to a Brāhman named Kuvēra 80 *drōmas* of land, comprising a part of Nimāpātaka, and the whole of the five *pāṭakas* of Rāghavahatta, Vārahakōṭī, Vāllihitā, Vijahārāpura, and Dāmaravadā, all situated in the Kumārāpura chaturaka, in the Madhugirimanandala, attached to Kumhānagara, in the Dakṣiṇavithī of Uttara-Ridha, in the Kanīagrāmabhukti. The lands comprising Vārahakōṭa, Vāllihitā, Rāghavahatta, and part of Nimāpātaka were contiguous, and were bounded in the east by the extensive lands of Mālikundā along with Aparājōḥī, in the south by Bhāgadikhandakṣhētra, in the west by the cow-track of Achehamā and in the north by the Mōra river. The two *pāṭakas* of Vijahārāpura and Dāmaravadā which were off from the above lands, were again contiguous. They were bounded on the east by Chikahivājōḥī, on the south by Vipravaddhājōḥī, on the west by Lāngalājōḥī, and on the north by the cow-track of Parajina. The income of all the lands granted was five hundred (*kapardala-purāṇas*)<sup>5</sup>. The inscription tells us that the above grant was made in exchange of Kṣhētrapātaka, which yielded five hundred (*kapardala-purāṇas*), and which had been given by King Vallālasēna to the Gavāl<sup>6</sup> Brāhman Haridūsa on a previous occasion. It appears from this that on the aforesaid day of the solar eclipse the king, through mistake, gave Kuvēra the Kṣhētrapātaka. But shortly after, when it was brought to his notice that the latter had already been given by his father to Haridūsa, he annexed to Government (*kōshthīritya*) the above mentioned six *pāṭakas*, which were of equal value with the previous grant and made them over to Kuvēra in exchange of the Kṣhētrapātaka.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff. and *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62, l. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Though not specified, this unit of money may be supplied from other inscriptions of the period.

<sup>6</sup> [The priests at Gayā are still known by the name of Gavāl or Gavāval Brāhman—Ed.]

The inscription furnishes us with the names of some hitherto unknown territorial divisions in Bengal. In the early times, modern Bengal was divided under four geographical units, viz., Vaiṇḍrī, Rādha, Vanga, and Samatata. Vaiṇḍrī represented North Bengal or the modern Rājshāhi Division and Rādha comprised South-west Bengal. Rādha or Rādhā was further divided into Northern and Southern Rādha. The former was bounded by the Ajaya in the south, the Bhāgīrathī in the east and the north, and the Santal Parganas in the west. This comprised the whole of the present Birbhum District, and part of the Murshidābād District.

The highest administrative unit was a *bhukti*, which was divided between *mandalas* and *vishayas*. The exact relation between a *mandala* and a *vishaya* cannot be fixed, the evidence on the subject being of a conflicting nature, most of the inscriptions from Bengal, however, refer to *mandala* as a subdivision of *vishaya*. The divisions of a *mandala* were *khandalas*<sup>1</sup> and *vīṭhīs*<sup>2</sup>. The Nālandā<sup>3</sup> plate of Dēvapāla states that Kumudasūtra-vīṭhī was within the Gavā-vishaya. The Naihati plate<sup>4</sup> of Vallālasēna refers to a *vīṭhī* which was within the jurisdiction of a *mandala*. This suggests that *vīṭhī* was a division of a *mandala* and a subdivision of a *vishaya*. The relation between *khandala* and *vīṭhī* is not known. The division of *vīṭhī* seems to have been a *khātīkā*. The Khalimpur plate<sup>5</sup> of Dharmapāla mentions a *khātīkā* named Vēsanika. The Govindapur plate<sup>6</sup> of Lakshmanasēna refers to a *khātīkā*. Between *khātīkā* and *chaturaka* was a unit called *ṛitta*. *Ṛitta* was divided into *chaturaka*,<sup>7</sup> *chaturaka* into *grāma*<sup>8</sup> and *grāma* into *pātaka*<sup>9</sup>.

From the records of the early Sēna kings, we know of only two *bhuktis* in Bengal, viz., Paundravardhana and Vardhamāna. During the period of the Guptas and the Pālas the Paundravardhana-*bhukti* comprised only the Rājshāhi Division,<sup>10</sup> but during the Sēna period it included a number of other territories within its jurisdiction such as Vanga (approximately the Dacca Division), and the Presidency Division<sup>11</sup> east of the Bhāgīrathī. The Vardhamāna-*bhukti* originally comprised parts of the District of Murshidābād west of the Bhāgīrathī and the whole of the Districts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Hughli, and Howrah.<sup>12</sup> The Naihati plate of Vallālasēna,<sup>13</sup> issued in the 11th year of the king's reign (circa 1171 A.D.), states that Uttara-Rādha formed a *mandala* within the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. But the present grant of Lakshmanasēna, issued in the 6th year (circa 1183 A.D.) of his reign, refers to Uttara-Rādhā as situated within the Kankagrāma-*bhukti*. This suggests that some territorial re-arrangements must have been effected during the intervening period, probably early during Lakshmanasēna's reign. The Kankagrāma *bhukti* which is known for the first time from this inscription, must have been of recent formation and it is probable that the conquests of Lakshmanasēna in the direction of Bihār must have made this an administrative necessity. It seems to have taken over the Northern Rādha tract from Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, although we know from the Govindapur grant, that the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p. 24

<sup>2</sup> The *Dēvipurāṇa* describes Mathurā as a *vīṭhī* (Chapt. LXVI, V. 73)

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 321

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 74, l. 38

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 253

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 96, l. 34

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 112, l. 40, p. 146, ll. 48-49

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. 170-171

<sup>9</sup> *Gauda Lēlhamālā*, p. 135, V. 29

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. XV, p. 140, *ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 253.

<sup>11</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 63, 137

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 74, 97.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 71 ff.

latter *bhūti* was in existence in the 2nd year of Lalishmannāna. The Ajaya which was the boundary between northern and southern Rādha must then have been the boundary between the two *bhūti*s. The Kankarīna *bhūti* appears to have extended into the Santal parganas and Bhūgalpur on the north-west of Uttara Rādha. On the north-east it could have extended very little beyond the river Garo.

[The place Kaulatīna from which the *bhūti* took its name can be identified with Kāuljōl (21° 18' N. Lat. 87° 18' E. Long.) just beyond the northern limit of the Murshidābād and Birbhum Districts of Bengal. Cunningham calls it 'an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Purnah and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges but which in former days lay on the west bank.' Its situation on a jutting point of the old high bank of the Ganges must have given it a great importance. According to Cunningham, 'the province in which it is situated was called P'ndha by the Hindus.' But in northern Rādha formed part of the southern subdivision (*oṣṭī*) of the Kankarīna territory (*bhūti*) the latter appears to have occupied P'ndha. Besides the antiquities noticed by Cunningham there are other important antiquities at Kauljōl in the neighbourhood of Kāuljōl which indicate that the place was of considerable importance in the pre-Muhammadan period. There can therefore be little doubt about the proposed identification.]

The name of the ancient Mōkha in *śāloka* may be recognised in the present Mōhā'gadhā, an isolated hill, in Santal Parganas, to a height of 1,551 feet above sea level and situated about 22 miles to the south-west of Kāuljōl and 20 miles north-west of Kumbhārapur.—Ed.]

Of the other localities mentioned in the inscription, Kumbhīnapurā may be identified with the modern Kumbhā in the Purnah P. S. of the Birbhum District. The river Mōra is the modern Mor (also known as Mā'ratī) which flows through the Birbhum District. Kumārāpurā still retains its ancient name and is situated in P. S. Maureswar about 3½ miles north of the Mor. Vārahakōṇā is the modern Barunda in P. S. Suri, about ½ a mile north of the Mor and 1½ mile from the Samthar railway station of the B. E. R. Loop line. The words *Īcā* and *Īndā* are interchangeable according to the usage in the Birbhum District. The modern village of Baharpur in the Labpur P. S. of Birbhum District probably represents the ancient Vijahārapurā. Mr. N. K. Bhattacharya identifies Nīmā and Vāllihitā with the modern villages of Nima and Baluti in P. S. Maureswar, on the north bank of the Mor, 4 miles north-east from Samthar and 5½ miles west of Kumārāpur. He also identifies Achichhamā with the modern village of Amma in P. S. Suri, ½ mile north of Samthar and Parajāna with that of Paljāna, a village on both sides of the Mor, in P. S. Labpur and P. S. Maureswar, about 5 miles north-west of Baharpur. The village of Barunda, Nima and Baluti are now on the north bank of the Mor when the inscription tells us that they were to the south of this river. This shows that the Mor, which is a restless river constantly shifting its sandy bed, has since changed its course. The dried-up bed of the modern Kāṇā river, passing north of Nima and Baluti, was most probably the ancient course of the Mor during the Śara period. [Bārākōṇī would be a better equivalent of Vārahakōṇā and a well-known ancient locality exists under this name close to Panchthup in the Kandi Subdivision of Murshidābād. In the vicinity are also to be found Nima and Baluti, and the river Mor drags on its course at some distance to the south.—Ed.]

The Śaktipur inscription refers to the land measurement of *drōṇa* <sup>1</sup> From the other records of the Sēna kings we know that several *drōṇas* made one *pāṭala* *Drōṇa* was again divided into *ādhaka* or *ādharāpa*, *ādhaka* into *unmāna*, and *unmāna* into *lāka* or *lākṛmika* <sup>2</sup> *Drōṇa* is still used as a land measure in Bengal All these measurements were governed by a linear standard known as “*nala*” The standard of the measurement of *nala* was not uniform all over Bengal, and differed according to the custom and practice of a particular locality The present grant makes mention of *Vṛishabhasankara-nala* *Vṛishabhasankara* being an appellation of *Vijayasena*,<sup>3</sup> the *nala* used in this inscription might have been introduced by and named after him The Barraekpur grant of *Vijayasena* refers to *Samatatiya-nala* <sup>4</sup> The Govindapur copper-plate<sup>5</sup> of *Lakshmanasena* which records the grant of a village in the *Vardhamāna bhukti*, refers to a standard of *nala* consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region

The donee *Kubēra* was the son of *Ananta*, grand son of *Prithivīdhara* and great-grand-son of *Anuruddha* From an early dynastic calendar used by the *gha'ala*s (match-makers),<sup>6</sup> we gather that there were in the time of *Lakshmanasena* three brothers named *Dcvala*, *Vāmana* and *Kuvēra*, sons of *Dharmāmsu*, grand-sons of *Pithō* and great-grand-sons of *Anuruddha* If *Pithō* is a contraction of *Prithivīdhara*<sup>7</sup> (as is very likely) and *Ananta* is taken to be another name of *Dharmāmsu*, the *Kubēra* of the present record may be identical with the youngest of the three brothers The other two, *Dcvala* and *Vāmana* are said to have received honor as ‘*Kulm*’ (High class *Brāhmanas*) from *Lakshmanasena* but *Kuvēra* is said to have forfeited this privilege, owing to his marriage with the daughter of *Hāsyā Gṛngulī*, a degraded “*Kulm*” who had accepted the gift of a golden cow from *Vallālasena* <sup>8</sup> The loss of ‘*Kulmism*’ does not however seem to have prevented the *Brāhman* from receiving gifts at the hands of the king

The date of the inscription was read by Mr Basu as Sam 3, the 2nd day of *Śrāvana* Mr Bhattasali (with whom I concur) corrects it as Sam 6, the 7th day of *Śrāvana* <sup>10</sup>

[The supposition that the king first granted by mistake some land already in the enjoyment, of another donee, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, and subsequently exchanged it for another seems to be corroborated by the fact that except in 1163 A D (which is too early for *Lakshmanasena*) there was no solar eclipse on the 7th day of (solar) *Śrāvana*, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century A D In 1183 A D the seventh day of *Śrāvana* fell on Sunday the 3rd July, while a solar eclipse occurred on Monday the 23rd May The intervening period of about six weeks can be explained by the supposition that the mistake took some time to be detected, reported to the authorities concerned and rectified In 1185 A D a solar eclipse occurred about two months before the 7th day of *Śrāvana* and in 1180 A D over three weeks after the date The year 1183 is thus the most plausible equivalent of the present date, which corroborates the conclusion

<sup>1</sup>[*Drōṇa* is the same as *drōṇavāpa* of the Gupta period plates in Bengal, cf above, Vol XX, p 61 The *pāṭala* of the Sēna period was however a larger unit than the *Tuljavāpa* of earlier plates, as the former equalled at least 10 *drōṇas*, while the latter was made up of 8 *drōṇavāpas*—Ed ]

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol III, pp 78, 90, 104

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p 136, l 32

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p 60

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp 96, 97, *śat dēśiya samīyavahāra śaṣṭipañchasat(ī) hasta parimīta nalēna*,

<sup>6</sup> *Baṅgēr Jātīya Itihāsa*, by N N Basu, *Brahmaṇal haṇḍa*, p 140

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p 155

<sup>8</sup> [Cf *Pithorā* for *Prithvirāja*—Ed ]

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p 162 I am indebted to Mr Subodh Chandra Banerjee, M.A., of the Manuscript department, Dacca University, for drawing my attention to this passage, contained in an early match maker's calendar

<sup>10</sup> Cf the numeral “3” in the Anula plate, l 56, and in *Sihata* parishat copper-plate of *Vīśvarūpasena*, l 35, and the numeral “6” in the latter l 50.

that the date of Lakshmanasēna's accession was 1178 A D arrived at from the date of Śrīdhara's *Sadukh-Karnāmṛta*, which is stated to be Śaka 1127 and the 27th year of Lakshmanasēna's reign —Ed ]

The *dūta* of the grant was the *Sāṇḍhivigraha* Tripurārīnātha The Govindapur plate,<sup>1</sup> dated Sam 2, the 28th day of Bhādra, the Anula plate,<sup>2</sup> dated Sam 3, the 9th day of Bhādra, all belonging to Lakshmanasēna state that the *Sāṇḍhivigraha* Nārāyanadatta was the executor of these grants Apparently he was succeeded in that office by Tripurārīnātha between the 3rd and 6th years of Lakshmanasēna's reign

### TEXT

#### Obverse

- 1 सिद्धम् [१<sup>२</sup>]<sup>३</sup> ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ विद्यु[द्य]त्र मण्ड्युति' फण्डपतेर्वा(र्वा)-  
लेन्दुरिन्द्रायुध वारि स्वर्गतरङ्गिनी सि-
- 2 तस्मिन्माला व(व)लाकावलि. [१<sup>\*</sup>] ध्यानाभ्यास[स<sup>\*</sup>]मीरणीपनिहित(तः) श्रेयोङ्कुरोद्भूतये  
भूयाहः स भवार्तितापमिदु-
- 3 रः शश्वो. कपर्दासु(स्वु)द<sup>४</sup> ॥[१॥<sup>\*</sup>] आनन्दोऽसु(स्वु)निधौ चकोरनिकारे दुःख-  
च्छिदात्यन्त(न्ति)को कक्षारे हतमी-
- 4 हता रतिपतावेकोहमेवेति धी [१<sup>\*</sup>] यस्यामी अमृतात्मनः समुदयन्त्यासु प्रकाशा-  
जगत्य-
- 5 त्रिध्यानपरम्परापरिणतं ज्योतिस्तदास्ताम्बुदे<sup>५</sup> ॥[२॥<sup>\*</sup>] सेवावनम्रनृपकोटिकिरीट-  
रोचिर-
- 6 सु(स्वू)क्षसत्पदनखद्युतिवस्त्ररोमिः[ १<sup>\*</sup>] तेजोविषज्वरमुषो द्विपतामभूवन् भूमीभुज(जः)  
स्फुटमथौष-
- 7 धिनायवशे<sup>६</sup> ॥[३॥<sup>\*</sup>] आकोमारविकस्त्ररेर्दिशि दिशि प्रस्यन्दिमिर्होर्यशः-  
प्रासेयैररिराज<sup>७</sup>वत्तानलि-
- 8 न्मानी.<sup>८</sup> समुन्मीलयन् [१<sup>\*</sup>] हेमन्तः स्फुटमेव सेनजननक्षेत्रस्य<sup>९</sup> पुण्यावलीशालि-  
त्ताध्यविपाकापीव-

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol III, p 103

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp 172 and 91

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>4</sup> Metre *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita*

<sup>5</sup> Metre *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita*

<sup>6</sup> Metre *Vasantatilaka*

<sup>7</sup> *Ripurāja* in Anula and Govindapur plates

<sup>8</sup> Read *nalina mlānīḥ*

<sup>9</sup> *Kshētr anga* in Anula and Tarpandighi plates

- 9 रगुणस्तोषाममूहशजः<sup>1</sup> ॥[४॥\*] यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचितसुजः स्फुटं सहचरैर्यशोभिः  
शोमन्ते परिधि-
- 10 परिणष्टा इव दिशः [1\*] ततः काञ्चीलीलाचतुरचतुराभोविलहरीपरीतोर्वीभर्ता<sup>3</sup>  
जनि विज-
- 11 यसेन[1\*] स विजयी<sup>4</sup> ॥[५॥\*] प्रत्यूहः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदायनैकाध्वगः  
सग्रामः अितजङ्गमा-
- 12 कृतिरभूदलालसेनस्ततः [1\*] यश्चेतोमयमेव शौर्यविजयी दत्तौषधं<sup>5</sup> तत्क्षणा-  
दक्षीणा रचयाञ्च-
- 13 कार वशगाः स्वस्मिन् परेषा अयिः<sup>6</sup> [६॥\*] संमुक्तान्यदिगङ्गनागणगुणामोगप्रलोमादि-  
शामीशैरंश-
- 14 समर्प्येन घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभावस्फुटेः [1\*] दोरुषक्षपितारिसङ्गररसो<sup>7</sup> राजन्यधर्माश्रयः  
श्रीम-
- 15 स्रक्ष्मणसेनमूपतिरतः सौजन्यसीमाजनि<sup>8</sup> ॥[७॥\*] शश्वद्वह्निमययादिसुतविप्रयास्त-  
न्मातृनिष्ठीकृत-
- 16 स्वान्ता यान्तु कथं न नाम रिपवस्तस्य प्रयोगाक्षयम् [1\*] यैरात्मप्रतिविम्बि-  
(विम्बि)तेपि निपतत्पतेपि<sup>9</sup> चञ्चल-
- 17 ऐष्यद्वैतेन यतस्ततोपि सपरो देवः परं वीच्यते<sup>10</sup> ॥[८॥\*] स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुर-  
समावासितश्रीम-
- 18 जयस्कन्धावारात् । महाराजाधिराजश्रीवल्लालसेनदेवपादानुध्यात<sup>11</sup> । परमेश्वरपर-
- 19 ममदारकपरमवैष्णवमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमस्रक्ष्मणसेनदेव<sup>12</sup> कुशली । समुप-
- 20 गताशेषराजराजन्यकराज्ञीराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहापुरोहितम-
- 21 हाधर्माध्यक्षमन्त्रासाम्निविग्रहिकमहासेनापतिमहामुद्राधिकृत<sup>12</sup> न्तरङ्ग-
- 22 वृहद्वह्निहृदुपरिकमहाक्षपटलिकमहाप्रतीहारमहाभोगिकमहापीलुपतिमहा-

<sup>1</sup> Metro *Sārdūlavil-rīḍita*<sup>2</sup> Read *bhuja tjaḥ* as in other inscriptions<sup>3</sup> Read *chatur ambhōdhi*.<sup>4</sup> Metro *Silharāṇi*<sup>5</sup> Read *dattu-aushadham*<sup>6</sup> Metro *Sārdūlavil-rīḍita*<sup>7</sup> *Kahayitā* in the Govindapur plate<sup>8</sup> Metro *Sārdūlavil-rīḍita*<sup>9</sup> Mr Basu remarks that the word *nīpatat patrē=pi* is misung. But the word is clearly engraved,<sup>10</sup> Metro *Sārdūlavil-rīḍita*<sup>11</sup> *Daṇḍa* unnecessary, read *dhyāta-Para*.<sup>12</sup> Read *kṛi-ānta*.

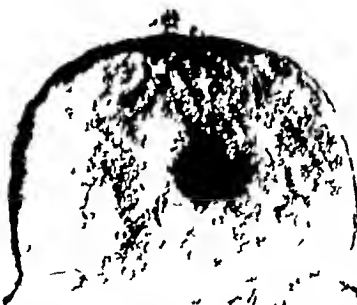
- 23 गणस्थदौःसाधिकचौरीवरणिकनौवलहस्थश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादित्र्याष्टतकगौलिम्  
 24 कदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविष[य\*]पत्यादीन् अन्याश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोध्यक्ष-  
 प्रचारी-  
 25 तानिहाकीर्तितान् चदमदजातीयान् चेचकारांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्  
 यथाह मान-  
 26 यति बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवताम् यथा श्रीमधुगिरिमण्डला-  
 वच्छिन्नकुम्भीनगर  
 27 प्रतिवक्षः काङ्गग्रामस्तुत्यन्तःपातिदक्षिणवीथ्यामुत्तरराढायां<sup>1</sup> कुमारपुरचतुरके पूर्व  
 अप-  
 28 राजोलीसमेतमालिकुण्डापरिसरभूः सीमा दक्षिणे ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्थलीयभागडीकण्डचेच  
 सीमा  
 29 पश्चिमे अष्टभागोपथः सीमा उत्तरे मोरनदीसीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः  
 षट्त्रिंशद्भूद्रीणात्मकः[\*]

## Reverse

- 30 सम्बत्सरेण सार्धशतव्योत्पत्तिकः वारहकोणावलिहितानिमापाटकसम्ब(म्ब)न्धिभूद्री-  
 31 णचतुष्टयोपेतपाटकाद्यसमेतरोधवहदपाटकास्तथाचतुरके पूर्वे चाकालियाजो-  
 32 लीसीमा दक्षिणे विप्रवडाजोलीसीमा । पश्चिमे लाङ्गलजोलीसीमा । उत्तरे  
 परजाण-  
 33 गोपथः सीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नस्त्रिपञ्चाशद्भूद्रीणात्मकः सम्बत्सरेण सार्धश-  
 34 तव्योत्पत्तिको दामरेवडासमेतविजहारपुरपाटक एवमेतद्व(ह)यविलिखित-  
 35 नामसीमं स्वसीमाद्यवच्छिन्नं देवब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणादिभूव(ब)हिः[\*]गोपथाद्यभू<sup>2</sup> वास्तुभू-  
 सहितं द्वयभश्च-  
 36 क्करनलेन उ(ज्ज)ननवतिभूद्रीणात्मकं सम्बत्सरेण पञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकं राधवहद-  
 वारह-  
 37 कोणाणिमावस्थितखण्डचेचभूद्रीणचतुष्टयात्मकावलिहितोपाटकादामरेवडा-  
 38 पाटकसमेतविजहारपुरपाटकमेतत् षट्पाटकं सम्पाटविटपं सजलस्थलं सग-  
 39 तीपरं सगुवाकानारिकेलं सह्यदशापराधं परिहृतसर्वपीडं अचदमदप्रवेश-  
 40 मकिञ्चित्प्रगाह्यं तृणपूतिगोचरपथ्यन्त । अनिरुद्धदेवशर्माणः प्रपौत्राय  
 41 पृथ्वीवरदेवशर्माणः प्रपौत्राय अनन्तदेवशर्माणः पुत्राय शशिण्ड्यसगोत्राय शा-

<sup>1</sup> [Of *Dalshūāmśaka-vāṭhēya*- in the Paharpur plate, above Vol. XX, p. 61.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Probably we have to read *gōpath-ādya asūra bhū bahiṣ-cha* [Cf. l. 36 of *Tarpanāṅga copper plates of Bengal III*, p. 102—Ed.]

[illegible]





- 42 ण्डित्वासितदेवलप्रवराय सामवेदकौथुमशाखोचरणानुष्ठायिने आचार्यश्री-  
 43 कुवेरदेवशर्मणे पुण्ये अहनि विधिवदुदकापूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणमहा-  
 44 रकासुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोमिदृश्ये । श्रीवत्सालसेनदेवप्रदत्त-  
 45 गयालत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणहरिदासेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकक्ष(क्षे)त्रपाटकाभिधानशास-  
 46 नो(नो)[विनिम]येन एतद्राववह्नादिषट्पाटकम्रत्तेकमुपरिलिखितप्रमाणं पञ्चशतो-  
 47 तो<sup>1</sup>त्पत्तियोग्यं क्षे(क्षे)त्रपाटका कोठीहात्य अस्मै पुनर्व्वा(व्वा)ह्मणाय श्रीकुवेराभिधानाय  
 सूर्यग्रहे  
 48 एतत्समुत्सृज्याचन्द्राक्षं क्षितिसमकाल यावद्भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीहात्य दत्त-  
 49 मस्त्रामिस्तज्ञवक्षिः सर्व्वरेवानुमन्तव्यम् [1\*] भाविमिरपि नृपतिमिरपहरणे  
 नरकापात-  
 50 भयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीय [1\*] भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशसिनः  
 लोकाः । भूमिं  
 51 य. प्रतिगृह्णाति यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1\*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं  
 स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥<sup>2</sup>[८॥\*]  
 52 व(व)हुमिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजसि. सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य  
 [तस्य] तदा फल(लम्)<sup>3</sup> ॥[१०॥\*] आस्फोट-  
 53 यन्ति पितरो वलायन्ति पितामहा[.1\*] भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नखाता  
 भविष्यति ॥<sup>4</sup>[११॥\*] पष्टिं वर्ष-  
 54 सहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिद. [1\*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकां  
 प्रजेत् ॥<sup>5</sup>[१२॥\*] स्वदत्ता  
 55 परदत्ताम्वा यो हरत वसुन्धरां [1\*] स विठाया क्षिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह-  
 पच्यते ॥<sup>6</sup>[१३॥\*] इति कामल-  
 56 दलाम्बु(स्त्रु)विन्दुलोला श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [1\*] सकलमिदमुदा-  
 हृतञ्च बुधा<sup>7</sup> न हि  
 57 पुरपै. परकीर्तयो विलोभ्याः ॥<sup>8</sup>[१४॥\*] श्रीमल्लह्मणसेनजोषीन्द्रः सान्धिविग्रहि-  
 काम् [1\*] त्रिपुरा-  
 58 रिनाह(य)मकारोत् कुवेरकस्य शासने दूतम् ॥<sup>9</sup>[१५॥\*] सं ६<sup>10</sup> आवाणदिने ७<sup>11</sup>  
 श्रीनिमहासांनि [1\*]

<sup>1</sup> This to is redundant<sup>2</sup> Metro Anushṭubh<sup>3</sup> Metro Anushṭubh<sup>4</sup> Read buddhvā<sup>5</sup> Basu reads 3<sup>6</sup> Metro Anushṭubh<sup>7</sup> Metro Anushṭubh.<sup>8</sup> Metro Pushpitāgrā.<sup>9</sup> Basu reads 2.<sup>10</sup> Metro Anushṭubh<sup>11</sup> Metro Anushṭubh<sup>12</sup> Metro Upagītā

## No 38 —THE TIRUMUKKUDAL INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA

By K V SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B A, COIMBATORE

Of the collection of over twenty thousand inscriptions made by the Epigraphical Department in the Madras Presidency, the inscription edited here is unique in several respects. It is one of the biggest inscriptions known so far, it registers certain historical facts not known or noticed till now, it gives an insight into the details of the working of the official machinery and shows how the king's birth-day, the days of the natal star of persons of note, and festivals of public rejoicing were celebrated, it records provisions made for the maintenance of an educational institution and a hostel, above all, it furnishes detailed information, such as is available from no other source, regarding the upkeep of a hospital, the medicines stocked therein, the number of beds provided for in-patients, the endowment for a staff of nurses, physician, surgeon and compounder, and the provision for inferior servants such as the washerman, the potter and others that attended to the needs of the patients. In presenting the record, I have strictly confined myself to offering such remarks and suggestions as are required to elucidate the text.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Vishnu temple of Venkatēsa-Perumāl at Tirumukkūdal in the Madhurantakam taluk of the Chingleput district. It was discovered and copied by me during the field season of 1915-16<sup>1</sup>. There is a notice of it in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year.<sup>2</sup> The village of Tirumukkūdal derives its name from its situation at the confluence of the Pālār with two of its tributaries, the Vīgavati and the Cheyyār. The word 'tirumukkūdal' means 'the confluence of three sacred (streams)'. The temple of Venkatēsa-Perumāl is picturesquely situated on a prominence on the bank of the combined river which at this place is naturally very broad. The spot is an ideal one for the erection of a temple, college, hostel and hospital. At the time of the record, all these were actually combined in one building with separate apartments for each section and located here as the inscription gives us to understand. Tirumukkūdal is about two miles from Palāya-Sivaram, a small station next to Walajabad in the Conjeeveram-Chingleput section of the South Indian Railway, and has to be reached by crossing the river. On the opposite side of the river is a small hillock on which stands another Vishnu temple which is sometimes frequented by pilgrims visiting Conjeeveram and about which there is a reference in our inscription under the name Tiruvēnkata-malai.

The temple of Venkatēsa-Perumāl is an ancient one. It has been in existence from the time of the Pallava king Vijaya-Nripatunga-vikramavarman of the ninth century A.D. as evidenced by a record of the 24th year of his reign found on a slab supporting a beam in the inner enclosure.<sup>3</sup> According to this inscription, the god is called Vishnu-Bhatāra. It was known by the name of Tirumukkūdal-Ālār and Mahā-Vishnu during Chōla times,<sup>4</sup> while a later epigraph calls it by the name Venkatēśvara svāmīn.<sup>5</sup>

The inscription under publication consists of 55 lines of writing and is engraved in two sections. In the first section the lines are very long and run to a distance of 55 feet. The entire space covered by the inscription is 540 square feet. The record is written in the Tamiḻ language and alphabet, and the characters belong to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. A few Grantha letters are used mostly in words of Sanskrit origin. The inscription is fairly well preserved, though in some places a few letters are badly damaged. One or two small inscribed slabs have fallen off

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, para 4 on page 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 118f.

<sup>3</sup> No 179 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1915.

<sup>4</sup> Nos 169 and 182 of the same collection.

<sup>5</sup> No 187 of the same collection.

and their places are filled up by plain ones. In the second section, a few pillars have been inserted in later times close to the inscribed wall and these obstruct a part of the inscription. Though the letters so obstructed have not come out in the impression, yet they have been read from the stone.

Regarding the orthography of the record the following peculiarities deserve to be noted. The letters *n* and *ṇ* have been quite indifferently used. The wrong employment of the former not only before *n* and *ṇ* but also at the end of words is noticeable in many places, e.g., *yannanṇamar* (l 4), *Vimayanṇannai* (l 4), *magan* and *marṇavan* (l 1). Similarly we find the incorrect use of *n* before *t* and at the commencement of words, e.g., *sānanta* (l 2), *maṇḍarim* (l 2) and *Nulamba* (l 4). There are several instances where the sandhi rules have not been observed e.g., *Irugaiyan-dēvi* (l 1), *pōṇṇ-Danda*<sup>o</sup> (l 4), *tanmūṇ-ti*<sup>o</sup> (l 4), *Kēśavan-Da*<sup>o</sup> (l 2) and *Śūttuḥ kaḷṇṇ-jaya* (l 9). In the first three cases here cited, the *t* and *ḍ* should have been changed into *ṇ*, in the fourth, *n* should have been omitted and in the fifth *r* should have been replaced by *l*. A few mistakes of spelling also occur, e.g., *nūntum* for *nūṇum* (l 1), *nāṭṭinai* for *nāṭṭidai* (l 1) and *pūṇar* for *pūnar* (l 1). The use of certain words and phrases deserves notice, e.g., *Putpagappidi* 'the name of a royal elephant' (l 3), *kūṭṭinai*, (l 6), *kachchāna* (i.e., *gadyāna*) (l 11), *cholliya pōḷḷi*, (l 6), *mudal tairandu*, *mudal cūṭṭu*, (l 11), *iṇasāṭṭai* and *daśabandam* (l 11).

The inscription opens with the historical introduction commencing with the words *tiru-ṭalar*, etc., in which are chronicled, in greater detail than hitherto known, the political events that took place in the reign of the Chōla king Rājākēśarivarman alias Virarājēndradēva up to the sixth year, the date of the record. It states that the king, while he was seated on the throne called Rājēndrasōḷa-Mūvali inarājan in his palace named Śōḷakūṭalan-tirumāḷigai at Gangaikondaśōḷapuram, was pleased to order that the amount of 75 *kalaṇṇu* of gold which the residents of the *dēvadāna* village of Vayalaikkāṭṭūr had been paying towards the maintenance of a feeding house (*śālā*)—together with certain customary dues raised from the same village which had been assigned as a *sālābhōga* to the temple of Mūḷa-Vishnu at Tirumukkūdal in the second year of the king's predecessor Parakēśarivarman Rājēndradēva 'who took Rattapādi 7½ lakhs, and defeated Āhavamalla twice on the battle field'—should be entered in the accounts from the current year as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to be utilised for the expenses (*nūṇḍa*) of the god. This royal order (*iṭṭi*) of the king was committed to writing by an official whose designation was *tirumandiravōlai* (Royal Secretary) and attested to by three others designated *tirumandiravōlai-nāyagam* (Chief Royal Secretary). When this royal mandate was received, certain officials who may be called the authorising officers (*iṭṭai*) gave the command and this was seconded by thirty-eight persons belonging to three sections or departments of the state, viz., six of *udavkūṭṭam* (Royal attendants or aide-de camps), twenty-eight of *vūḷaiyil*, i.e., those who issue permits, and four of the *nāḍuvirullai* (arbitrators). Thereafter thirty-two officers of the Accounts Department belonging to ten<sup>1</sup> different sections assembled together, of whom four persons authorised the entry, one read the order, another made the entry and still another issued the revised account. The entry made by the officers was to the following effect—

The gift to the temple of Mahā-Vishnu at Tirumukkūdal consisted of (1) 75 *kalaṇṇu* of gold which the residents of Vayalaikkāṭṭūr were paying for the *śālā*, (2) certain specified dues on the said *dēvadāna* village, and (3) 72 *kalaṇṇu*<sup>2</sup> and 9 *maṇṇāṇi* of gold which formed a prior *dēvadāna*.

<sup>1</sup> These ten sections are —(1) *puravūṇṇaiyāḷḷaḷam*, (2) *varippottagam*, (3) *puravūṇṇai tinaḷ kala-kāṇḷāni*, (4) *mūḷaṇṇai*, (5) *terippu*, (6) *ṭaravū śūṭṭu*, (7) *paṇaiyāyāṇam*, (8) *variyūḷidū*, (9) *varippottagaḷaṇṇai* and (10) *paṭṭōḷai*. Of these, the first may be taken to mean 'General Accounts,' the second 'Tax-Register,' the third 'Examiner of General Revenues,' the fourth 'Index Keeper,' the fifth 'Receipts,' the sixth 'Opening and Closing Accounts,' the seventh 'Old Arrears,' the eighth 'Entry in Tax Register,' the ninth 'Accountant of Tax Register,' and the tenth 'Keeper of the Royal Orders.'

<sup>2</sup> 1 *kalaṇṇu*=20 *maṇṇāṇi*, 1 *maṇṇāṇi*=2 *iṇṇi*=10 *mā*

gift Of these, items (1) and (3) amounted to 147 *kalañju* and 9 *mañjūdi*. The income on this, at the rate of 16 *kalam* of paddy by the *rājāḷṣari* measure, per *lalañju*, amounted to 2359 *kalam*, 1 *padalḷu*, 3 *nāli*, 1 *ulalḷu* and 3 *śevuḍu*.<sup>1</sup> Thus when converted into *arumohidēan* measure gave an excess of 88½ *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, 3 *nāli* and 1 *ulalḷu* after providing for *kāhāṣi*, *kālalavu-lūli* and *korralavu-vāṣi*, calculated at the rate of 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 1 *nāli* of *arumohidēan* for each *rājāḷṣari kalam*. Thus, the paddy income in favour of the temple on these two items alone came to 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, 1 *padalḷu*, 6 *nāli*, 1 *ulalḷu* and 3 *śevuḍu*. The third item (No. 2) amounted to 216½ *lāsu* and 2 *mā*. It was made up of 36½ *lāsu* obtained by converting 11 *lalañju* of gold derived from the taxes or fees *ūr-kalañju* (=1 *lalañju*), *kumara-kacchānam* (=1 *lalañju*), *mīn-pāṭṭam* (=3½ *lalañju*) and *līlṟai-pāṭṭam* (=5½ *lalañju*) together with the incomes of 28½ *lāsu* and 4 *mā* from *dasavandam*, 25½ *lāsu* and 3 *mā* from *māḍaikkūṭṭi*, 3 *lāsu* from *mudal-velaru*, 1½ *lāsu* from *vannaḷkalḷūli*, ½ *lāsu* from *tarippudurai*, 1½ *lāsu* from *tingalmērā* and 118 *lāsu* from *ēḷikkāsu*.

Then are detailed the items of expenditure to be defrayed from this income of 3243 and odd *kalam* of paddy and 216½ *lāsu* and 2 *mā* of money. The table appended hereto<sup>2</sup> will indicate how the incomes of paddy and money were expended annually in the temple and the institutions attached thereto. It may be stated here that the provision made in this inscription is (1) for meeting the various expenses connected with the temple, (2) for the maintenance of a Vedic school with a hostel and (3) for the upkeep of a hospital. As regards the first, the record provides for offerings to be made to the god Āṭṭār, three times daily—morning, noon and night,—for offerings to be made to the deity Śrī-Rīghavachakravartin, *ī c*, Rūma at noon (nearly 601 *lalam*), for sandal-paste and its ingredients *kaṟpūra* and *kunkuma* and for lamps (68½ *lāsu*), for special offerings to be made on the occasion of the festivals in the months of Aippasi, Māsi, Kārttigai as well as for the hunting festival and Jayantī ashtamī (the birth-day of Krishna) (28 *kalam*, 1 *luruni* and 5½ *nāli*), for a grand offering to be made on the occasion of the king's birth-day anniversary falling on the asterism Āślāsha in the month Āvanī (6 *lalam*, 5 *luruni* and 2 *nāli*), for purchasing cloth to cover the images of gods and for offerings to be made on the birth-day asterism (*Pūrāḍam* in the month of Kārttigai) of the Vaisya Mādavan Dāmayan, who built the Jananāthamandapa in the temple (6 *kalam*, 5 *luruni* and 2 *nāli*), for the expenses to be met on the occasion of taking the deity Venmaikkūṭṭiṭṭūn, *ī c*, Krishna in procession on the day of *Tiruvōnam* in the month of Purattāsī of every year (5 *kalam*), for meeting the expenses of feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on various festive occasions (88 *kalam*, 11 *luruni* and 4 *nāli*), for payments to be made to an astrologer for announcing festivals, the songster for reciting the *tiruvāymoḷi* hymns, the cultivators that looked after the flower-garden of Virāṣōḷan, the Vaikhānasa-dēvānāmus (priests worshipping the deity according to the Vaikhānasa mode), accountant, potter and washerman attached to the temple (382 *kalam* and 6 *luruni*), for repairs to be executed annually in the *tiruchchurumālṟai*, *ī c*, the inner enclosure (40 *kalam*) and for purchasing cloth for various servants (13½ *lāsu*).

Then follow provisions made for the maintenance of a Vedic college in this temple. One teacher taught the Rīg-Vēda and received annually 60 *kalam* of paddy and 4 *lāsu*, another taught the Yajur-Vēda and was paid a similar fee. A Bhatta expounded Vyākaraṇa and Rūpāvatāra<sup>3</sup> he got annually 120 *kalam* of paddy and 10 *lāsu*, *ī c*, a little more than the combined honorarium paid to the two Vedic teachers. The hostel attached to the college fed daily 60 persons consisting of 10 Brahmans who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmans who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmans and students who studied the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvatāra and 10 Mahā-pāñcharātras, 3

<sup>1</sup> The following are the relative capacities of the measures mentioned here —1 *kalam* = 12 *luruni* or 3 *tūni* or 6 *padalḷu*, 1 *luruni* = 8 *nāli*, 1 *nāli* = 2 *ur*, 1 *ur* = 2 *ulalḷu*, 1 *ulalḷu* = 2 *ulalḷu* and 1 *ulalḷu* = 5 *śevuḍu*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 229 f, below.

<sup>3</sup> On *Rūpāvatāra*, see my remarks, above Vol. XVIII, p. 66.

Śiva-Brāhmanas, 5 Vaikhānasas and 2 of another class the name of which is lost in the inscription. The feeding expenses, inclusive of the cost of mats and oil for lamps and for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year, and wages of cooks and maid-servants who served the students and the teachers, came to 1642 *lalam* and 6 *kurum* of paddy and 37½ *kāsu*. From the fact that the hostel fed not only the students studying the R̥g-Vēda, the Yajur-Vēda, the Vyākaraṇa and the R̥pāvātāra but also a certain number of Mahā-Pāñchrātras,<sup>1</sup> Śiva-Brāhmanas and Vaikhānasas, it may be inferred that the āgamas and tantras—such as the Pāñcharātra, Śaiva and Vaikhānasa—were also taught.

The word *Śiva-Brāhmaṇa*<sup>2</sup> occurs very frequently in South Indian inscriptions and it has been generally taken to mean those belonging to the Śaiva religion, but our inscription seems to indicate that it has the special significance of one studying the 'Śaiva-Āgama' referring as it does to a class of students of the school. It is interesting to find that the students in the hostel were provided with mats to lie on and lights for night study and were given oil for bath once a week throughout the year. The appointment of the maid-servants was meant for keeping the premises clean. As the education imparted was mostly religious in character, it is but natural that the temple was the principal centre of education, as we know from this and other inscriptions. One of the epigraphs of Uttaramallūr belonging to the reign of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I (A.D. 1013 to 1045) registers a gift of land as *Pavliya-kidaippuram* and stipulates that the men who enjoyed the income from it should live in the village and teach the Vēda.<sup>3</sup> Another inscription of the same time<sup>4</sup> registers a similar gift of land as *Tattirīya-kidaippuram*, i.e., for teaching the students of the *Tattirīya-Śākhā*. In the temple at Tiruvorriyūr near Madras, there was built a pavilion known as the *Vyākaraṇa-dāna-mandapa* wherein was expounded Pāṇini's Grammar. Besides the provision made for the study of the Vēdas, Grammar and the Āgamas (*Vēda-vṛtti*, *adhyayana-vṛtti* and *Bhalla-vṛtti*), there are numerous inscriptions in the Madras Epigraphical collection which refer to gifts made for the maintenance of persons expounding the Mahābhārata, Sōmasiddhānta, Prabhākara and the Mīmāṃsa (Apūrvas). By far the biggest college established for the study of the Vēdas and grammar and known to us from inscriptions, existed in the 11th century A.D. at a place called Ennāyiram in the South Arcot District, which contained as many as 370 students studying the various subjects.

The last item of expenditure was for the maintenance of a hospital wherein were treated students living in the hostel, and temple servants that were sick. This hospital was provided with 15 beds, and was in charge of a physician who was paid annually 90 *lalam* of paddy and 8 *kāsu* in addition to a grant of land, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital of Viraśōlan, the servants attached to the institutions and the teachers and students of the Vēdic college. Besides the physician, there was one surgeon who received 30 *lalam* of paddy, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs who were paid 60 *lalam* of paddy and 2 *kāsu*—these persons also supplied fire-wood and attended to the preparation of medicines,—two nurses who received 30 *lalam* of paddy and 1 *kāsu*, and attended on the patients and administered medicines, and a

<sup>1</sup> The Pāñchrātra was so called because it had five Samhitās, viz., Pāramcśvara, Sāttvata, Vishvaksēna, Khagēsvara and Sri Paushkara. According to the *Varāha-Purāṇa* the persons eligible to study *Pāñcharātra* are the first three classes and it was one of the four means of realising God, the other three being *Vēda*, *bhakti* and *yajña*.

<sup>2</sup> *Śivādviya* and *gurullāl* are terms employed even now to denote persons conducting worship in Śiva temples.

<sup>3</sup> *South Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. VI, No. 312. *Kida* in Tamil means a teacher and *pavliya*, a term that is not explained in dictionaries, is connected phonetically with *Bahvricha*. As such, the provision made must be for teaching the R̥g Vēda.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 316.

barber who received 15 *kalam* of paddy probably for performing minor operations in addition to his professional duties. The sick ration consisted of 1 *nāli* of rice per head per day. Besides the above, a provision of 2½ *lāṣu* for a lamp to be kept burning in the hospital during nights, 15 *kalam* of paddy for the water-man and 40 *lāṣu* for stocking medicines was also made. The medicines stored in the hospital were —

- (1) Brāhmyan-kadumbūri, (2) Vāsā haritakī, (3) Gō mūtra-haritakī, (4) Daśa-mūla-haritakī, (5) Bhallātaka-haritakī, (6) Gandīra, (7) Balūḥ-ṛanda-taila, (8) Pañchāka-taila, (9) Laśunādy-ṛanda taila, (10) Uttama-karnādi taila, (11) Śukla sa-ghrita, (12) Bīlvādi-ghṛta, (13) Mandūkara-vatika, (14) Dravattī, (15) Vimala, (16) Sunṭri, (17) Tāmṛādi, (18) Vajrakalpa, (19) Kalyāṇaka-lavana and (20) Purāna-ghṛta

Of these medicines<sup>1</sup>, No (1), if it refers to *Brāhmya-rasūyana*, is described in verses 38 to 54 of *Charaka Samhitā*, chapter I, and *Ashtāṅgahṛdaya*, chapter XXXIX, verses 15 to 23. The ingredients that enter into the composition of this medicine are 14 in number. The preparation is as follows — 1,000 *chebulic myrobalans* and 3,000 fresh *embellic myrobalans* together with 250 *palas* of the five *pañchamūlas* (i.e., of 25 roots) are boiled in 10 times the quantity of water till the whole is reduced to one-tenth. The liquid is then strained and the decoction taken. In it the powder of myrobalans without the nuts is thrown. To the mixture is added the pulse of 4 *palas* each of *mandūka pama*, *pippali*, *śankhapushpi*, etc., and 1,000 *palas* of sugar-candy together with 2 *ādhakas* of oil and 3 *ādhakas* of ghee and the whole boiled in slow fire until it reaches the consistency of an electuary. 320 *palas* of honey are then added and the whole well churned. This medicine, says the author, sharpens the intellect, removes fatigue, improves memory and gives longevity and strength. As these are the essential requirements of a student, it naturally heads the list of medicines intended mostly for them.

No (3) of the medicines is noticed in the 67th verse of chapter IX of *Charaka*- and in chapter VI of *Suśruta-Samhitā*. From the text we gather that *Gō-mūtra-haritakī* is simply *chebulic myrobalans* soaked in cow's urine for one night. *Suśruta* states that if it is taken with honey in the morning, it will cure internal piles. It may also be noted that in the treatment of *Pāṇdu-rōga*, *Vīgbhata* (chapter XVI) says that *haritakī* taken with cow's urine removes jaundice. The text giving this information is adopted from *Charaka*.

No (4) is described in the *Ashtāṅgahṛdaya*, chapter XVII, verses 14 to 16, which state that the medicine is prepared by taking the decoction of the *daśamūla* (ten roots), putting in it 100 *chebulic myrobalans* and one *tulā* of jaggery and boiling the whole into a *līhya* and mixing with it the powder of *triṇāta*, *trikatu*, and a little of *yava-śūkaya* and when cooled adding half a *prastha* of honey. This medicine is said to be capable of curing dropsy, fever, diseases of urinary organs, tubercles, rheumatism, hæmorrhages, colour in the urine, wind, sperm disease, lung disease, distaste for food and enlargement of the spleen.

If by No (6) is meant *Gandīrādyarishtha*, it is described in verses 27 to 29 of *Charaka-Samhitā*, chapter XVII. The ingredients that enter into the preparation of this medicine are (1) *gandīra* (*solanum verbasifolium*), (2) *bhallātaka* (*semicarpus anacardium*), (3) *chitraka* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (4) *vyōsha* (pepper, *piper longum* and dry ginger), (5) *bṛhatī-diāya* (*solanum indicum* and *solanum xanthocarpum*), and (6) *vēdanga*. Two measures of each of these are taken and cooked with 8 measures of *kūrchika mastu*, i.e., water taken by straining curdled milk in the fire of cakes of cow-dung. When reduced to a third and cooled, the liquid has to be strained and mixed with 8 measures of *prākṛita-mastu* and 100 *palas* of sugar-candy, *plumbago zeylanica* and *piper longum*.

<sup>1</sup> For some of the references to chapter and verses relating to Indian medicine, which are incorporated in this note, I am indebted to Mr P. S. Ramaswami Aiyer of Gopichettipalayam.

and then to be used after keeping it for ten days This medicine is said to cure dropsy, fistula, hæmorrhoids, *krimi* (worms), skin disease, disease of urinary organs, different forms of leanness, wind and hiccough

*Pañchāka-taila* (No 8) may be identical with *Taila-pañchaka* described in Charaka under *gulmas* The five ingredients of this medicine are gingly oil, liquor, cow's urine, vinegar and *yavāgraja* By the last is perhaps meant the liquid strained from green barley shoots reduced to ashes mixed with four times the quantity of water This medicine is said to be capable of curing tubercules

*Bilvādi-ghṛta* (No 12) is dealt with in the chapter on *Grahanī-chikitsā-prakarana* of *Yōgarai-nāhara* The drugs that enter into the medicine are (1) *bilva* (*aegle marmelos*), (2) *agru* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (3) *chavya* (*piper chaba*), (4) *ādraka* (ginger), (5) *śrīṅga-bēra* (a variety of double ginger), (6) ghee and (7) *chhāga-dugdha* (goat's milk) The first five are subject to the process of *kwātha* and *kalka* and mixed with (6) and (7) and cooked This medicine cures dropsy, distaste and *grahanī*

Verses 70 to 75 of chapter XX of Charaka and verses 15 to 20 of chapter XVI of *Ashtāṅga-hṛdaya* deal with *Mandūkara-vatika* (No 13) The drugs that compose the medicine are *triphalā*, *tryūshana*, *musta*, *vēdanga*, *chavya*, *chitraka*, *dārvi*, *tvang*, *māḥshika*, *granthika* and *dēva-dāru* Two *palas* each of these substances are powdered and cooked in eight times the quantity of cow's urine and then the fine powder of *mandūra* equal to double the quantity of the other *chūrnas* are added and pills made of the size of *udumbara* (*figus glomerata*) and taken with butter-milk This medicine cures anæmia, skin disease, dropsy, phlegm, piles or hæmorrhoids, jaundice, spleen and diseases connected with urinary organs and spleen

According to one authority, the ingredients that compose *Vimala* (No 15) are *śanlha*, *pryangu*, *nēpālī*, the *trikatu* and the *triphalas* Another gives the ingredients as *madhuka*, *marīcha*, *pippali*, *lōdhra*, *taru-rajani* and the *triphalā* This medicine is said to remove from the eyes *timira*, *patala*, *kācha* and *landu*

The preparation of the *vartti* known as *Sunētri* (No 16) is described in the *Sahasrayōga* under *nētrarōgaprakarana* A large number of drugs such as the three acids, the three fruits, *plumbago zeylanica*, *almus integrefolia*, *embelia ribes*, white lotus, liquorice, rock salt, camphor, conch, *achorus calamus*, *garrika*, the two kinds of sandal, *lālsha*, *lōdhra*, copper sulphate, *pīta-rōhinī*, enter into the composition of this medicine It is said to be capable of curing all kinds of eye diseases such as *kācha*, *pushpa*, *patala*, *vṛana*, *dāha*, *rāga*, *landu*, *timira*, *lukkima*, and *adhmāmsa*

The preparation of *kalyāṇaka-lavana* (No 19) is given in verses 29 and 30 of the chapter on *Arśa rōga* in the *Vṛindamādhava* The ingredients are the *Bhallātaka* group, the three fruits, *danti* and *chitraka*, i.e., *plumbago zeylanica*, in equal parts with twice the quantity of *Saindhava* salt

The historical importance of the present record lies in the valuable information it gives regarding the king's exploits in the island of Ceylon, besides the facts known from other inscriptions<sup>1</sup> The historical introduction of Virarājendra's inscriptions begins in three different ways In two sets of records it commences with the words *tiru valar*, etc., and furnishes complete information regarding his military exploits, while one set of inscriptions begins with the words *vīramē tunai* in which these heroic deeds are referred to in brief A few records of the former type supply us with a list of appointments made and honours conferred by the king on his relations In some places the smaller historical introductions supplement the information given in the longer ones A study of all the records of Virarājendra so far known would

<sup>1</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, pp 32 ff and 193 ff where Dr Hultzsch has exhaustively dealt with the historical facts of Virarājendra's reign



show that he was crowned king immediately after his victorious return from the battle field of Kūdal-Sangama. Since the three campaigns against the Western Chālukyas in the regions of Gangavādī, Vēngī and Kūdal-Sangama find mention even in a second year record of the king, they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 which was the year of his accession to throne as calculated by Professor Kielhorn.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore fairly certain that in this very year his elder brother Parakṣarivarman Rājendradēva died which gave the occasion for Virarājendra to proceed straight from the last campaign to the capital and have his coronation ceremony celebrated along with his queen Ulagamulududayāl as stated in his epigraphs. It is plain that the series of campaigns against the Western Chālukyas must have been begun by Rājendradēva and completed by Virarājendra after the former's death. King Virarājendra started his career, it may be noted, by making his position secure by conferring honours on his relations.<sup>2</sup> Virarājendra's dealings with Pottappi, an un-named Kērala king, as well as the younger brother of Jananātha<sup>3</sup> and Virakōsari,<sup>4</sup> the son of the Pāndya king Srivallabha are mentioned in a record of his fourth year,<sup>5</sup> and as such might have taken place in about A.D. 1065. About the same time the Chōla king being invited to fight a combat by Āhavamalla through a war messenger, advanced against him and defeated him a second time in the very field appointed by himself. Then taking a vow that he would not return before he recovered possession of the Vēngī country, he directed his arms to that quarter, accomplished his object and thus fulfilled his elder brother's desire,<sup>6</sup> and then had his anointment of victory (vijay ābhishikṣā) performed.<sup>7</sup> The Vēngī country was first invaded by Rājārāja I (985-1013 A.D.) and was again overrun by Rājendra Chōla I<sup>8</sup>, but it appears that his successors Rājādhirāja I and Rājendradēva did not assert their right over it. This neglect on their part to hold the reins tight in the Vēngī country gave room to the Eastern Chālukyas to throw off the Chōla yoke. Rājendradēva seems to have realised the necessity of bringing this tract back under the Chōlas but he died without effecting it. The Kanyākumārī<sup>9</sup> inscription clearly refers to this neglected patrimony of the Chōlas, won back by Virarājendra. It says —

आह्वयं समुपेक्षित जनपद वशस्तमाभ्यागत सान्त वैरिसह्यैरतिवर्त्तवैर्ज्ञोन्कलिज्ञानपि ।  
 जित्वा शत्रुपरंपरासतिबलां हित्वा च भीतान्बह्वक्षीमान्बलभक्तितपतिः क्षेमेण त सोन्वशात् ॥  
 Before 1067 A.D., the Chōla sovereign burnt the city of Kampili, set up a pillar of victory at a place called Karadikāl (which must be different from another pillar set up on the banks of the Tungabhadra as reported in our inscription), gained victories at Bezvada, got back Kanna-kuchchī (Kānyakubja), took the head of the Pāndya, levied tribute from the Chēra, defeated Vijayabāhu and brought Ceylon under subjection. Proceeding again to the north, he defeated a number of chiefs who were fighting under the banner of the Chālukyas, set up a third pillar of victory at Śūttukkal, gained victories at Chakkarakōttam and Kāvi and destroyed the Kalinga country.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See for instance *South Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. V, No. 976.

<sup>2</sup> *South Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 33 and also No. 976 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

<sup>3</sup> Jananātha has been taken to be the king of Dhāra for which there is no warrant.

<sup>4</sup> By considering Virakōsari as the son of Srivallabha, I differ from Dr. Hultzsch. The achievements noted in this paragraph were accomplished by the end of Rājendradēva's reign. (See No. 20 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III.)

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 339.

<sup>7</sup> These additional facts are recorded in No. 82 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1892. See also No. 30 of *South Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, and Nos. 98 of 1892 and 132 of 1902.

<sup>8</sup> That this king himself was engaged in subduing the countries of the *Uttarāpatha* is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhirāja I found at Ennivaram (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1918, p. 145).

<sup>9</sup> *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 113, v. 77.

<sup>10</sup> The achievements are noticed in inscriptions of the 6th year of the king's reign. See for instance the present record and No. 83 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1898.

Regarding the location of Virarājendra's pillars of victory in the Chālukya country, Karadīkal is referred to in a Nanarese inscription<sup>1</sup> from Uchchangidrug in the Bellary district as Karadīkal-nādu of which the village of Nandavādige is said to be the face Nandavādige and Karadīkal may, therefore, be identified with Nandavādige and Karadī, two villages in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijāpur district on the border of the Nizam's Dominions situated to the south of the Krishnā river They are only at a distance within 5 miles of each other

As noted above, the most important historical facts gathered from our inscription relate to the war with Ceylon. It is stated that 'Virarājendra despatched a number of vessels to Ceylon, commenced a war in that island which was protected by the sea, routed the Singhalese army, and as there arose a great tumult, when it was reported that Kurukulittarayan and other feudatories fell in the field, king Vijayabāhu ran away and the Chōla king got possession of his queen and crown along with his family treasures and gems and made Lankā his own' This event, which, as we have pointed out above, happened in A D 1066, is of importance for the synchronism it affords to the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, where the causes that led to the war and further details connected with it are narrated at great length According to the chronicle, the name Vijayabāhu was assumed by Kitti<sup>2</sup> when he became sub-king Almost in the first year of his reign he was defeated by a Chōla sovereign and forced to take refuge in a fortress on the hills<sup>3</sup> He is then said to have obtained help from the ruler of the Ramañña country and to have dwelt at Tamalagāma About the 11th year of his reign the Singhalese scornfully set at naught the authority of the Chōlas and vexed the Chōla officers of revenue And when the Chōla king heard of it, he was greatly provoked and sent a large army under his general against Ceylon The general landed at Mahātuttha, slaughtered the people of the various parts of the country and brought them under subjection Vijayabāhu now built a fortress at Pulatthapabbata, fought with and killed the Chōla general and proceeded to Pulatthu with a large army When the Chōla king was informed of these tidings, he desired to take Vijayabāhu captive, went to the sea-port himself and sent a larger army than before to the island The lord of Lankā, hearing this, sent his general who encountered them at Anurādhapura and fought a great battle But many of Vijayabāhu's men fell in the field and the people went over to the Chōla side Thereupon Vijayabāhu left the city of Pulatthu and fled away to Villikahana When he was told that the governor of the Chōlas pursued him even there, he went away to Vatagiri, built a fortress at its foot, made war for three months and drove back the Tamils<sup>4</sup>

Of the two wars noted above as having been waged by Vijayabāhu with the Chōlas, it is fairly certain that the latter is the one alluded to in the extract given from our inscription of Virarājendra as having been fought with him in about A D 1066 Of the other war which took place 11 years previously, we have also epigraphical confirmation in Tamil records It is the one recorded as having been waged by Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva, the predecessor of Virarājendra, in A D 1055 Rājēndradēva's inscriptions state that he despatched a war like army into the southern region, seized on the battle-field the two sons of Mānābharana and captured Lankā Thus our inscription enables us to say that Vijayabāhu's accession took place in about A D 1055, that he fought with Rājēndradēva in that very year and that in A D 1066 he had to meet Virarājendra's forces From the Singhalese account we learn the cause of the war and the different places which witnessed the scene of action Except these two wars, Vijayabāhu had no further encounter with the Chōlas till late in his reign, i e, in the 30th year corresponding to A.D. 1085 when Kulōttunga was the Chōla ruler

<sup>1</sup> S I I, Vol VI, p 197

<sup>2</sup> He is said to be the eldest son of Magalana It is stated that the latter was well versed in the ways of the world and was known to all men as "the great lord" He greatly loved the order of priesthood and was the habitation of many lasting virtues

<sup>3</sup> Wijesinha's translation, Ch LVIII, pp 97 f

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p 98

From this inscription it is further learnt that while most of the articles of daily use were obtained by exchange of paddy, there were some which could be had only for cash. A few articles were sold both for grain and money. Among the articles that were obtained exclusively for money may be mentioned sandal paste, *Jarpūram*, *Junkumam*, honey and turmeric. The purchasing power of one *kāru* was 8 *palams* of sandal, 576 *palams* of sugar,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a *talaiṣu* of *Junkumam*, 2 *nāli* of honey or 200 *palams* of turmeric. The price of cloth varied according to the size. Oil and sugar were obtained both for money and paddy. The price of oil was 20 *nāli* per *talaiṣu*, 10 *palams* of sugar were obtained in exchange for 16 *nāli* of paddy, and 1 *kāru* fetched 576 *palams*. It is seen that milk, cereals and vegetables were generally obtained by exchanging paddy. It is seen that milk, curds and salt had the same value and could be had by giving twice the quantity of paddy. Ghee, pepper and cumam were highly priced and they required 32 times their measure of paddy. Unhusked green paddy exchanged with twice the quantity of paddy, while clean pounded paddy required 4 times the quantity of paddy. To get a certain measure of rice, 21 times the quantity of paddy is provided for. This seems to include wages for husking and cleaning. A bundle of 80 betel leaves formed a *talai* or *paṣṣu* and its price was 2 *nāli* of paddy. A *nāli* of paddy had the purchasing power of 5 areca nuts or 2 plantain fruits, and 1 *Jurupi* of paddy was exchanged for 3 coconuts.

The geographical names that occur in this inscription are easy of identification. Gangapāḍi (l 1) is the Western Ganga territory comprising 96,000 villages with its capital at Talakūḍ or Talakūḍu. Voḍgai nāḍu (l 1) is the East coast littoral ruled over by the Eastern Chālukya kings. Tungapattirai (l 1), on whose bank a pillar of victory was set up, is the Tungabhadra. Kūḍal Sangama (l 1) or Kūḍal (l 1), where more than one battle was fought between the Chōḷas and the Chālukyas, is a place at the confluence of the rivers Krishna and the Pañcha-Gangā. Kōṣalai (l 2) is the ancient territorial division of Kōṣala. Gangalmānagar (l 1), Gangāpuri (l 7) or Gangaikondachōḷapuram (l 10) is identical with the last mentioned place in the Udayarpalayam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. It was founded by Rājendra Chōḷa I (A.D. 1010-1015) and made the capital of the Chōḷa dominions. The temple here is of the model of the great Pagoda at Tanjore built by Rājārāja I (A.D. 985-1013). Iratṭapāḍi (l 5) or Ratṭapāḍi, 7½ lakhs, is the country of the Raṭṭas. Karandai (l 5) is been identified with Inchai-Karandai, in the neighbourhood of Kūḍal Sangama. Kuntai (l 5) is certainly the Western Chālukya territory. Viśāiyavāḍai (l 6) is undoubtedly the modern Berwada. The seven Kalingas (l 6) form the territorial division on the East coast, north of Čūngi, ruled by the Eastern Gangas. Iḷam (l 7) or Iḷangai, Ceylon. Chakkarakkōṭṭam (l 9) has been identified with Chakkarakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. I am not able to trace Sōṇaiyanagar (l 9) and Kūvi (l 10). Imaiyam (l 10) is another name for the Himmālavas and Sōtu (l 10) is the southernmost point of India near Rāmčivaram. Madurāntaka-chaturvōḍimangalam is no other than Madhurāntakam, a station in the S. I. Railway and the Headquarters of a Taluk in the Chingleput District. Tirumukkūḍal, though 10 miles away from it, was included in it in ancient times perhaps for administrative purposes. Jayangondachōḷa-maṇḍalam is the name given to the ancient Pallava territory of Tonḍai maṇḍalam during the days of Rājārāja I, who bore the designation of Jayangonda Chōḷa. Kaṭattūr-koṭṭam (l 13) are very near Tirumukkūḍal. Mīnarukūḍi in Idaiyala-nādu, a sub division of Vijayarājōṇḍia-vaṇanādu in Sōḷa-maṇḍalam (l 52) Ayandampālkkam in Agudai nādu, a sub division of Puḷar-koṭṭam in Jayangondachōḷa-maṇḍalam (l 53 f), Rājasundari-chaturvōḍimangalam in another sub-division of the same province, are other geographical names that occur in this epigraph.

\* Ibid.

\* Ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Above, XII, p. 208

*Details of Expenses*

No	Item	Rato				Total expenses for the year				
		Kal	ku	na	ul	Kal	ku	na	ul	śe
Daily expenses										
1	Sirukālai sandi	0	5	5	3	171	6	6	0	0
2	Akl āraḍalai	0	9	3½	0	283	1	4	0	0
3	Night, Pāl pōnagam	0	3	1	0	93	9	0	0	0
4	For Śrī Rāghavachakravartin	0	1	6	0	52	6	0	0	0
Special occasions and festivals										
5	Aippaśi festival					7	0	0	0	0
6	Māśi festival					7	0	0	0	0
7	Hunting festival					7	1	0	0	0
8	Jayantyashṭami					3	0	6½	0	0
9	Kārttigai Kārttigai					3	11	7	0	0
10	King's Birthday					6	5	2	0	0
11	Birth day of Vaiśya Mādavaṇ Dāmayāṇ					0	5	2	0	0
12	Puraṭṭāśi Tiruvōnam					5	0	0	0	0
13	Feeding Śrī Vaiṣnavas on Amāvāsyā days					19	4	4	0	0
14	Do during Procession to Tiruvēṅgaḍamalai					8	8	3	0	0
15	Do during Procession from Tiruvēṅgaḍamalai					8	8	3	0	0
16	Do during Puraṭṭāśi Tiruvōṇam					8	8	3	0	0
17	Do during Aippaśi festival					17	4	6	0	0
18	Do during Mārgaśi festival					8	8	3	0	0
19	Do during Māśi Makham					17	4	6	0	0
						134	11	5	2	0
Services										
20	Tiru	0	0	6	0					
21	Tiruvāymoḷi Songster	0	3	0	0					
22	Gardeners	0	4	0	0					
23	Special Tiru	0	1	0	0					
24	Vaiṣṇavaśa Dōvāṇṇam	0	1	0	0					
25	Accountant	0	1	0	0					
26	Potter	0	1	0	0					
27	Washerman	0	0	4	0					
28	Tirumukkūdal Pōrayan	0	0	4	0					
						382	6	0	0	0
29	Repairs					80	0	0	0	0
School										
30	Rig Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0					
31	Yajur Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0					
32	Vyākharana teacher	0	4	0	0					
						240	0	0	0	0
33	Hostel Expenses of 60 Students	3	10	6	0	1,402	6	0	0	0
34	Hospital	1	0	1½	0	365	7	4	0	0
35	Waterman	0	1	0	0	15	0	0	0	0
36	Ilāmachēlam and cardamom					20	10	0	0	0
37	Dakṣiṇā, betel leaves, etc					1	4	2	3	3
						3,243	8	6	1	3

Norr.—The quantity of sugar required daily for *aḷḷuraṇalai* is 32 *palam*. Hence the requirement for a year  
of 360 days comes to 11,520 *palam*. Since 1 *kāsu* fetched 576 *palam* of sugar the amount of money required for  
sugar is 20 *lāśu*.

The requirement of sandal paste for a year at  $\frac{1}{2}$  *palam* per day is 180 *palam*. This at the rate of 8 *palam* per  
*lāśu* amounted to 22 $\frac{1}{2}$  *lusu*. The requirement of *Jarpūram* for the same item is 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  *kalañju* and thus at the  
rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  *kalañju* per *kāsu* comes to 23 $\frac{1}{2}$  *lusu*. Another ingredient for this item is 1 *uḷḷumam* which cost 1 *lusu*.  
Thus the total for this item amounts to 46 *kāsu*.

TEXT

1 [ Svastī Śrī ] [I\*] [Tirū]-valar-tiral puṟatt=iru-nila-valaryan-  
mini-kkoṟra-ven-kudai ũḷal' kuṭalay  
uḷiv-arai-kalal-araiśār tann  
śeydu virai mel

1 [ Svastī Śrī ] [ [ \* ] [ Tīru ] - valar - tīral puṇatt = iru - nīla - v alaiyan = tan maṇi - ppūn ena = ttā [ uṇ ] = ppan -  
maṇi - kkoṭra - ven - kudai ū [ a ]<sup>1</sup> kuṇ alaiyan = uyṇ galai = pperra tāv [ num ] pēnī<sup>1</sup> maṇṇ -  
uliv = arai - kalal - araiśar tann = a [ di - ū ] [ v ]<sup>1</sup> = odunga urai pūlatt = udar - Kaly = odunga muṇai  
śeydu virai malar - tteriyal Viḥkalan - rannoḍu varī - śilai - ttada - kkaṇ mā - sūmaṇṭarai =  
k [ Kan ] gapādi = [ k \* ] ka [ ttidai - nu ] [ tu ] n =<sup>2</sup> Tun [ ga \* ] pattirai pūṇ = tturatt [ ū ] g - v ar  
V [ u ] galai [ nan ] nāttinaṇ<sup>3</sup> mīttum = av ar vitta tāng - ar [ um - peru ] - v al ttandu [ keda = t ] tākka  
[ mā - dan ] dā nāyakan Śāmandarājanai = echeherr = avan ś [ ra ] ttimaiy = aruttu [ ma ] rr - avan =  
oru [ megal - āṇiya ] Irugayan dēvī Nāgalaiy - ennu [ n ] = t [ ō ] galai - aṇ - chāyalaṇ mugattodu  
[ mūkkū vēr - ā ] kkaṇ pagatt = edir mūṇrām viśaivilum [ ś ] enr = amar poruṇ ena = kkarudi -  
ppēr - pūnar<sup>4</sup> - Kūdalsangamatt = Āhavamallan maḥkal - āṇiya Viḥkalan Śūngana -

<sup>1</sup> There is some correction here in the original. Read *muṇai*.

<sup>2</sup> *Pōd pūṇar*.

<sup>3</sup> *Pōd rīlal*.

<sup>4</sup> *ead āṇi*.

Read ritual  
Read °dai

<sup>2</sup> There is son  
<sup>4</sup> Pord punar

2 n enṛ-ivar tammo[du] enn-il sīmantarai venr=adu-tūsi mun vittu=tan=ṛunai m[ai\*]n[da]ru]n=tūnum pūn-adutt=irundu vada-kaḍal-ena vaguttav<sup>1</sup>=a-ttānṛiyai=kkaḍa-kalir-onṛā[ī]=kkalakka adal-puri-Kōśalai-Singanu=kkodī ppāḍai tan mun tūsi-ven-kalirōdun=tunittu=kKōśayan Dandanīyakan Kettamāsin tūdiṛal-Mirayan tūḷal Pottaraśan Irūchchayan igaḷ-ṣey-por-Kōḍai Mūṇḍi enṛar tand-adu tuppil-anṭga sīmantarai=chēṇna-pinnai=chēydu pūnṛu-mudaiy=āgiva Muduvanan ōḍa viritta talaiyodn Vakkalan ōḍa ṣeru-ttoliḷ-a[ḷ]indu Śinga]nan ōḍa annal mudaiygal=anaiva[ṛ]m mī-pōr-ppannina pagai=iland=ōḍa nannina Āhavamallanun=avarku minn=ōḍa=[tt]an vṭga-ven-kalirinnai vakkakka<sup>2</sup> vāgai-kond=āng-avar tāmum=avar-kulā danamuṇ=chaugun=tongalun=tāriyūm pōriyūm mṭgadamba-

3 ramum<sup>3</sup> ven chāmaraṇṇi=chūkkara-kkōḍiyum makara-tōranamum=ottaga-niraiyum=ulōk-āṣanamum [put]pṛaṇ-ppidiyūm poru-kalir ittamum pāṇ pṛi-ttōgāyodum parittu=chēḷiṭy-ol-virāṣuḷhāṣaṇa[m p]īr toḷi=ēri eḷil taru Ulagamulududaiyāi<sup>4</sup>um ‘vīṣu-manu-makutam cūndu kuṣai-kol tattu-mī-pūṛai pPottappi vāṇḍanai vāiṇa valai-kalṛ-Kōralanṛannai=[t]tīr-Śa[ṇ]nāḍan-rambiyai=ppōr-kalitt=alangal-śūḷ pasim talaiy=arindu pulan-kalṛ-Rennavan Śivallaban magan śiruvānai mun nṛvīl-manu-mudi-Vīrākēṣariyai [ma]ḍi-vaṛaiy-onṛāl=udaiyittu=tan<sup>5</sup> kalṛi Śūralar tanmodu ṣēngiraiyar kulam vṭr-pṛind=ōḍi mēl-kāḍal vīḷa vāiṇa pōr-adanir=chēḷutti Vāriyil=enn-arun-kalirinn ‘Irattirai=ḷ kavārnda kaniyar kalirōdun=kattī=ppauna-ppidiyodum=āng-avar=idu<sup>6</sup> tiru tanta vṭḷa [m]rai kondu sūli punal-kond [ā]r kuni<sup>7</sup>-

4 mṛ-kuritta ven pōri<sup>8</sup>=Dandanīyakar tanumir<sup>10</sup>-tūdiṛal Vill<sup>11</sup> iṇ annanaiyūm Vāṇṇipayanai<sup>12</sup>  
<sup>13</sup>ḷgu mada-kalṛru <sup>14</sup>ndāi

Aśōkaiyan tannaiyūm tūdiṛar Chattiyannaiyūn=Chanduvigraha-p[Pat]t[ivan]nan-[ṛannaiyū]m [a]-ttagu tēṇ aru-terivav-Vinai[ya\*]m-iannai ṣṭ-maḍi-Vaṅgāṇaiyūm nāma-vṭr-Kaṅganai Nulambanai=kKāḍavar kōṇai vamb-uyar<sup>15</sup>-mada-sānai<sup>16</sup>-Vaiyduṇ-barāṣanaiy=iru[n]-<sup>17</sup>talaiy=arindu perum-punar-ṛa[n]āḍu-Gangaim inagar taiy ttapin<sup>18</sup> tingalil vaḷi-varu-Salukki i ppaiyodum vāḷva[ḍi]ḷ śāvadṭ śāḷa-nanṛ-enru cūm-urr=unnai a śindaiyan-āṅṇi munnam pudalvarun=tānu[m\*] muduṅṅ-kodutt=udaindu Kūḍalṭ kaḷam-ena=kkurittu=kKūḍalil=vū[rā]ḍ=āṇṇinṛ mannavar-allargal pōr-pperum-paḷi-ppirattar-āṅav=enṛiy-

<sup>1</sup> The letter ra may also be read a

<sup>2</sup> vakkakka is the reading in Nos 20 and 30 of *South Ind Inscr*, Vol III

<sup>3</sup> Delete the ra

<sup>4</sup> The letter u looks like m in the original

<sup>5</sup> *Udagaiyil* is the reading in the Taki olam inscription, while No 30 of *South Ind Inscr*, Vol III, has *Uḷḷ*

*gaiyil*

<sup>6</sup> This letter is badly formed and looks like m in the original

<sup>7</sup> *Vīḍu* is the reading in the *South Ind Inscr*, Vol III, No 30

<sup>8</sup> *Koṇḍār-kurumir* is replaced by *konḍ-āṅṇi uṇṇai* in No 30 of *South Ind Inscr*, Vol III

<sup>9</sup> Read either *pōril* or *pōriṛ Ra*

<sup>10</sup> Correct it into *tammil* or *tammir ṛinḍi*

<sup>11</sup> *South-Ind Inscr*, Vol III, No 30, has *Mall*

<sup>12</sup> *Vāṇṇi* is replaced by *Māṇṇi* in No 30 of *South Ind Inscr*, Vol III

<sup>13</sup> Some letters are completely worn out here The gap may be filled up with the syllables *yum pi*,

<sup>14</sup> Read *pīramadēvaṇṇaiyūm ta* in the gap

<sup>15</sup> *Vamb uyar* is replaced by *mangu* in No 30 of *South Ind Inscr*, Vol III,

<sup>16</sup> Read *yānai*

<sup>17</sup> Between *ta* and *lai* there is some empty space

<sup>18</sup> *Mān* is another reading

6 puraiṣai jānāvīṣ pulai kkaivīṣ-piṣatt-iṣ ulag elām-aṣiya  
paṣud aṣav-eḥudī=chēhūttī[na]ṣ nraivūi-Chaṣul kī padamum=ṣṣra pūttaiṣ mūvodu=  
ppuṭṭil pērttun-tūu-kai kkonḍa [V]ṣṅg[ai] nan [n]ṣiṣ mūṭṭukkonḍ alāl mūḷḷan=  
kēṣṭiṣ vallaṣ ṁḡil vandu kāk-k-ḥṣṣu pē-ṁṣṣ vandu ṁḡṣṣ ttadutta Jananāḍanav iṣm  
tūnṁ eḷ Vīṣayavāḍaiṣōḍ adutta pē-ṁṣṣ vandu ṁḡṣṣ ttadutta Jananāḍanav iṣm  
Tippaṣraiṣanav iṣm\*] mudalāḡav ndaiṣav=a pperuṁ-chēṣaiṣai adavīṣṣ-pūcheḷi-  
kKōḍūṣ[ṣiṣ]ṣ=ṣṣan pōḷaga nīṣ unna-kKahuganṁ ṣṣṣṣ kadand=a ppuḷ vāḷum poṣṭta-  
mavā-Mabēndiratt aṣav iṣm\*] mē vaṣuṣ tūnai ttivadi ṣḷuttī=ttan pūn kaṣṣṣ=  
aḷaiḷkalam puḡundu paḷaiḷkala ttivadi kKav Vīṣayāḍittaiṣṣ=ṣṣuṣi vāṣavodu mūḷḷu  
vitta kavuṣum

7 pūṁḍa jaya ttiruvoduṁ=Gaugūpurī puḡurḍ aruṣi angē Rāṁāḍh-  
ttaiṣpadavā-āḡa=ttamavāṣatt-iṣarṣ a ppaḍi mava  
irutti muṣṣaiṣiḍai Vēṅgai paṣṣṣṣ  
kūtti aḷiṣ u=muḷḷaiṣ  
kaḷḷal ad

[illegible][illegible]

...pida sūmantarōḍ=aiy n-ka  
 ...amaya ...  
 ...um padigin-idan tangū ...  
 ...dandanū rkar arāṣi  
 ...mkkurum-audara pūḷā  
 ...nṭti=tte . . .  
 ...tan mudal  
 ...purakkhi-  
 ...sūmantarai-  
 ...ṣannai kKaṅgam idaiya

The passage from a *khuntalat* to *tan* is omitted in No 30 of *South Ind Inscr*, Vol III, reads *ladir*  
 The letter *mī* is so formed as to be mistaken for the Grantha *l*,

omitted in No 30 of South Ind Inscr., Vol III, reads *ladri*  
taken for the C

\*No 30 of South Ind Inscr, Vol III, reads I  
omitted in No 30 of South Ind Inscr, Vol III.  
aken for the Grantha I,

padai-kkadal-ēvi vada-tisai-chChakkarakōttattu mikk-udanr=elunda Chalukkiyan-  
 ānaiyai<sup>1</sup>=kkana[er] nūri=chChōnay[ya]nagar śilai-chChōmayan Eriyaman vāma-  
 vēl-Ādittapanman-rām-ivar kurai-ttalai-kkulāttodun-kunippa-ttarappa ād-  
 achcha pa<sup>2</sup> Malyum Śagaiyan num vach-  
 chira-ppaim-pūn-Manumanum<sup>3</sup> [Vai]dumbanun=Dēvanādanun=Dēviko<sup>4</sup>  
 nnagadam-ettum pagudiyum ottaga-ttogudiyum <sup>5</sup>rigala-pparīsandi=  
 ppagudiyum varīśaiyir=kollaiyil kū patt=u-

10 <sup>6</sup>Ilalind=ōdu- nādan-dēvi Kāvīyil vāli-man-nadunga n Kāliyappa-  
 iyun=tambiyu vichchada mudal tumbayavadi-  
 kulun=tōgaiyar-ittamum mā-kkalatt=agappada=ppidittu tī kurra lamayan  
 mahhalaiy=odukki ellai kadandu nūlaiy-ittu=kkalagā-ppīyir-rudar-kidanda vada-  
 tisaiy-lmaiyyattodun-kidanda Sētu varambāga=chchengōl śelutti<sup>7</sup>  
 vēda-midiyai vilakki mīd-uyar vira-ttani-kkodī tīyāga-kkodiyodum=  
 ērpavar varug-enru nirpa=kkōttolil=urimaiyin-eydi araiśu vīrr-irundu mē-varu-Manu  
 nerī vilakkiya kōv=Irājakēsarivanmar-āna <sup>8</sup>m[u]daiyār śrī-Vīrarājēndradē-  
 varkku yāndu aṇṇāvadu Cangaikondasōlapurattu=chChōlakēralan-tirumāligaiyil  
 Rājēndrasōla-Māvaliyānarājanil elundarūiy-irundu Jayangondasō-

11 la-mandalattu=kKalattūr-kkōttattu=ttani[yū]r śrī-Madurāntaka-chaturvēdīman-  
 galattu=tTirumukkūdal Mahāvishnukkal dēvadānamā[y] varuginra Kāliyūr-  
 kkōttattu=ttērōdu-Paruvūrnāttu Vayalaikkāv=ūragagal<sup>9</sup> śālaikk=iruttu-varuginra  
 ponn=elupatt-am-ka[ā]ṇjum i-chchālaikk=chchālābōgamāy varuginra[pa]dī Irattap-  
 pādy=ēl-araiy-ilakkamun=kondū Āhavamallanaiy-irumadi ven-kandu Ulagu[y\*]yak-  
 kond-arulinadēvark=iyānd-irandāvadū mudal tavirndu vellān vagaiyil mudal-eduttu  
 i-pponn=elupatt-am-ka[ā]ṇjum ivv-ūrāl vandav=ūrka[ā]ṇjun=kumarakkachchānamum  
 vannārappārai[yu]m mīn[pā]ttamun=tattārappāttamum=ullitta kīlrai-ppāttamum  
 vēlikkāsūn=tingal-mērāmum muttāvaranamum tarippudavaiyum valangaiy=idangai-  
 maga[n]maiyyun=daśabandamu[m\*] mādaikkūliyum vīraśēlaiyum<sup>10</sup>=ullitta pātta-

12 ngal-utpada=tTirumukkūdal Mahāvishnukka[lu]kkū vēndu[m\*] nmandangalukk=iruppa-  
 dāga yānd=aiṇṇāvadū dēvad]āna mudal dēvadāna iraiy-ihyāga variyil=ida=  
 ttiruvāymo]lind-arulinār-eoru Tiru[ma]ndiravōlai Kshatn<sup>11</sup>y[ś]ikhāman-valanāttu=  
 pPanaiyūr nāttu Nērvāyil<sup>12</sup> Nērvāyil-udaiyān Tālī Tiruppanangādudaiyān-āna  
 Vānavan Vallavaraiyan-e]uttinālun=Tirumantravōlai-nāyagam Pāndiyanārum Rāja-  
 rāja-Brahmamārāyarum Vīrarājēnta<sup>13</sup>-Gāngaiyarājan=oppinālum pugunda kēlvi  
 variyil=ittu-kkolgav-enru Villavarājarun=Kalingattaraiyarum Vidaiyil Rājēnta<sup>13</sup>.  
 vayirāgarachchōlarum Pāndiyanārum ivvōrgal=ēvinapadiyēy=Udankūttattu  
 adigārigal Vīrarājēnta<sup>13</sup>-Brahmādhīrājaruñ=Chōla-Brahmamārājaruñ=Chembiyan  
 Śittirājarum Atisayaśōla-Mūvēndavēlāruñ=Jayangondasōla-Viḷupparaiyarum Uta-  
 maśōla-pPallavaraiyarum Vidaiyil-

<sup>1</sup> Read *tanai*

<sup>2</sup> Here is an unwritten space which cannot be filled up

<sup>3</sup> Between the second *ma* and *num* there is some unaccountable space in the original

<sup>4</sup> Here also there is some vacant space

<sup>5</sup> The dot may be replaced by the letter *pa*

<sup>6</sup> The unwritten space at the beginning of this line cannot be filled up.

<sup>7</sup> Space for about 8 letters are left blank

<sup>8</sup> For *mu* read *u*

<sup>9</sup> Read *vūrargal*

<sup>10</sup> Read *sēshai*

<sup>11</sup> Read *Kshatriya*.

<sup>12</sup> This word is written below the line

<sup>13</sup> Read *ndra*





mīn-pāttam pon mu-kkalañjē-kālun=kijirai-ppāttam pon am-kalañjē-mukkālum  
āga=ppon padin-oru-kalañjināl mādaī padin-ettēy=elu-māvinār=kāsu muppatt  
āraraṇyūn-daśavandan-kāsu irubatt-ettaraṇyē nāl-māvu[m\*] mādaikkūlī kāsū irubatt-  
aṇjē mu-

18 kkalē mūnru-māvum mudalē-selavu kanakḥinpaḍi kāsū mūnrum vannakka-kkūlīkku=  
kkāsū onr-araiyūn=tari-ppudavaiyār=kāsū mukkalū[m mu]ttāvaranittār=kāsū  
mukkālun=tingalmērāttār=kāsū onr-araiyūm vēh-kkāsukku=kkāsū nūrr-orubatt-  
ettum āga=kkāsū irunūrr-orubatt-ār-araiyē irandu-māvukku i-ttēvarku vēndun=  
nimandañ=cheydapadī [i\*] Ālvārku=chchirukālai-chchandiṇ-onrukku=pparuppu-ppōna-  
gattukku ariśi kurunīkku aṇj-irand-āl-kī nellu=ppadakkū nā-nāḥiyum paruppu nā-  
nāḥīkku=ppayaru kurunīkku nellu=ppadakkum pulukku-kkariy-amud-onrukku  
nellu nāḥiy-urīyūm porī-kkariy-amud-onrukku nellu nāḥiy-urīyūn=tayir-amud-unrukku  
nellu nā-nāḥiyūn=neyy-amud-ālakkukku nel nāḥiyūm upp-ālakkukku nell-ulakkum  
adaikkāy-amudu verunkāy-aṇjukku nel nāḥiyūm ve-

19 irilaiy-irubadukku nell-urīyūm āga=chchandiṇ-onrukku nel ain-kurunī aṇ-ñāḥī mūlakkum [i\*]  
uchchīyampōḍu śandīkku akkāradalai-pōnagam<sup>1</sup> Vīrāśōlanukku ariśi nā-nāḥīkku  
nel kurunīy-iru-nāḥiyūm paruppu nā-nāḥīkku=ppayaru kurunīkku nel padakkū=  
ppāl=aru-nāḥīkku nel kurunī nā-nāḥiyūn=ney nāḥīkku nel tūnīyūm vālaippalam  
ettukku nel nā-nāḥiyūm adaikkāy-amudu verunkā[y\*] aṇjukku nel nāḥiyūm  
verilaiy-irubadukku nell=urīyūm āga akkāradalai-ppōnagattukku nell=iru-tūnī  
kurunī mu=nnāḥiy-urīyūm [i\*] idukku nāl onrukku=chcharkarai muppatt-iru-palamāga  
nāl mu[n\*]nūṇr-aṇupadakkū=chcharkarai padin-ōr-āyiratt-aṇṇūrr-irubadin-pala-  
ttukku=kkās-onrukku=chcharkarai aṇṇūrr-eḷubatt-aru-palamāga=kkāsū irubadum [i\*]  
iravai-sandīkku=ppāl-pōnagattukku ariśi nā-nāḥīkku nel kurunīy-iru-nāḥiyūm pāl  
nā-nāḥīkku nel kurunīyūm porīkkariy-amud-onrukku<sup>2</sup>

20 nel<sup>3</sup> nāḥiy-urīyūm porīkkariy-amudukkum pōnagattukku=neyy-ālakkukku nel nā-  
nāḥiyūm adaikkāy-amudu verunkāy-aṇjukku nel nāḥiyūm verilaiy-irubadukku nell-  
urīyūm āga iravai-śandīkku nel mu-kkurunīyē [elu]<sup>4</sup>-nāḥiyūn=[i\*]Ji(Śrī)-Rāgavachcha  
krava[r\*]tikku uchchīyampōḍai śandī onrukku ariśi nā-nāḥīkku nel kurunīy-  
iru-nāḥiyūn=neyy-amudun=kariyamudum adaikkāy-amudum ulḥttinavaiyirrukku  
nellu nā-nāḥiyūm=āga nel kurunīy-aru-nāḥiyūm Ālvārku=chchandanakḥāppukku=  
chchandanan=nāl-onrukku arai-ppalam-āga nāl munnūrr-arubadukku=chchandanam  
nūrr-enbadin-palattukku kās-onrukku=chchandanam eḷtu-ppalēm-āga=kkaś=irubatt-  
irand-araiyūm mērpadiḥkku=karpūra-ppottaraśū nāl-onrukku aṇjū-māy-āga nāl  
munnūrr-arubadukku=karpūram padin-oru-kalañjē-kālukkū=kkās-onrukku=kkaṇ-  
pūram=arai-kkalañj-āga kās-iru-

21 batt-irand-araiyūn=kungumattuk[ku]=kkās-onrum [i\*] Ālvārku=ttiru-nundāvilakk=irandukku  
nāl-onrukku=ennaiy-urīyūm irā-ttiruchchurru=māḥgaiyilē vidīyūm-alavum=eriyūm  
vilakku mūnrukku=ennaiy-ulakk-ālakkū mērpadiyil eriyūm sandī-vilakku=ppattu-  
kkū vilakk-onrukku=ennai oru-śevīdē-kāl-āga ennai ulakkēy-iru-śevīd-araiyūm=  
āga nāl-onrukku ennai nāḥiy-ālakkēy-iru-śevīd-araiy-āga nāl munnūrr-arubadukku=  
ennai nā-nūrr-ambatt-iru-nāḥiy-unrukku=kkās-onrukku=ennaiy-irubadināḥiy-āga=kkās-  
irubatt-irand-araiyēy-araikkālum [i\*] Aippaśi-ttirunāḥī tiruvilāv-eḷund-a[ru\*]lum Aḷagi-  
yamanavālar nāl ēḷil=amudu-seyya=ppōd-onrukku ariśi pada-  
kkukku nellu ain-kurunīyūn parupp=urukku=ppayaru nāḥīkku nell-iru-nāḥiyūm  
porīkkariy-amud-onrukku nel nāḥiyūm pulukku-kkaṇ onruk

<sup>1</sup> This word is engraved below the line

<sup>2</sup> Read *nrukku*

<sup>3</sup> The *e* sign of *ne* is in the previous line

<sup>4</sup> *kuruniy oru* is what is required

- uriy-āga iriśi kalanṭ tūm=ppadakk-arū-nālikku nel mu-kkalanṭy=iru-tūm=ppa-  
dakk=elu-nāliyum pajaiḥ kuṇunikkū nel=ppadakkum pulinṭku-kkariy=onrukku  
30 nel mu-kkuruniyum miḷagu-kariy=onrukku nel mu-kkuṇuniyum pulitta-kariy onrukku=  
ppuliy=utpada nel=ttūniyum ilai-kkariy=onrukku nel=kkuṇuniyum miḷagu mūḷa-  
kkukku nel mu-kkuruniyum uppu=kkuṇunikkū nel=ppadakkum neyy=iru-nālikku  
nell=iru-tūniyum mōr kalattukku nel tūm=ppadakkum pulin-karikku mōrukku  
nel tūm=ppadakkum śārkarai irubatt iru-palattukku nel tūniyum veṇunḱāy=  
iru-nūrukku nel am-kuṇuniyum verṇilai=ppairettukku nel=ppadakkum aduvār=  
iruvarkku nel tūniyum sunnāmbukku nel nī-nāliyum virag-iduvān=oruvanukku  
nel=ppadakkum ilai-kkariy-iduvān=oruvanukku nel=ppadakkum āga nel en-  
kalanṭy-iru-tūm mu-nāliyum [\*] ivargal tīrttham-ādi mīndu vandāi Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar  
nūruvarkku mērpadiy-ākki nell=en-kalanṭy=iru-tūm mu-nāliyum [\*] Purattādi=  
tTiruvōnatti-nāl tīrttham=āda vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nūruvarkku mērpadiy=ākki  
nell=en-kalanṭy=iru-tūm mu-nāliyum Aippaśi=ttirunāḷil=ttiruvilāiv-eḷundaru[\*]=nāl=  
iril nāl onril=unnum Śrī-Vai-  
31 shnava(r)r=irubatt aiṇṭ-āga nīl-āril=unnum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nūṟ anubadam tīrttham-  
ādum-anr=unnum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar=aiṇṭbadum āga n[e]ḷu-  
kalanṭ tūm=aru-nāliyum [\*] Mārgal=ttiruv-ṭkūdaśiy ilun=dvādaśiy ilun=Tiruvāy moḷi  
kēṭṭa vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar-kk=1 nell=en-kalanṭy=iru-tūm  
mu-nāliyum [\*] Mā-  
32 61-Maga-ttirunāḷil i-mmandapattil=unnum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar=iru-nūruvarkku mērpadiy-  
ākki nel padai[n-e]ḷu-kalanṭ tūm<sup>1</sup>=aru-nāliyum [\*] tiru  
2vanukku nāl=onrukku nell=āru-nāliyum kās=onrum Tiruvāy moḷi vinnappañ-  
chey vār=iruvarku=ppōrāl nellu=kkū . . . 2nrukku nel mu-kkuṇuniyum  
pōrār=kās=irand-ā-  
33 ga=kāśu nālum Vīraśōlan-tirumandavanam ulappār nālarkku=ppōrāl nel=kkuruniy-  
āga nāl=onrukku nel tūm . . . =ttiruv-  
utsavangalukku=tirumañjunangalukku<sup>3</sup> nīt=chollī nāl-ōlai tūkkun=tiruvarkku  
nāl=onrukku nel kurunū . . . 2[r]idayir=ṭṭi=kadamaṭ tandi nmandañ-  
chelutti  
34 nirkum Vairbhānasa dēvakannu[y-oru]vanukku nāl=onrukku nel kuruniyum=kāśu nālun=  
kanakk-eḷudi nirkun=ka . . . 4l=onrukku nel kuruniyum=kāśu nālun=  
Ālvārku=ttirumañjunangalukku<sup>3</sup> vāndun=kālasamun=tirumadaipparikkū=Jananā-  
dan-man . . . 2kūdaigalukku=Śāstrarkum Ātala-śāḷaḱku vā-  
35 ndun=kalam-adun=kuśavanukku nāl=onrukku nel kuruniyum Ālvārku=ppariśattamuñ=  
Jananādan-mandapattil=ōdu . . . 4ōttu=kkētpārkkum ātularukum  
ohkkum=irankollikku[m<sup>4</sup>] nāl=onrukku nel nū-nāliyum Jananādan-mandapamum  
Ātala-śāḷaiyum nīmanda . . . 5kun=tirumeykāvālṭ Tirumukkūdaṭ-  
Pēraivanukku  
36 nāl=onrukku nel nā-nāliyum=kās=onrum tiruchchurumāhgai pudukuppurattukku  
nel nārpadin-kalamuñ=ja 6-mandapattil Rī(Rī)g-vēdam=ōduvippan=

<sup>1</sup> The letters in brackets have been filled up by referring to the stone. They are obstructed by a pillar and have not come out in the impression.

<sup>2</sup> The portion of the wall before this, represented by dots, is replaced by an uninscribed slab.

<sup>3</sup> Read *tirumañjana*.

<sup>4</sup> The portion before this is obstructed by a pillar.

<sup>5</sup> The letters have faded off.

<sup>6</sup> For dots read *kanutha*.

oruvanukku nāl=onrukku nel padakkum Yajur-vēdam=ōduvippan=oruvanukku  
nāl-onruk[ku nel] padakkum ivargal=iruvarkum pērār=kāśu nāl-āga=kkā-

37 ś=ettum Vyākaranamum Rūpāvat[āram]um vakkānikkum Bhattan=oruvanukku nāl=  
onrukku nel tūnyum kāśu pattum Ri[g-vēdam ō]<sup>1</sup>dum Brāhmanar  
padinmarum Yajur-vvēdam ōdum Brāhmanar padinmaru[m] Vyākaranamum  
Rūpāvatāramun=kētkum Brāhmanaru[m\*] chāttirar=irupadinmarum Mahā-Pāñ-  
[charāttirar=oru]<sup>1</sup>padinmarum Śiva-Brāhmanar mūvarum Vaikhānasar aivarum

38 ti mār-iruvaram āga ōduv[ārum] ōttu-kkēlpārum=āga arupadinmarkku=  
ppērāl=ariśi nāhy-urīy-āga nāl=onruk=ari[śi tū]<sup>2</sup>ni mu-kkurumiy-iru-nāhkku  
nell=iru-kalanē tūny-oru-nāhyum payaru nā-nāhkku nel kurumiyum pulukku-  
kharikku nell=aru-nāhyum ilai-kka-

39 rikku nel mu-nnāhyu[m] mīlagu-karikku nel kurumiyum pulitta-kari[k\*]ku puliy-utpada  
nel kurumiyum mīlag=ulakk-ālakkukku ne[ nā-nāh]<sup>2</sup>yum uppu nāhkku nel  
kurumiyum ney nāhkku nel tūnyum mōr tūm-ppadakkukku nel mu-kkurumi-  
yum verunkāy-arubadukku nel kuru[ni nā-nā]<sup>3</sup>iyum verrilai parr-irandukku  
nel nā-nāhyum

40 Vayalaikkāvūr-ninru ariśi koduvandu viragum=ilayum=ittu=ttannir=attiy=adu-madaiyar  
mūvarukku=ppērāl kurumiy-āga [nāl-on]<sup>3</sup>rukku nel mu-kkurumiyum pērār=kāś-  
irand-āga=kkās=ārum i-mmandapatt-unnuñ=chāttirarkkun=kidaigalukkum pañ-  
śeyyum penduga[il-iruvark]<sup>3</sup>ku=ppērāl nellu nā-nāhy-āga nāl-onrukku

41 nel kurumiyum, pērār=kās=onr-āga=kkās=irandum chāttirarkkun=kidaigalukkum ātular-  
kkum kidaikka=ppāy=elupat[taindu]kku=kkās=irandum kidaigalukkuñ=chatti-  
rarākun=talaikk=atta=chchanīy-onruk=ennaiy=iru-nāhy-āga ānd-onnir=chani aimbatt-  
onruk=ennai<sup>1</sup> nūrr-iru-nāhkkum Jananādan-mandapatt=ōttu-

42 kkētpārkku irāy-eriyum vilakk=onruk=ennai ulakk-āga ānd-onruk=ennai tonnūrru-  
nāhyu[m ivv-e]<sup>4</sup>nnai nūrru-tonnūrr-iru-nāhkku=kkās onruk=ennaiy=irupadi-  
nāhy-āga=kkās=onbad-araiyēy-araikkāluñ=Jananādan-mandapat[tukku]<sup>5</sup>=ppudukkupp-  
rattukku nel nārpadin-ka[lamu]m [I\*] ātu-

43 [la]r sālai Virāśōlanil vyāḍippattu=kkidappār padinaiyvarukku=ppērāl=ariśi nāhy-āga  
ariśi kurumiy-elu-nāhkku nel [tūni ai]<sup>6</sup>ñnāhy-urīyum vyāḍippattu=kkidapparkkum  
pala-pani-mmandakkārarkkum kidaigalukkuñ=chāttirarkkum vadya cholla=kkāny-  
āga=ttanakkun=tan [varggat]<sup>6</sup>tārkkum perrudaiya Ālappākkattu Savarnnan

44 Kōdandarāman Aśvatthāma-Bhattanukku nāl-onrukku nel mu-kkurumiyum kās=  
ettuñ=chalhiyakkariyai=pannuvā[n=oruva]<sup>7</sup>nukku nāl-onrukku nel kurumiyum ātu-  
larkku marundugalukku vēndu[m\*] marundu parittum virag-ittum pariyāram-  
pannuvār=iru[varu]kku=p[pērāl]<sup>6</sup> nāl-onrukku nel kurumiy-āga nel padakkum  
pērā-

45 r=kās=onrāga=kkās=irandum ātular'kku vēndum pariyāram panu marund adum pendu-  
gil-iruvarkku=ppērāl=a[riśi nā]<sup>7</sup>-nāhy-āga nāl-onrukku nel kurumiyum pērār=kāñ-

<sup>1</sup> The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar They have been filled up by referring to the stone

<sup>2</sup> This is filled up by calculation

<sup>3</sup> Here is an obstruction by pillar Read from stone

<sup>4</sup> Here is an unscripted slab The inscribed slab should have contained the letters in brackets

<sup>5</sup> The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and they have been filled up *in situ* from stone

<sup>6</sup> The syllables in brackets have been filled up as the inscribed stone is here replaced by a plain one

<sup>7</sup> Lost in the original and have been supplied by calculation

- aray-āga=kk īś=onrum ātularakkun=kidaigalukkuñ=chēttirarkkum vāndum paṇi-  
śey[yum nā]<sup>1</sup>viśan=oruvanukku nāl-onrukku nel nā-nālī
- 46 yum [\*] āturaśālu Viraśōlanī ānd-onṇill=idu[n\*] marundu Brāhmyam ka[dumbūri]y=  
onrum karungāy nīnga ippadī dūm Vāśī-haritakī=ppadiy=  
irandum Dāśamūla-haritakī padīy=onrum Bhallātaka-haritakī padīy=onrum  
Gandīram [padī]y<sup>1</sup>=onrum Balākāṇḍa-tailam tūṇiyum Pañchā-
- 47 ka<sup>2</sup>-tailan=tūṇiyum Laśunādy<sup>3</sup>-āṇḍa-tailan=tūṇiyum=Uttamākarṇādī-tailan=tūṇiyum=U  
[pa]dakkunū=Suk<sup>4</sup> śā-gṛitam pada-  
kkum[m\*] Bīlādi-gṛitam padakkum Mandū[ka]ra-vatakam irand-āyiramum Dravattī  
nīṇiyum Vimalai irand-āyiramum Sunṇṇīy<sup>5</sup>=irand-āyiramum=Ṭamrādīy=irand-āyira-  
mum Vajrakalpan=tūṇi-ppa
- 48 dakkum Kāyāna-lavanan=tūṇi-ppadakkum vāiy=adugaikkū vāndum marun[du<sup>4</sup>]galu-  
kkum ne [raiyum] tē<sup>4</sup> yum ullittana  
kollavum āndu-tōrum Purāṇasarpṇi pudaikka=ppaśuvī[n\*] ney padakkun=kollavum  
(h)kīśu nārpadum [tura]<sup>4</sup>śālayill=irūy=eriyum ilakk=onrukku=ennaiy=ālakka-ā-
- 49 ga nīl mu-nnūr-arupadukk=eunai nārpaṭṭ u-ññāḷikkū kās=irand-āḷum Jananāḍin-ma-  
nīl tan<sup>4</sup> yānukku=pPangunīy-uttiran=  
tudaṅgi=pPurattādi=tTiruvōnatt-alavum parambāl=ūra=tṭannīr koduvandu vā[ttu=  
ehēḷiy]<sup>6</sup>ppān oruvanukku nāl onrukku nel kurūṇiy=ī-
- 50 ga nāl nūr-ēnbadukku nel padinam-kalamum āṭattukkum ilāmaehēṭtukkum  
nell=iru<sup>4</sup> padakkun=t<sup>4</sup> ny iḥem  
pāṇma Brāhmanarkku<sup>10</sup>-tdakṣinaikkum vēṇṇai vēṇṇāyikkū nel kalan tūṇiy-  
iru-nālī mūlai[kē mu]<sup>11</sup>-ehēḷevīdum Vayalaikkāṇūr kīṇiyudaiya Mādhan Dāma-
- 51 yan vārgṇāttārkku=pPurattādi=tTiruvōnatt-nāl kudukkum [pa]rśāttam irandukku=  
kkās=onrey=eḷu-mā<sup>4</sup>mūv-āviratt-irunūṇṇu-nārpattu-mu-  
kkalanēy=iru-tūṇi-ppadakk=aru-nālīy=ulakkē mu-ehēḷevittukkum kās=iru-nūr=oru-  
batt-ār araiyēy=iran[du-mā]<sup>4</sup>vukkum [\*] ikkās=udavūvidil kās=onrukku=tTandavāṇiyō-
- 52 d-okkum pon kās-nīrai=kkāl iduvad-āgavum[\*] ippadī vāndu āṇvadu nūnandañ=ehēyda-  
padī in<sup>4</sup>lūmāḍattu ehā[ttu]ra-kkankāṇiyōdum kida-  
kkankāṇiyōdum śellakkadavāḍ-āga nīvandam śēḍapadikkū kallu vettuvittār i-  
n[nādu kūrū]<sup>12</sup>śēyda adigāṅgal Śōḷa-mandalattu Vijayarājēnta<sup>13</sup>-va-
- 53 lanāttu Idaiyala-nāttu [Mina]<sup>14</sup>rkuḍaiyān Paśuvati Tiruvarangadēvanār=āna  
Rājēnta<sup>15</sup>Mūvāṇḍavēḷir Pāna,<sup>16</sup>va=kkallu vettuvittān Jayangonda-

<sup>1</sup> The letters in brackets have been read *in situ*

<sup>2</sup> The letter *la* was supplied by examining the original stone

<sup>3</sup> The syllables *śunādyāra* have been read *in situ*

<sup>4</sup> Here and in the following an inscribed slab is replaced by a plain one

<sup>5</sup> The syllables *netriy* have been restored by reading on the spot

<sup>6</sup> Read *Tum*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The letters *ātura* are entered below the line

<sup>8</sup> The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been read from stone

<sup>9</sup> The syllables lost here must be *padin kalanēy=iru tūṇi*

<sup>10</sup> Read *dda*

<sup>11</sup> A pillar obstructs these two letters

<sup>12</sup> The syllables in brackets are obstructed by a pillar Restored from stone

<sup>13</sup> Read *āndra*

<sup>14</sup> The two syllables are lost in the original

<sup>15</sup> The syllables *ēta=kkā* have been filled up from the stone, though obstructed by a pillar.

sōla-mandalattu=pPular-kōttatt=Āgudī-nāttu Ayandampākkattu Iṭaivēttin  
Kumara-Pāsūr=kkattan=āna<sup>1</sup> Virarājētra<sup>2</sup>-chChembiyadarayan[<sup>3</sup>] Inda danm[<sup>4</sup>]  
śeyvitta Dāmayanār

54 maga[n] Dāmayan Gangaikondaśōlan-āna Sēnāpatigal Gangaikondaśōla-Danmapālarkkum  
ivar tambiyār Dā n-āna Sēnāpatigal Virarājētra<sup>2</sup>-Danmapālarkku-  
māy idu kallu vettuvittān Jayangondaśōla-mandalattu Puḷal-kōttattu r-  
nāttu [Śā] turvēdimanga[<sup>5</sup>]ttu Brāhmanan Māngalūr Namaśśi-  
vāyadēvan magan

55 Taluvakkulaṇḍān-āna Abhmānamēru-Brahmamarāyan [<sup>6</sup>] I-dharmam(m) śrī-Madhurān-  
taka-chchatu[rvēdimanga]<sup>3</sup>lattu Mahāsabhaiyār rakshai [<sup>7</sup>] Śrī [ || ]

#### Abstract of Contents <sup>4</sup>

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*With the aid of*) his strong shoulders, (*wherein the goddess of*) Prosperity resided, (*the king*) bore the circle of the wide earth as (*lightly as*) his jewel of gems, under the shade of (*his*) victorious white parasol (*set with*) numerous gems, (*he*) protected the living beings of the earth more (*tenderly*) than the mother who bore (*them*), (*he*) conducted (*his*) rule (*so as to cause*) other kings (*wearing*) ankle-rings to seek shelter under the shadow of his feet and (*forced*) the rent Kālī (*age*) to retire to (*its*) abysmal abode (*He*) drove from the battle-field of Gangapādi the great feudatory chiefs (*sāmantas*) whose strong hands (*carried*) tightly-bound bows, (*and forced them*) along with Vikkalan (*who wore*) a garland of fragrant flowers to enter the **Tungabhadra**. (*He made such an*) attack (*as to cause*) the destruction of the irresistibly great and powerful army which the Vallabhan had again despatched into the fine country of Vēngī, and fought<sup>5</sup> with *Mahādandanāyaka* Chāmundaarāja and cut off his head and severed the nose from the face of his (*i e*, Chāmundaarāja's) incomparable<sup>6</sup> daughter called Nāgalai (*who was*) the queen of Irugaiyan and (*who*) resembled a peacock in beauty

Himself and his sons, who assisted him, remaining behind in close quarters, he sent forth an army, which victoriously fought against countless *sāmantas* along with the (*two*) sons of **Āhavamalla** called Vikkalan and Singanan at **Kūdal-Sangama** on the great waters, whither they had rushed forth enraged, resolving to advance forward and fight for a third time, and with (*his*) rut elephant, he agitated that army (*of the enemy*) which was arrayed in battle like the Northern ocean, he cut to pieces in front of his banner-troop Singan of **Kōsalai** who was fighting with his furious elephants and vanguard, he (*also*) cut to pieces Kēśavadandanāyaka and Kettaraśān, Mārayan of great strength, the powerful Pottaraśān and Rēchehayān, Porkōḍai and Mūvēndi who were fighting (*fiercely*), and many (*other*) unknown *sāmantas* who offered (*him*) battle Then Muduvanan, who was the commander,<sup>7</sup> fled, Vikkalan fled with his hair dishevelled, Singanan fled leaving off the field-work, all the other chiefs of the elder brother<sup>8</sup> dismounted from the male elephants on which they were fighting the great battle and fled, and Āhavamalla, who was thus put to shame,<sup>9</sup> ran before them (*all*) He then separated his swift-footed and fierce elephant, put on a garland of victory and seized the (*enemies'*) wives, their family treasures,

<sup>1</sup> The letters *tan āna* are obstructed by a pillar

<sup>2</sup> Read *andra*

<sup>3</sup> The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been restored by reading from the stone

<sup>4</sup> Prof Hultzsch has translated the introductory portion on pp 36ff of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol III

<sup>5</sup> The word *śerratan* is a compound of *śerru* and *avan*

<sup>6</sup> May be taken to mean also 'the only daughter'

<sup>7</sup> The word may be rendered also 'who was the father of his wife'

<sup>8</sup> *Annal* may also mean 'the king'

<sup>9</sup> The word *naṟvina* means also 'who was in close quarters'

conch<sup>1</sup>s, parasols, trumpets (*tārai*), big drums, canopies (*mēghadambara*), white fly-whisks (*chāmaras*), the boar banner, the ornamental arch (*maḥara tōraṇa*), a herd of camels, the metal throne, the female elephant called Pushpaka, a herd of war-elephants together with a collection of prancing horses, (*he then*) ascended the powerful lion-throne of great splendour, being bowed to by all the world, and along with his beautiful queen Ulagamulududaiyāl, put on the victorious crown set with gems

He cut off in battle field the beautiful heads, wearing flower-garlands, of the king of Pottapi whose horse was unsteady under the bridle (*luṣai*), and of the Kērala (*king*) wearing ankle-rings and (*powerful on account of his*) elephants<sup>1</sup> as well as of the younger brother of Jananātha adorned with wreaths<sup>2</sup>, (*and he also*) trampled under the feet of a single rut elephant Virakēsari who wore a crown (*set with*) lustrous gems and who was the young son of the Pāndya king Śrīvallabha wearing gold ankle-rings<sup>3</sup>

He put forth his elephant (*force*) in the field and uprooted with his hands the family of the Chēras along with their infants, and caused them to run and plunge into the Western ocean. At Vāri, he tied up the Rattas, who had numberless elephants, along with the elephants belonging to their ladies who coveted (*them*)<sup>4</sup>, and received also a herd of elephants which they paid as tribute together with female elephants and trappings

In a hot battle pitched on the bank of a river of whirling water<sup>5</sup> he cut off the heads of the following Dandanāyakas — Viliyannan<sup>6</sup> of great valour, Vaṇippayan<sup>6</sup>, who possessed a rutting elephant, Aśōkayan (*who wore a cool*) garland, Śattiyannan of brilliant valour, Pattiyannan (*the minister of*) peace and war, Vimayan, who wore a honey-dripping garland, Vaṅgāran of great wisdom, the Ganga (*king*) of dreadful lance, the Nulamba (*king*) and the king of the Kādavas as well as the Vaidumba (*king*) who owned highly furious and rutting elephants

After he had reached the great city (*called after*) the great river Gangā, the Chālukya (*king*) who came from the race of the moon, felt the sting and thought 'it is better to die than live with such disgrace' and choosing as battle-field the very Kūdāl, where his sons and himself had been made to retreat, wrote, so that all might know, a letter embodying (*his*) vow—"those who do not come to Kūdāl through fear are no kings but are disgraceful liars in war," handed it over with an oral message to the Ganga chief Kettan renowned among the liars of Rattappādi and asked him to take it, and when he came, bowed at the feet of, and delivered the message to (*the Chōla king*), his (*i.e.*, the latter's) mind, face and glorious two arms began to glow doubly on account of the increasing joy and he advanced forth and entered the field, and not finding the approach of the king of the Vallabhas at Karandai, stayed there delightfully for one month more after the appointed day, and then he found him run away until his legs became sore and hid himself in the western ocean, and each of the three (*chiefs*) Dēvanāthan, Siddhi and Kēśi turned their backs

(*The Chōla king*) subdued the powerful activity of Rattappādi 7½ lakhs, hard (*even for birds*) to sing and set crackling fire on it and set up a pillar of victory (*jayabhadra-tūn*) on the bank of the Tungabhadra so that the world<sup>7</sup> praised him and the fierce and angry tiger (*the crest of his race*) mounted on it and sported joyfully

<sup>1</sup> *Varaṅgi* is the reading in No 20 of *S I I*, Vol III, and it has been taken as a proper name. The reading *vāraṇa* is better since the Chēras are noted for their elephant forces of *paḷāṇai kō kKandān*.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *Dhāra*, it is preferable to read '*tār*'

<sup>3</sup> See note 6 on page 37 of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol III

<sup>4</sup> Hultzsch has rendered the passage thus — "tied up in stables the Rattas, whose elephants were numberless, along with the elephants of the Kanniyān which he had seized"

<sup>5</sup> This rendering somewhat differs from that given in the *S I I*, Vol III, p 63

<sup>6</sup> *Maliyannan* and *Mūṅippayan* are the readings in No 30 of the same Volume

<sup>7</sup> *Nūḷan* means 'four kinds of lands, i.e., *kurunji*, *mullai*, *pulai* and *neydal*—grassy, forest, sandy and coast tracts and hence 'the world'

He made the liar, who had advanced against him on a previous occasion, a Vallabha and fastened on him a *kanthilā*. He caused to be depicted beautifully on a board how the Kuntala king and (his) sons ran five times to the full knowledge of the world mounted on an elephant which had a cord (*round its neck*) and a hole-bearing hand.

Vowing not to return until he fulfilled the word that he formerly uttered, viz —that he would destroy the state of the Chālukyan (*lordship*), and their stables wherein was locked up the flower of his horse troops (?) and recover the Vēṅgi country which the Chālukya had taken,—he sent (*the following*) word to be announced “Hear this and if you have (*any*) power, come and protect yourself”

When the array of his army which was advancing towards the (*enemies'*) boundary had reached the great river close to the beautiful city of Vijayavāḍai (*i e*, Bezvāḍa), he (*the Chōla*) drove into the forest the great battalion which had at its head Jananāḍan and Tipparaiśan, caused his elephants (*pōḍakam*) to drink the water of the Gōḍāvarī, crossed the seven Kalingas, and led his swelling elephant forces (*tānai-tūvaḍi*) as far as the snow covered Mahendra (*mountain*) on whose right side was carved the tiger mark and bestowed (*that country*) on Vijayāditya of broad arms wearing weapons of war who sought shelter at his feet (*which were adorned with*) flowery anklets.

Returning fast, he graciously entered (*the city of*) Gangāpura leaving off the Kali and bringing the goddess of victory which had attached (*itself*) to him. There, he assumed the *damanga* as the lord of the earth (*under the titles*) Rājādhirāja and Rājarāja. The kings of the earth bowing at his feet, he sat on a pedestal set with choicest gems, exhibited in order the immense wealth, which he had brought from the fine country of Vēṅgi, removed the *ālī* and *niḡala*<sup>1</sup> and fulfilled his vow.

(*Putting forth*) a number of ships (*laden with*) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (*the Chōla king*) began to wage a war in *Ḥam* (*i e*, Ceylon) which cast a gloom on that army of the Singhalese wherein Kurukulat-tarayan who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (*the charge of the Chōlas*) with the result that Vijayabāhu, the king (*of the island*) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (*the Chōla king*) took his queen captive, conquered, carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made Laukā with its impregnable walls his own.

Crossing back the southern region, (*the Chōla king*) obstructed at Kōṇḍai where the Chālukyan king again sent against him double the number of elephants which he had put forth on a former occasion. Among those that were seen (*there*) were the intelligent Nāgaiyan Mārayan, Manmagandayan, Kondayan, Āchēhidaran, and others. These ran away showing their backs and making such an uproar (*in their flight*) that resembled the noise of thunder during heavy rains. Ko ottumadaiyan and others lost their elephants and ran along with the commanders of infantry (*pada-sāmantas*). The Chōla king caught hold of prancing horses and young elephants as well as a galaxy of women that were seen (*in the field*) and received as before a *parani*. Tuṇnamūrāyan, Kēśavan, , who were subdued by his forces the sound . , Singanan, who was resting under a flag, . and (*he*) planted a pillar of victory at Pul-Sūttukkal, where, getting up a hill . and mounted on a vehicle (*yānai*) drawn by seven horses, the chief known (*by the name*) Śōḷiyavarayan, -dandanāyaka fought. Ho sent

<sup>1</sup> The word *niḡala* is phonetically connected with the skt *niḡaḍa* ‘setters or shackles’ and thus may be construed to convey the idea of ‘armour’.



forth a (very) sea of army . . . in Kalīngam . . . his chief feudatories at Chakkarakōttam and destroyed by heavy fire the elephant (forces) of the Chālukya king which appeared in great numbers at Chakkarakōttam in the North. The bowman Sōmayan of Sōnayanagar, Eriyaman, Ādityavarman of fearful trident,—these with clusters of heads that were cut off,— . . . Malh, Sōgaiya . . . n, who wore ornaments set with diamonds, Vaidumbi, Dēvanātha, Dēviko . . . along with herds of camels . . . and the reward of ornaments were looted in order . . . and ran with broken hearts. The wife of . . . nāthan trembling with fear, Kāliyappai, his younger brother . . . and others together with crowds of their ladies wearing tumbai garlands, fell in his hands in the great field of Kāvi and were caught.

Removing the sons of . . . lamayan, (the Chōla king) crossed the boundary and fixed the limit, wielded his sceptre from the Himālayas in the northern quarter, where the tiger ever lies in ambush, up to the Sātu (in the south), propagated the Vedic lore, assumed possession of kingly duties, invited suppliants and raising aloft the banner of heroism and the banner of liberty, sat in Royal state and exemplified the path of the great Manu (He), i.e., king Rājakesarivarman alias Udayār the glorious Virarājēndradēva, in the fifth year of his reign was pleased to be seated on (the seat called) Rājēndraśōla-Māvalivānarājan in the Royal palace of Sōlakūralan at Gangakondaśōlapuram.

Vayalakkāvūr in Tēroḍu-Paruvūr-nāḍu, (a sub division) of Kāliyūr-kōttam was a *dēvadāna* of (the temple of) Mahāvishṇu at Tirumukkūdal in the prosperous Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimangalam (which was) a free village in Kalattūr-kōttam, (a district) of Jayangondachōlamandalam. The residents of this village were paying 75 *kalaṅṇu* of gold for the feeding house (*śālai*). This amount of 75 *kalaṅṇu* of gold was deducted from the accounts and assigned to the temple in the second year of the reign of Uluguyakkondarūnadēva who took Rattappādi 7½ lakhs and who twice saw the back of (i.e., defeated) Āhavamalla. This (amount) together with the taxes accruing from the village, viz., *Ur-kalaṅṇu*, *kumārakkachchānam*, *vannārappūrai*, *mēnpāttam*, *tattārapāttam*, etc., forming the *kīṟṟaiyppāttam*, *vēlakkāṣu*, *tingalmērā*, *muttāraṇam*, *taṟippudai*, *valangai* and *iḍangai-maganmai*, *daśabandam*, *mādaḷḷū*, *viśāṣai*, etc., forming the *pāttam*—were ordered by the king to be entered in the accounts, in the fifth year of (his) reign, as a tax-free *dēvadāna* gift to meet the requirements of the (god) Mahāvishṇu at Tirumukkūdal. This Royal mandate (*kīṟṟi*) was written by Tirumandiraiḷai Tāḷi Tiruppanan-gūdudaiyān alias Vānavan Vallavaraiyan of Nērvāyil, in Panayūr-nāḍu, (a sub division) of Kshatriyasikḥāmani-valanāḍu and signed by Tirumandiraiḷai-nāyagam Pāndiyanār, Rājarāja-Brahmamārāyar and Virarājēndra Gūngaiyarājan. That it may be so entered in the account was ordered by Villavaraiyar, Kalugattaraiyar, Vīdayil Rājēndravayirāgarachchōlan and Pāndiyanār, and further endorsed by (1) the *Udan-kūṭam* officers Virarājēndra-Brahmādhiraiyar, (2) Sōla-Brahmamārāyar, (3) Sembian Sittiraiyar, (4) Atiśavaśōla-Mūvēndavēlār, (5) Jayangondaśōla-Vilupparaiyar, (6) Uttamaśōla-Pallavaraiyar, (7) the Vīdayil officers Kāḍavaraiyar, (8) Kāvērivalabha-Mūvēndavēlār, (9) Ilattaraiyar, (10) Sōla-Mūvēndavēlār, (11) Virarājēndra-Malavaraiyar, (12) Valavan-Mūvēndavēlār, (13) Rāja-uttama-Mūvēndavēlār, (14) Rājarāja-Kaḍigairaiyar, (15) Jayangondaśōla-Mūvēndavēlār, (16) Rājēndraśōla-Anukhappallavaraiyar, (17) Sembian-Brahmamārāyar, (18) Sundaraśōla-Pallavaraiyar, (19) Jayangondaśōla-Vayanāttaraiyar, (20) Jayangondaśōla-Sōnāmuga-Mūvēndavēlār, (21) Sōlavilupparaiyar, (22) Jayaśinga-kulakāla-Vilupparaiyar, (23) Virarājēndra-Tiruvindalūrnāttu-Mūvēndavēlār, (24) Rājarāja-Vilupparaiya-Virarājēndra-Waragunaraiyar, (25) Kshatriyaśinga-Mūvēndavēlār, (26) Uttamaśōla-Mūvēndavēlār, (27) Pārmannu-kulādīpa-Mūvēndavēlār, (28) Rattakulakāla-Mūvēndavēlār, (29) Uttamapāndiya-Mūvēndavēlār, (30) Virāśōla-Pallavaraiyar, (31)

-Mūvēndavēlār, (32) Mudikondaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēlār, (33) Valavarāditta-Mūvēndavēlār, (34) Gangaiḱoṇḱaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (35) *Naduvirūḷḷum* Urupputtūr-Yājña-Bhatta, (36) Sāvyaṇa-Śivalajjādi-Bhatta, (37) Kaṟippurattu-Śōḷadēva-Bhatta and (38) Kaṟippurattu-Anantanārāyaṇa-Bhatta

Then the following persons being present viz, *Puravuvartinaḷḷalālā-kāṇḷān* Kuvāḷai-yadivākara-Mūvēndavēlār, Arindaman-Purangarambaināttu-Mūvēndavēlār, Rṭṭarāja-Senninādu-kīḷavan, Viraśinga-Mūvēndavēlār, Alagiyāśōḷa-Viḷupparaiyan, *Puravuvartinaḷḷalām* Śalukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlār, Vāṇavan-Viḷupparaiyan, Valavarāja-Mūvēndavēlār, Avannārāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēlār, Śingirāntaka-Mūvēndavēlār, *Varippottagam* Pāḷaiyūr kīḷavan, *Mugavetti* Jayāḱondaśōḷa-Damanūrnāttu-Viḷupparaiyan, Ādamangalamudaiyān, Atirāṇḱendra-Pallavaraiyan, Kūṇḱalḱilān, *Terippu* Īṅgaḱkudaiyān, Māttūruḱaiyān, Valavaśūḷāman-Mūvēndavēlār, *Taravusāttu* Śōḷadivākara-Mūvēndavēlār, Pulikilān, *Palaniyāyam* Pattālamudaiyān, Śembiyan-Miḷalaiyēlār, Araiyamān, *Variyiḷḱu* Avannpāla-Mūvēndavēlār, Arindaman-Viḷupparaiyan, *Varippottaga-kāṇḱḷu* Saṅgattimangalamudaiyān, Valavan-Viḷupparaiyan, *Pattōḷai* Śiṟupāḱḱilān, Manarpāḱḱilān, *Kēḷi-variyiḷḱuvitta* *Puravuvartinaḷḷalām* Śalukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlār, Śingirāntaka-Mūvēndavēlār, *Mugavetti* Śōḷamārtānda-Mūvēndavēlār, Kūṇḱalḱilān, *Vāṣutān* *varippottaga-kāṇḱḷu* Saṅgattimangalamudaiyān, *Variyiḷḱilān* *Puravuvartinaḷḷalattu-Kāṇḱḷu* Śōḷamānikka-Mūvēndavēlār of Śōḷamandalam, *Pattōḷai eḷudinān* Viraśōḷa-Nenmanāttu-Mūvēndavēlār,—all these being present, in the fifth year and three hundred and forty-eighth day (of the king's reign), it was entered in the accounts that for the 75 *kalaṇṇu* of gold, the abovementioned *pāttams* accruing from the village, the 72 *kalaṇṇu* and 9 *maṇṇādi* of gold previously granted as *dēvadāna* to this god, making a total of 147 *kalaṇṇu* and 9 *maṇṇādi*, the income in paddy by the *rājakēṣari* measure at 16 *kāḷam* per *kalaṇṇu* was 2359 *kalam*, 1 *padalḱḷu*, 3 *nāḷi*, 1 *ālalḱḷu* and 3 *seṇḱu*. This when converted into *arumoliddēvan* measure, at the rate of 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, and 4 *nāḷi* of *arumoliddēvan* for a *kalam* of *rājakēṣari*, became, inclusive of *kālāśi*, *kāḷalavukūḷi* and *horraḷavuvāśi*, 884 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 3 *nāḷi*, and 1 *ālalḱḷu* of paddy in excess, thus making a total of 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *padalḱḷu*, 6 *nāḷi*, 1 *ulalḱḷu* and 3 *seṇḱu* of *arumoliddēvan*.

The taxes accruing from this village, viz, 1 *kalaṇṇu* of gold by *ūṟḷāḷaṇṇu*, 1 *kalaṇṇu* of gold by *kumarakachchānam*, 3½ *kalaṇṇu* of gold by *mīṇpāttam*, 5½ *kalaṇṇu* of gold by *kīḷiraiṇṇāttam*, in all 11 *kalaṇṇu* of gold, equivalent to 18 *nāḱai* and 7 *mā*, or 36½ *kāśu*, together with 28½ *kāśu* and 4 *mā* by *daśabandam*, 25½ *kāśu* and 3 *mā* by *māḱarīḱḱūḷi*, 3 *kāśu* by the account of *mudai-śilavu*, 1½ *kāśu* by *cannaḱḱalḱūḷi*, ¾ *kāśu* by *muttāvaranam*, 1½ *kāśu* by *tingalmēra*, 118 *kāśu* by *iḱḱilḱāśu*, made a total of 216½ *kāśu* and 2 *mā*.

Here are detailed the following expenses to be met in the temple from the above said income of paddy and *kāśu*

For one *śiṟukāḷai-śandi* offering to the Ālvār —

(L 18) One *padalḱḷu* and four *nāḷi* of paddy for one *ḷuṟum* of rice, 1 *padalḱḷu* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of *paruppu* (broken green pulse) or 1 *ḷuṟum* of *payaru*, 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *pululḱḱalḱari* (boiled curry), 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *poriḱḱalḱari* (fried curry), 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *uri* of eurd, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *ālalḱḷu* of ghee, 1 *ulalḱḷu* of paddy for 1 *ālalḱḷu* of salt, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel leaves, thus making a total of 5 *ḷuṟum*, 5 *nāḷi* and 3 *ulalḱḷu* of paddy for one *śandi*.

For the *alḱāradalai* offering at the Viraśōḷan —

(L 19) 1 *ḷuṟum* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of rice, 1 *padalḱḷu* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of *paruppu* or 1 *ḷuṟum* of *payaru*, 1 *ḷuṟum* and 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 6 *nāḷi* of milk, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of ghee, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 8 plantain fruits, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *ḷuṟum*, 3 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for the *alḱāradalai* offering. The sugar required for this for a year of 360 days, at 32 *ṭalam* per day is 11,520 *ṭalam*, which at the rate of 576 *ṭalam* of sugar for 1 *kāśu* cost 20 *kāśu*.

For the offering of *Pālpōnagam* at night —

(L 19f) 1 *lurum* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, 1 *lurum* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of milk, 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālalku* of ghee for *pōnagam* and *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *lurum* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for the night offering

(L 20) For the offering at noon to Śrī-Rāghavachakravartī —

1 *lurum* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for ghee, curry and areca-nuts, thus making a total of 1 *lurum* and 6 *nāli* of paddy

For sandal-paste to the Ālvār —

180 *palam* of sandal are required for a year of 360 days at  $\frac{1}{2}$  a *palam* per day and this quantity at 8 *palam* of sandal for 1 *lāśu*, costs 22½ *lāśu* 11½ *kālañju* of *karpūra* are required for a year of 360 days at 5 *mā* per day and this costs 22½ *lāśu* at  $\frac{1}{2}$  a *kālañju* of *karpūram* for 1 *lāśu* And 1 *lāśu* is required for *kunkumam*

(L 21) For lamps —

1 *uri* of oil for 2 perpetual lamps to the Ālvār, 1 *ulalku* and 1 *ālalku* of oil for 3 lamps to burn in the inner circuit of the temple till dawn, 1 *ulalku* and 2½ *śevidu* of oil for 10 twilight lamps, at 1½ *śevidu* of oil for 1 lamp, thus making a total of 1 *nāli*, 1 *ālalku* and 2½ *śevidu* of oil per day The oil required for a year of 360 days is 452 *nāli* and 1 *uri*<sup>1</sup>, which, at 20 *nāli* per *lāśu*, cost 22½ *lāśu*

(L 21) For Aippaśi festival to Alagiyaṃanavālar —

5 *lurum* of paddy for 1 *padalku* of rice, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of *paruppu*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2½ *śevidu* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālalku* of ghee, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of curd, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *ulalku* of salt, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, making a total of 7 *lurum* Thus, for the 12 occasions of the seven days of the festival the paddy required is 7 *kalam*.

(Ll 22-23) For the Māśi festival at the same rate as above is 7 *kalam* of paddy

For offerings during the hunting festival in the garden of Viraśōlan —

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūm* and 1 *padalku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *lurum* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *lurum* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *lurum* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 1 *lurum* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālalku* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of salt, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *padalku* of paddy for 1 *lurum* of curd, 1 *lurum* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 1 *tūm*, 1 *padalku* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for an occasion Hence for the 2 hunting festivals, the paddy required for offering is 7 *kalam* and 1 *lurum*

(Ll 23-24) For offerings during *Jayantyaśtamī* to Vennaiḱkūttālvār, i e, Krishna

1 *kalam* and 3 *lurum* of paddy for 6 *lurum* of rice, 1 *lurum* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2½ *śevidu* of pepper, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *lurum* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd, 1 *lurum* of paddy for 1 *ulalku* of ghee, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *parru* of betel leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 2 *tūm*, and 5 *nāli* of paddy For *appa-amudu* to be offered on the same occasion 3 *lurum* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *lurum* and 2 *nāli* of rice, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *padalku* of paddy for 1 *uri* of ghee, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 20 *palam* of sugar, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālalku* of pepper, 2 *nāli*

<sup>1</sup> By calculation, the requirement for the year is only 427 *nāli* and 1 *uri* It is not understood how the inscription gives an excess of 25 *nāli*

of paddy for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *seidu* of cumin, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 6 cocoanuts, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 1 *kurum*, 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy. For offering to be made when the deity is taken on procession in the street, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 32 plantain fruits and 1 *kurum* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of curd. In all, the provision made for the *Jayantyashṭamī* was 3 *kalam*, 6 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

(Ll 24-25) For offerings to be made on the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kārttigai —

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūm* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurum* of curd required for 1 *pulingari*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kurum* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 3 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurum* of curd, 1 *kurum* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 50 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 2 *tūm*, 3 *kurum* and 7 *nāl* of paddy.  $1\frac{1}{4}$  *kāsu* was provided for obtaining 25 *nāl* of oil for burning 200 lamps in the central shrine and in the inner circuit, at the rate of 1 *ālakku* for a lamp.

(Ll 25-26) Expenses to be met on the birth-day asterism *Āyilēya* (*Āślēsha*) in the month Āvani, of king Virarājendra, are as follows —

2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of green pulse required for sprouting at the *tuumaṇṇanam*, 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed below the sprouts, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *palam* of thread to wrap round 108 *kalaśas* (pots), 1 *tūm* and 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed under the *kalaśas*, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of rice required for powder, 1 *kalam* and 1 *tūm* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of ghee, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of curd, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of milk, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūm* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice required for an offering to be made on that day, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurum* of curd required for 1 *pulingari*, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of ghee, 1 *kurum* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts, 6 *nāl* of paddy for 3 *kattu* of betel leaves, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar required for *pulingari* and 1 *kurum* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, thus making a total of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kurum* and 2 *nāl* of paddy.

(L 27) For this festival are required one *pudavar* (cloth) for covering the *pālgaṇi* kept for sprouting, one *pudavar* for being placed above the *kalam*, two *pudavar*—consisting of one loin cloth and one upper cloth—for the *āchārya* who performs the bathing ceremony of the god, thus making in all four cloths which cost one *kāsu*. A provision of half a *kāsu* for 4 *nāl* of honey, quarter *kāsu* for 50 *palam* of turmeric, half a *kāsu* for purchasing *snapanā-dravyas*, one *kāsu* for one *parisattam* to be used after bathing, one *kāsu* for the *dalśhṇā* of the *āchārya* performing the bathing ceremony of the god, two and a half *kāsu* for purchasing 10 *parisattam* at the rate of quarter *kāsu* for one *parisattam*, to be presented to the Śrī Vaishnavas that served in the *Tiruvōlakṣam* and those who recited the *Tiruvāymoli* hymns on the occasion, half a *kāsu* for one *parisattam* to be presented to the astrologer (*tiru*) who announced the festivals, thus making a total of seven and a quarter *kāsu*.

(L 28) For the bathing of the god and for the great offering to be made on the day of *Pūrāḍam* in the month of Kārttigai which was the birth-day of the *Vaiśya* Māḍavan Dāmyan,

who built the inner enclosure of the temple and the Jananātha-mandapa, a provision of 6 *lalam*, 5 *kurum* and 2 *nāl* of paddy was made together with 6½ *lāṣu* for purchasing the necessary things for the *tirumañjana* and for presenting cloths to those that should get them

(L 28) For Purattāṣi-Tiruvōnam when Vennaikkūttālvār is taken in procession to the Jananātha-mandapa —

1 *lalam* and 4 *nāl* of paddy for 5 *kurum* of rice, 2 *lalam*, 1 *tūm* and, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 300 *palam* of sugar, 1 *lalam* of paddy for 3 *nāl* of ghee, 3 *kurum* of paddy for pepper, *śālhas* and salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 80 areca-nuts and 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *lattu* of betel-leaves thus making a total of 5 *lalam* of paddy

For feeding Śrī-Vaishnavas in the Jananātha mandapa on *amāvāsyā* days when the god presented *tīrtha* .—

(Ll 28-29) 2 *tūm*, 1 *kurum* and 3 *nāl* of paddy for 3 *kurum* and 6 *nāl* of rice, for 20 persons at 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* each, 5 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 5 *nāl* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kurum* and 1 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *pulutta-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari* (leaves), 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of salt 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of ghee, 1 *kurum* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *padakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 4 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 cook, thus making a total of 1 *lalam*, 7 *kurum* and 3 *nāl* of paddy for each *amāvāsyā*<sup>1</sup> For 12 *amāvāsyās*, the provision made was 19 *lalam*, 1 *tūm* and 4 *nāl* of paddy

(Ll 29-30) For feeding 100 Śrī-Vaishnavas in the Jananātha-mandapa on the occasion of the *tīrtham* at Tiruvengadamalai —

3 *lalam*, 2 *tūm*, 1 *padakku* and 7 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *lalam*, 1 *tūm*, 1 *padakku* and 6 *nāl* of rice at 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* each, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurum* of green pulse, 3 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 3 *kurum* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 1 *pulutta-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari*, 3 *kurum* of paddy for 3 *ulakku* of pepper, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurum* of salt, 2 *tūm* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of ghee, 1 *tūm* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *lalam* of butter-milk, 1 *tūm* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for butter-milk to the *pulingari*, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 22 *palam* of sugar, 5 *kurum* of paddy for 200 areca-nuts, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 8 *parru* of betel-leaves, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 2 cooks, 4 *nāl* of paddy for lime, 1 *padakku* of paddy for one that supplied fire-wood, and 1 *padakku* of paddy for one that supplied *ilai-kari* thus making a total of 8 *lalam*, 2 *tūm* and 3 *nāl*

When the party returned from Tiruvengadamalai after *tīrtham*, 100 Śrī-Vaishnavas had to be fed at a cost of 8 *lalam*, 2 *tūm* and 3 *nāl* of paddy

(Ll 30-32) For feeding Śrī-Vaishnavas that came on the occasion of Purattāṣi-Tiruvōnam, a provision of 8 *lalam*, 2 *tūm* and 3 *nāl*, calculated at the above rate, was made

17 *lalam*, 1 *tūm* and 6 *nāl* of paddy were provided for feeding 150 Śrī-Vaishnavas on the 6 days of the Aippaṣi festival, at 25 persons for each day and for feeding 50 Śrī-Vaishnavas on the day of the *tīrtham* A quantity of 8 *lalam*, 2 *tūm* and 3 *nāl* of paddy for the Śrī-Vaishnavas that came to hear the *Tiruvāymoli* hymns on the days of the *ēkādaśī* and *dvādaśī* in the month of Mārgaṣi and 17 *lalam*, 1 *tūm* and 6 *nāl*, calculated at the above rate, for feeding 200 Śrī-Vaishnavas in the *mandapa* on the occasion of Māṣi-Makha, were also provided

<sup>1</sup>An item of expenditure amounting to 5 *ruḥ* is omitted

(Ll 32 to 43) 6 *nālī* of paddy and 1 *lāśu* per day for 1 *tiru*, 3 *luṟumi* of paddy and 4 *lāśu* per day, at 1 *luṟumi* and 1 *nālī* and 2 *lāśu* each, for 2 persons who recited the *Tiruvāymoli* hymns, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 4 persons who cultivated the flower-garden of Virāṣōlan at 1 *luṟumi* each per day, 1 *luṟumi* and of paddy per day to 1 *tiru* who brought the calendar and announced the sacred festivals and bathing days, 1 *luṟumi* of paddy and 4 *lāśu* per day to 1 Vaiṣṇānasa-dēvakannu who demanded from the appointed persons their dues and had the expenses met, 1 *luṟumi* of paddy and 1 *lāśu* to 1 accountant who entered the accounts, 1 *luṟumi* of paddy per day to 1 potter who supplied the necessary pots to the temple kitchen, Jananātha-mandapa, the teachers and students, to the hospital as well as the *kalasas* to the Āḷḷār, 1 *nālī* of paddy per day to one washerman who washed the *pariśattam* of the gods and the cloths of the Vēdic teachers and students as well as of the persons in the hospital, 1 *nālī* of paddy and 1 *lāśu* per day to Tirumukkuḍal-Pēraiyān who kept watch in the Jananātha-mandapa and the hospital, 40 *kalam* of paddy for the repairs to be executed in the *tiruchchurumālīgar*, i.e., the inner enclosure of the temple, 1 *padalku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Rīg-Vēda in the Jananātha-mandapa, 1 *padalku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Yajur-Vēda, and 8 *lāśu* to these two at 4 *lāśu* each, 1 *tūm* of paddy and 10 *lāśu* per day to one Bhatta who expounded the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvatāra, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūm* and 1 *nālī* of paddy per day for feeding 60 persons in all—consisting of 10 persons who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmins who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmins and *Chhātras* who heard the expounding of the Vyākaraṇa and Rūpāvatāra, 10 Mahāpūñcharātras, 3 Śiva-Brahmanas, 5 Vaiṣṇānasas and 2 at the rate of 1½ *nālī* of rice to each person amounting in the aggregate to 11 *luṟumi*, and 2 *nālī* of rice per day, 1 *luṟumi* of paddy for 1 *nālī* of *payaru*, 6 *nālī* of paddy for 1 *pululū-lāṟi*, 3 *nālī* of paddy for 1 *īlai-lāṟi*, 1 *luṟumi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *luṟumi* of paddy for 1 *pulūta-lāṟi* including tamarind, 4 *nālī* of paddy for 1 *ulalū* and 1 *ūdalū* of pepper, 1 *luṟumi* of paddy for 1 *nālī* of salt, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 1 *nālī* of ghee, 3 *luṟumi* of paddy for 1 *tūm* and 1 *padalū* of butter-milk, 1 *luṟumi* and 4 *nālī* of paddy for 60 arcea-nuts, and 4 *nālī* of paddy for 2 *parṟu* of betel-leaves, 3 *luṟumi* of paddy per day and 6 *lāśu* to 3 assistant cooks, at 1 *luṟumi* of paddy and 2 *lāśu* each, who brought rice from Vajalaikkāṭṭūr and supplied daily fuel, leaves and water, 1 *luṟumi* of paddy and 2 *lāśu* per day to 2 maid-servants—at 4 *nālī* of paddy and 1 *lāśu* each—who attended on the *Chhātras* and *līdai* that were fed in the mandapa, 2 *lāśu* for purchasing 75 mats for the *Chhātras*, *līdai* and the *āṇḍas* (i.e., the sick), to be on, 9½ *lāśu* for purchasing 192 *nālī* of oil, at the rate of 20 *nālī* of oil per *lāśu*, to meet the requirement of 102 *nālī* of oil to the *Chhātras* and *līdai* for their oil baths during the 51 Saturdays of the year at 2 *nālī* of oil per Saturday and 90 *nālī* of oil for lamps to students at 1 *ulalū* of oil per night and 10 *kalam* of paddy for the repairs to be executed to the Jananātha-mandapa, were provided

(Ll 43 45) The expenses for the hospital of Virāṣōlan are —

1 *tūm*, 5 *nālī* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *luṟumi* and 7 *nālī* of rice for feeding 15 in-patients at the rate of 1 *nālī* each, 3 *luṟumi* of paddy and 8 *lāśu* per day to Śivararṇa Kōdandarāman Aśvat-thāma-Bhattan of Ālappāl kam, who had obtained land to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital, to the several *nimandal-lāras*, i.e., the persons bound to the temple for supplying daily requirements, and to the teachers and students (attached to the temple), 1 *luṟumi* of paddy per day to one who performed surgical operations, 2 *luṟumi* of paddy and 2 *lāśu* per day to 2 persons, at 1 *luṟumi* and 1 *lāśu* each, that gathered medical herbs, supplied fuel and attended to the preparation of medicines, 1 *luṟumi* of paddy and 1 *lāśu* per day to 2 nurses, at 4 *nālī* of paddy and ½ *lāśu* each, that attended on the patients and administered medicines, 4 *nālī* of paddy per day to one barber who served the patients, teachers and students, were provided

(L 46) The medicines to be stocked in the hospital of Viraśōḷan for the year are —

1 measure of Brāhmyam Kadumbūr, of exclusive  
of *karungāy* (nut), 2 measures of Vāsā-harītakī, 1 measure of Daśamūla-harītakī, 1 measure of  
Bhallātaka-harītakī, 1 measure of Gandīram, 1 *tūni* of Balākērandā-taila, 1 *tūni* of Pañchūka-  
taila, 1 *tūni* of Laśunādyērandā-taila, 1 *tūni* of Uttamakarnādi-taila, 1 *padakku* of . .  
, 1 *padakku* of Su sa ghrita, 1 *padakku* of Bilvādi-ghrita, 2000 Mardū-  
karavatakas, 1 *nālī* of Dravattī, 2000 Vimala, 2000 Sunētri, 2000 Tāmrādi, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku*  
of Vajrakalpa and 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of Kalyāna-lavana

An amount of 40 *lāśu* (is provided) for purchasing these, (procuring the) medicinal herbs,  
purchasing . and for 1 *padakku* of bovine ghee required to be kept under  
the earth annually for Purāṇasarpi

(L 48) (There had been provided) 2½ *lāśu* for purchasing 45 *nālī* of oil which was required for  
a year of 360 days for a lamp, at 1 *ālakku* per night, to be kept burning during night in the hospital,  
15 *kalam* of paddy for 180 days from Panguni-Uttiram to Purattāsi-Tiruvōnam at 1 *kurumi* of  
paddy per day, to one who brought water and poured it to be stocked in front of Jana-  
nātha mandapa, 20 *kalam*, [2 *tūni*] and 1 *padakku* of paddy for cardamom and artemisia,  
1 *kalam*, 1 *tūni*, 2 *nālī*, 3 *ulakku* and 3 *śevīdu* of paddy for the *dalshirā* to be paid to one Brahman  
that performed *punyāha* (i.e., purification ceremony) and for betel-leaves and areca-nuts, and  
1 *lāśu* and 7 *mā* for (purchasing) 2 *pariśattam* (cloths) to be presented on the day of Tiruvōnam  
in the month of Purattāsi to Mādavan Dāmāyan of Vayalaikkāvūr and his descendants

(L 51) (This is the account of expenses) for the paddy income of 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, 1 *padakku*,  
6 *nālī*, 1 *ulakku* and 3 *śevīdu* and the amount of 216½ *lāśu* and 2 *mā*

If this (amount of) *lāśu* were not available (owing to any default), for every *lāśu* (of default)  
there shall be paid gold weighing one quarter by the Dandavān

(L 52) Thus in accordance with the *nimanda* laid down in the sixth year (of the king), it (i.e.,  
the inscription) was engraved so that the stipulated expenses might be met under the supervision  
of the *chhātras* and teachers Paśupati Tiruvarangadēvanūr *alias* Rājēndra-Mūvēndavēlār of  
Minarkudi in Idaiyala-nādu, (a sub-division) of Vijayarājēndra-valanādu, (which was a  
district) of Chōla-mandalam, the *adlukāri* (officer) who conducted the settlement of this *nādu*,  
having commanded, Iravēttin Kumara-Pāśūrakkattān *alias* Virarājēndra-Śēmbiyadaraiyan of  
Ayandampākkam in Āgudi-nādu, (a sub-division) of Pular-kōttam, (which was a district) of  
Jayangondasōla-mandalam, had it engraved On behalf of Dāmāyan Gangaikondaśōlan  
*alias* Sēnāpati Gangaikondaśōla-Danmapāla, the son of Dāmāya who made this charity, the former's  
younger brother Dāma . *alias* Sēnāpati Virarājēndra-Danmapāla, Taluakku-  
landān *alias* Abhimānamēru Brahmanmārāyan, the son of the Brahman Māngalūr Namaśśivāya-  
dīva of [-cha]turvēdimangalam in -nādu, (a sub-division)  
of Pular-kōttam of Jayangondasōla-mandalam, had (the order) engraved on stone This charity  
shall be under the protection of (the members) of the great assembly (*maḥāsabhā*) of Śrī-  
Madurāntaka chaturvēdi-mangalam Prosperity

## No 39—KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134

BY STEN KONOW

Kalawān is the name of a site near ancient Takshasilā where Sir John Marshall has been conducting excavations during the winter 1931-32. It is situated about three miles to the south-east of Sirkap, on one of the many flat-topped eminences jutting out on the north side of the Margalla hills.

Sir John there found remains of a monastery and a *stūpa*-chapel with Gandhāra sculptures in good style.

The *stūpa* was eight-sided and stood in the eight-sided apse of the chapel, which was originally roofed over, like the apsidal chapels at the Chir Tope and in Sirkap, but its plan differs somewhat from the ordinary apsidal temples.

Under the foundations of the *stūpa* was found a copper-plate, which can confidently be stated to have been deposited at the time of its erection. It proved to contain a Kharōshthī inscription in five lines, and Sir John has, with his usual skill, succeeded in cleaning it, so that every detail is clearly visible in the excellent photographs which he was good enough to give me when I met him in London in May, 1932<sup>1</sup>.

The inscription is of considerable importance, and Sir John therefore allowed me to publish a preliminary account in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1932, pp. 949 and ff.

The letters are of the same kind and type as in the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136. They consist of dots punched into the plate, and the execution is comparatively careful. There is, however, a superfluous dot in the upper right-hand corner of *thu*, the last *alshara* of l. 2, and, on the other hand, the loop denoting ante-consonantic *r* is incomplete in *sariasti*, l. 4, only three dots having been punched in, while the wrong subscript *v* in *-satiāna* instead of *-satiāna*, l. 5, may be due to a slip in the original draft.

The alphabet is Kharōshthī, of the same type as in the silver scroll, cf. *inter alia* the short projection of the vertical bar of *sa*. Of individual characters we may note the rare *alshara chha* in *Chhadaśīlāe*, l. 2, the very distinct *tśa* in *samatsaraye*, l. 1, and the superscript line which we know from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript and the Kharōshthī documents from Central Asia, and which is also found above *sha* in the word *tasha*, Skr. *tri-hnā*, in the Kurram casket inscription, while the Kanhiāra record uses a dot in the word *Krishayaśa*, Skr. *Krishnayāśas*. In the *Corpus* I have rendered this line or dot with a dash, writing *tash'a*, *Krish'ayaśa*, respectively. In our inscription the line occurs in the word *sh'ushaehi*, Skr. *snushalābhyām*. Professor Rapson has shown<sup>2</sup> that *sha* with the superscribed line stands for *shna* in Central Asian documents, and it is possible that the *n* was actually sounded. I shall therefore write *shnushaehi*, but I am by no means certain that this writing is a correct rendering of the sound.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 4, 10, 20 and 100.

With regard to the shape of individual letters, it will be seen that the bottom of *ha* is angular in *graha*, *gaha*, l. 2, *putrehi*, l. 3, *shnushaehi*, l. 4, *hotu*, l. 5, but rounded in *graha*, l. 3. We may further note the upward bend of the bottom of *ta* in the compounds *tva*, l. 5, and *tśa*, l. 1, cf. the *tva* of the silver scroll and the *tśa* of the Patika, Pāja, and Sue Vihār inscriptions. The post-consonantic *r* is usually more or less rounded, cf. *gra*, ll. 2, 3, *tra*, ll. 1, 3, *dra*, ll. 2, 4, *dhra*, ll. 2, 4, *pra*, ll. 2, 5, *śra*, l. 1. It is, however, angular in *gra*, l. 5, *bhra*, l. 3. Ante-conso-

<sup>1</sup> [Sir John Marshall while sending me the photographs for preparing the facsimile tells me that the copper-plate measures 8.85 by 2.65 inches and weighs 879 grains.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Kharōshthī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 321.



nantic *r* is denoted by a loop in *sarva*, l 5, while the incomplete akshara in *sa[r]va*, l 4, is more like the old form, with a curved cross-bar instead of the loop

The *anusvāra* is noted in the usual way in *samvatśaraye*, *Chamdrabhī*, l 1, *Namdravadhanena*, l 3, *Jivanamāna*, l 4, but omitted in *Idrae*, l 4. A redundant *anusvāra* is found in *Dhrammasa*, l 2, while l 4 has *Dhramae*

The language is the North-Western Prakrit which we know from other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions and from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript. The phonetical system is broadly the same. The vowel *ri* is represented by *ra* in *grahavati*, Skr *grīhapati*, ll 2, 3, but by *a* in *gahathubami*, Skr *grīhastūpē*, l 2. Intervocalic *h* has disappeared in *uasīa*, Skr *upāsīkā*, l 1, *śmushaehi*, Skr *snushalābhyām*, l 4, and *pratīae*, Skr *prāptikāyā*, l 5, but is represented by *y* in *samvatśaraye*, Skr *samvatśarakē*, l 1. Intervocalic *g* appears as *h*, *ie*, probably a voiced guttural fricative, in *-nīamo*, Skr *-nigamam*, l 5. Instead of *-ch-* we find *y* in *ayariena*, l 4, and, similarly, also twice *ya* for the enclitic *cha*, l 4, but *cha*, l 3. If *Santa* represents Skr *Sacchita* this *ya* has regularly disappeared before *i*. Intervocalic *ya* becomes *ya* in *puyae*, Skr *pūyāyā*, *puyāta*, Skr *pūyayitvā*, l 5, but remains in the name *Raja*, l 4, which I cannot explain. In *ajasa*, l 1, *-j-* denotes the voiced *s*, *ie*, *z*. Intervocalic *t* is usually preserved, but was probably pronounced as *d*, cf *grahavati*, Skr *grīhapati*, ll 2, 3, *dhta*, Skr *duhātā*, l 2, *dhtuna*, Skr *duhitrā*, l 3, *hotu*, Skr *bhavatu*, l 5, but *bhraduna*, Skr *bhrātṛā*, l 3. In the unaccented prefix *pati* it has been dropped, evidently in consequence of the absence of stress, in *prastaveti*, Skr *pratishtāpayati*, l 2; cf *prethavetiye* in the Taxila gold plate, *prethavide* in the Jamālgaṛhī inscription. Intervocalic *d* disappears, probably after having become a fricative, in *sarvastivaana*, Skr *sarvāstivādānām*, l 4. Intervocalic *p* regularly appears as *v*, which is dropped after *u*; cf *uasīa*, Skr *upāsīkā*, l 1; *grahavati*, Skr *grīhapati*, ll 2, 3, but becomes *b* as in some other Kharōṣṭhī records in *thuba*, Skr *stūpa*, l 2. As in the silver scroll, the dental *n* has throughout been replaced by *ṇ*. The compound *ry* becomes *ria* in *ayariena*, Skr *āchāryēna*, l 4, and *y* in *bhaya*, Skr *bhāryā*, l 2. The same double treatment is also found in other Kharōṣṭhī records. Similarly we have *nvana* for Skr. *nirvāṇa*, l 5, but *sarva*, ll 4, 5, as in the silver scroll. The transposition of *r* in *Dhrama*, Skr *Dharma*, ll 2, 4, is also known from other sources, but has not been met with in other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions. New is also the assimilation of *s(n)* to the ensuing *sh* in *shpushaehi*, Skr *snushalābhyām*, l 4.

Of inflexional forms I shall only mention the peculiar instrumentals fem *dhtuna*, Skr *duhitrā*, l 3, and *śmushaehi*, Skr *snushalābhyām*, l 4. They seem to be coined after the pattern of masculine nouns, but we have no right to characterize them as simple mistakes. They were evidently used in the dialect, and Pischel's valuation of the stray Prakrit examples of fem instr plur in *ehi*<sup>1</sup> should be modified.

After the date, with which I shall deal below, the inscription goes on to record that the female worshipper (*upāsīkā*) *Chamdrabhī* (Skr *Chandrābhī*), the daughter of the householder (*grīhapati*) *Dhramma* (Skr *Dharma*), the wife of *Bhadrayala* (Skr *Bhadrāpāla*) puts up relics in the 'house-stūpa' (*grīhastūpa*) at *Chhadasila*.

The term *gahathuba* (Skr *grīhastūpa*) is new, but evidently means a *stūpa* standing in a *grīha*, *ie*, a roofed building. For we have already seen that our *stūpa* was situated within a chapel that had been roofed over.

*Chhadasila*, on the other hand must be the name of the district, or of an old village or town in the immediate vicinity of the monastery to which our *stūpa* belonged. It cannot well be a synonym of *Takshaśilā*, though the last part of the two names, *śilā*, is evidently the same. For, in the first place, the new site does not seem to belong to ancient *Takshaśilā*. *Chhadasila*

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatik der Prākṛit Sprachen*, § 376

is designated as *rathamakama*, Skr. *rāshtranigama*, which seems to mean a country-town or market town, and can hardly denote the capital

According to the *Rāmāyana*,<sup>1</sup> Takshaśilā was founded by Bharata as the residence of his son Taksha, but Buddhist sources show that the first part of the name was felt to be derived from the base *taḥṣh*, to chop, cut off. According to the 22nd *avadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* the town was formerly called Bhadrāsīlā, and in one of his *jātis* the Buddha was born as Chandraprabha, king of Bhadrāsīlā, and as such cut off his own head and gave it to a needy Brāhman. In the Aramae inscription found at Tavila the name has been translated with *naggārūṣā*, i.e., according to the late Professor Andreas,<sup>2</sup> "carpenter's craft," as if the real form were *Takshaśīla*. A priori it is quite possible that *Takshaśīlā* means "carpenter's rock", or "chop rock", "a detached rock". And the new name *Chhadaśīlā* seems to support the latter explanation. For its first part, *chhada*, can very well correspond to Sanskrit *chhaṭā*, mass, lump, a continuous streak. The Margalla hills, on which Chhadaśīlā was situated, form a continuous range, while the Takshaśīlā ridge consists of several more or less detached hills. Chhadaśīlā can accordingly mean a place situated on a massy ridge, and Takshaśīlā a town on or below a detached hill. The name occurs as *Ch'o-t'o-shē lo* in v. 33 of Sanghavarman's Chinese translation of the Mahāmāyūrī (A.D. 516), which Professor Levi<sup>3</sup> wants to restore as *Chhardaśaila*.

In establishing the relics Chandrabhū was associated with her brother Nandivardhana, her sons Śama and Saṭa (i.e., perhaps Sanskrit *Sachitta*), her daughter Dharmā, her daughters-in-law Rajī and Indrā, her grandson Jīvanandin, and her teacher. We may note that Dharma's granddaughter was called Dharmā, and that the element *nandin* is found both in the name of Nandivardhana and in that of his sister's grandson Jīvanandin.

The text has, in l. 4, *ayariena ya*, which can only mean 'and (with) her āchārya'. It is, however, possible that the original draft had *ayariena sarvastivāda parigrahe*, in the acceptance of the Sarvastivāda teachers, cf. *acharyana sarvastivādāna parigrahammi* on the Kurram, and *acharyana sarvastivādāna pratigrahe* on the Kanishka casket. But also the Lion Capital has *sarvastivād(r)ana parigrahe*, without *ayariena*, and the text as it stands gives good sense.

The final portion of the record contains a blessing on the *rathamakama*, Sanskrit *rāshtranigama*, evidently Chhadaśīlā, and on all beings, terminating in the wish for Nirvāṇa, as in the silver scroll.

The inscription is dated *samātśaraye 134 ajasa Śravanasa masasa divase treviṣe*—23, in the year 134 on the twenty-third—23, day of the month Śrāvana, i.e., it is about two years older than the silver scroll of the year 136, for the shape of the letters clearly shows that the same era is used in both records.

The crucial word in this date is the genitive *ajasa* preceding the name of the month, and it is clear that this *ajasa* is identical with the genitive *ayasa* preceding *ashaḍasa* in the silver scroll.

In my edition of the latter in the *Corpus*, I have discussed the various explanations given of this word, and proposed to explain it as corresponding to Sanskrit *ādyasya* and as characterizing the month as the "first" Āshādha because there was, in that particular year, a second, intercalary, Āshādha. This being the only inscription of the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records containing any clue to a scientific calculation of the era, I sought the co-operation of the well-known Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk, who was good enough to investigate the matter, whereafter I made his calculations the basis of the chronological system proposed as a working hypothesis in the introduction.

<sup>1</sup> VII, 101, 10 f., cf. *Raghuramā*, xv, 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch Historische Klasse*, 1931, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A.*, XI, v, 1915, p. 39.



the fictitious Vikramāditva and Śālikāhana), whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name.” “Even if the word *ayasa* stood before the statement of the years, so that the translation would actually be ‘(in) the year 136 of Aja,’ this record would still, on the analogy of every known early Indian record, place Aja in the year 136 of some era not founded by him.”

If therefore the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* in the silver scroll and the Kalawān records means “of Azes,” as I believe it does, it must be explained in a different way, and I believe that a clue can be found in another Taxila inscription.

During the excavations at Sirkap in the winter 1926-27, Sir John Marshall found a worn silver vase of duck shape, bearing a Kharōṣṭhī inscription round the neck. Photographs and impressions were sent to me after the manuscript of my edition of Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus* had been sent to press, and I could not do more than give a short account of the record.<sup>1</sup> In my reading it begins *la 191*, and I was not able to give a satisfactory account of the initial *la*.

In his review of my edition<sup>2</sup> Professor Thomas proposed to read *saka 191*, because “we seem to detect before the *la* a sign which presents a great resemblance to *sa*.” Mr Hargreaves was good enough to ask his deputy, Mr Dikshit, to make a careful examination of the original, and he reported that no trace of any letter can be found. A plaster cast was prepared for my use, and this cast shows distinct traces of a *sa*, in the same way as the photograph reproduced on Plate XVI d of the *Corpus*, and I have no doubt that here mechanical reproductions are more reliable than our eye, and that we must actually read *saka 191*.

Professor Thomas is certainly right in maintaining that *saka 191* is a clear reference to an era designated as a Saka institution, and if we substitute the fuller form *samvatsaraye 191 sakasa*, in the year 191 of Sakā, we would have an exact parallel to *samvatsaraye 134 ajasa*.

*Saka* in the silver vase inscription is not the name of an individual ruler, but a dynastic designation, characterizing the era as connected with Saka rule, and the parallelism points to the conclusion that *ayasa*, *ajasa* should be explained in a similar way. The word has been added in order to show that the era was different from another reckoning, that connected with Saka rule, and itself introduced or adopted by another, non-Saka, dynasty.

The successors of the Sakas in Taxila were the Pahlavas, and among them the Azes kings must have been better known than the rest. The Azes coins are more numerous than all other coins found at the ancient site, and they seem to have been “struck and restruck for the best part of a hundred years,” as Sir John Marshall has been good enough to tell me. To the Takshashilā people, therefore, the name of Azes would naturally be well known, and become almost tantamount to a designation of the whole dynasty, especially after the Pahlavas had been ousted by the Kushānas. If it was found necessary to characterize the era used under Parthian rule, it would therefore be natural to do so by adding the word “of Azes”, without thinking of any individual king, but only of the late dynasty. “in the year so-and-so, Azes style.”

If this explanation is right, it follows that the addition *ayasa*, *ajasa*, does not characterize the era as instituted by Azes, but simply as connected with Parthian rulers. And as a matter of fact there are no indications to show that the Parthians introduced an era of their own, or any feature in the dates of records issued under Parthian rule which makes us think of the era as Parthian.

The Parthians brought Greek institutions and notions with them, and in a Parthian era we should expect to find traces of the Greek calendar. It is, however, noteworthy that in India

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus*, pp 81 f

<sup>2</sup> *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p 4.

the Macedonian month-names have only been traced in records connected with the Sakas and the Kamshka dynasty, and in no inscription of the Parthian period

We have, on the other hand, an Indian tradition to the effect that an Indian era, the so called Vikrama era, was instituted by an Indian king of the name or *viruda* Vikramāditya, to commemorate his victory over the Sakas in Mālava, and I am unable to see why it should not be accepted. The Vikrama era would, in other words, start from the overthrow of Saka rule in Central India

This event would naturally lead to a Saka exodus, and if the Sakas subsequently invaded Mathurā, it would be natural for them in later times to start their chronology from the time when they became masters there, in which case their reckoning must coincide with the new national Indian era which was gradually established in Mālava. And this era would have great chances of being adopted by the Parthian rulers, who supplanted the Sakas in the north-west, just as Vikramāditya had done in Mālava

The Taxila silver vase inscription of the year [sa]ka 191 shows, it is true, that an older, Saka, era remained in use, also during the Parthian period. For Jihonika-Zeonises, during whose reign the vase was manufactured, belongs to that period. It is even probable that he was himself a Parthian and not a Saka, if the last part of his father's name Manigula is Iranian *varda*, for Iranian *v* does not seem to become *g* in old Saka. But the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103 shows that the other reckoning was soon introduced side by side with the old one, and, to judge from other records, such as the Panjtār and the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions, it gradually became the usual one

It might be objected that the Parthians would, *a priori*, be more likely to adopt a Saka than an Indian era. For they were foreign invaders, of Iranian stock, just as the Sakas. And it has often been maintained that they were so closely associated with the Sakas that the two can hardly be distinguished

I have never been able to accept that view. We know that Sakas and Parthians had constantly been at war with each other before any of them founded an Indian empire. The Sakas were hardly pressed by Mithradates I. They reasserted themselves under his successors, but were again reduced by Mithradates II. And shortly afterwards Parthian rulers replaced the Sakas in north-western India

These Parthian rulers came to north-western India at a time when the Sakas of the Parthian kingdom had been brought to subjection. The conquest of the Saka realm in India was a consequence of the supremacy they had already acquired, and there was no occasion for commemorating it by establishing a new era. The old Saka era therefore continued to be used. But at about the same time, or probably a little later than Azes' accession, the new reckoning, which coincided with the national Indian Vikrama era, gradually spread northwards and westwards, also to Parthian India

Sakas of course continued to live in India under Parthian rule. But we have no indications to show that they identified themselves with the Parthians. When later on the Kushānas entered on the stage, they took up again the Saka tradition, and they were probably themselves Sakas. Their conquest, beginning with an attack on the Parthians and culminating in the sack of Sirhap, shows that they did not look on the Parthians as their associates and kinsmen. But just because the era current under Parthian rule was not a Parthian institution, it was left alone under the new rulers

So far as I can see, we must therefore refer the dates not only of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, but also of the Panjtār record of the year 122, the Kalawān plate of the year 134, and the Taxila scroll of the year 136 to the Vikrama era, and if we reckon with elapsed Kārtti-kādi years, these dates would then roughly correspond to A.D. 46, 65, 77 and 79, respectively

With regard to the reckoning used in the Jihonika inscription, it is evident that it is the same as that of the Patika plate, and it is probable that also some other records should be referred to it

Such is the case with the Maira well inscription of the year 58, if it actually contains the name Moa, *i.e.* Moga, with the Mānsehrā inscription, which seems to be dated in the year 68, and which mentions a certain Lia, who may have something to do with the Kshatrapa Liaka of the Patika plate, with the Shahdaur inscription of the *rājan* Damijada, whose name reminds us of that of the Western Kshatrapa Dāmaysada, and perhaps with the Fatehjang, Loryān Tangai, Jamālgarhī, Hashtnagar, and Skārah Dherī inscriptions of the years 68, 318, 359, 384 and 399, respectively

With regard to the epoch of this old Saka era, various dates have been suggested. Sir John Marshall,<sup>1</sup> once thought of ca 95 B C, but is now inclined to go back to the middle of the second century, the late Mr Banerji<sup>2</sup> suggested ca 100 B C, Mr Jayaswal<sup>3</sup> ca 123, and Professor Rapson<sup>4</sup> ca 150. It seems to me that the last mentioned scholar cannot have been far from being right.

The Jihonika inscription was found on a silver vase, which was much worn when it was buried at the sack of Sirkap. It may have been about twenty-five years old at that date. The Kushāna conquest of Takshasilā, which led to the destruction of Sirkap, can roughly be dated ca A D 65. At the time of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, *i.e.* A D 46, the ruler was the Parthian Gondophernes. And we know that other Parthian rulers intervened between him and the Kushānas. Moreover, I cannot accept Professor Rapson's<sup>5</sup> criticism of my reading and interpretation of l 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription *erjhuna Kapasa puyae*, in honour of Prince Kapa, *i.e.* Kujūla Kadphises. On the stone I could not see traces of letters between *Kapa* and *sa*. If I am right, Kujūla's career of conquest had not begun in A D 46. At the time of the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, *i.e.*, A D 65, on the other hand, the Kushāna power had become established, and at the date of the silver-scroll inscription of the year 136, *i.e.* A D 79, the sack of Sirkap seems to have been an event of the past. If we assume that the Jihonika vase was made about A D 40, the epoch of the era would be 191—40, *i.e.* about 150 B C.

In that case the Patika plate would be dated in the year 150—78, *i.e.* about 72 B C. Patika was then evidently a young man, without any official position or title.<sup>6</sup> If he were then about twenty years old and about sixty-five when he appears as Mahākshatrapa on the Lion Capital, the date of the latter would be about 25 B C. At that time there was another Mahākshatrapa in Mathurā, *viz.* Rājula, who had a son, the Kshatrapa Sodāsa. The latter may have been about twenty-five years old, and it would be reasonable to assume that he was about sixty-five at the time when he appears as Mahākshatrapa in the Āmohinī tablet of the Vikrama year 72,<sup>7</sup> *i.e.* A D 15. Such calculations are, of course, not decisive. But they raise a certain presumption in favour of an epoch about 150 B C.

<sup>1</sup> *J R A S*, 1914, p 986

<sup>2</sup> *J B O R S*, xvi, p 240

<sup>3</sup> *J R A S*, 1930, p 189

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant*, xxxvii, 1908, p 67

<sup>5</sup> *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p 570

<sup>6</sup> As seen by Professor Thomas, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p 6, the final sentence of the plate must be read as *mahadanapati Patika sa saya uvaghae[na] Rohinimitra ya imam[mi] samgharame navalamika*, the great gift lord Patika together with the *upādhyāya* Rohinimitra, who is overseer of works in this Samghārāma. There is, accordingly, no mention of the title *jāta* as proposed by me, *Corpus*, p cviii f.

<sup>7</sup> I cannot agree with Professor Rapson, *Acta Orientalia*, xi, pp 260 ff., that the St. Andrew's cross symbol in the tablet stands for 40. It seems to me that Professor Luders, *Acta Orientalia*, x, pp 118 ff., has proved that it must be read as 70. The manuscript fragments where the symbol is used in that way came from North Western India, and I do not quite understand Professor Rapson when he says that they are "somewhat distantly removed in place, if not in time, from the Mathurā inscriptions."

And it would seem to be quite intelligible if the Sakas had introduced an era of their own about that time. We know from Chinese sources that their southward march and invasion of Kī-pin coincided with the Yue-chī conquest of the Ta-hia country, which is stated to have been effected ca. 160 B. C. The Sakas must then have come into contact with the Greek and with the Parthians, whose King Mithradates I (ca. 171-138 B. C.) is stated to have extended his empire to the Indus and to have brought force to bear on the Seythians. This would naturally lead to the Sakas trying to consolidate their power and to their introducing an era of their own, in imitation of the Greek, who used the Seleucidan era. Under Mithradates' successors they were more than able to hold their own, until Mithradates II (123-88 B. C.) succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over them.

The pressure thus exercised on the Sakas seems to have led to their invasion of the Indus country.<sup>1</sup> In the Saka year 58, i. e. about 92 B. C., we apparently find the Saka king Moga mentioned in the Mairī well inscription, and ten years later perhaps a Saka chief Lia in Mān-schūrā, while Moga again appears in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, i. e. about 72 B. C. How long he remained in power, we do not know, but he seems to have had a fairly long reign.

The Saka empire, however, soon broke up. In Mālava it was, according to an Indian tradition, brought to an end by an Indian ruler, known as Vikramāditya, and in the North-West we soon find the Parthian ruler Azes, who may have risen to power about the middle of the first century B. C.

The Kushīnas, who made an end to the empire founded by Azes, are known to us from Chinese sources. We there learn about their gradual rise to power. At first we hear about them as forming a principality, Kuei-shuang, near or within the Ta-hia country conquered by the Great Yue chī.

We are told about five such principalities, each under a *hi hou*, i. e. Hiu-mi, the present Wakhān, Shuang mi, the present Chitrāl, Kuei shuang, apparently immediately to the north of Gandhāra, or Gandhāra itself, Hī-tun, the present Parwān on the Panjshir, and Kao-fu, i. e. Kābul.<sup>2</sup> The *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tsu-k'io (Kujūla Kadphises), attacked the four other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei shuang (i. e. he assumed the title 'Kushān-king'). He further invaded An-si (i. e. the neighbouring Parthian realm) and seized Kao fu. Moreover he triumphed over P'u-ta (unidentified)<sup>3</sup> and Kī-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. He died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen (i. e. Wima Kadphises) became king in his stead. He again (anew) extinguished (conquered) T'ien-chu (i. e. the Indus country) and appointed a general there for the administration.

We are distinctly told that these events belong to the period Kien-wu (A. D. 25-55) and later, and that they had been related by Pan-yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A. D. 107-125).<sup>4</sup> Kujūla Kadphises cannot, therefore, have started on his career before A. D. 25, and the whole development narrated in the *Annals*, including Wima Kadphises' reconquest of T'ien-chu, had been concluded in A. D. 125.

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 568.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marquart, *Erzählung*, pp. 242 ff. According to the Hou Han shu Kao fu should be replaced by Tu mi.

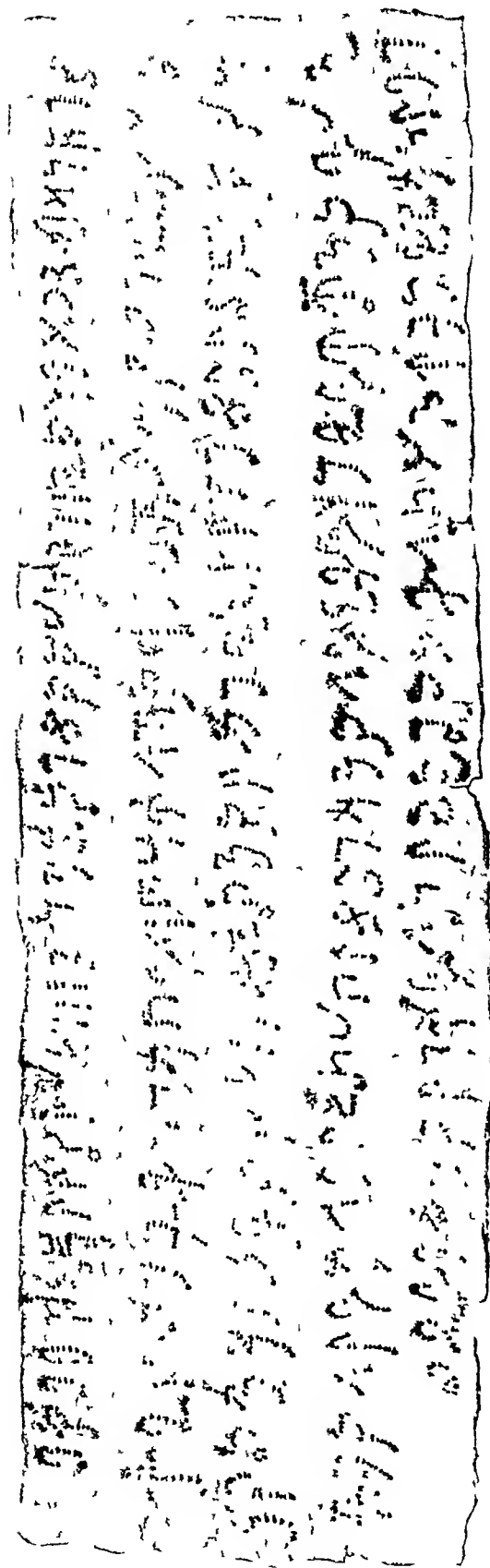
<sup>3</sup> The Tang pronunciation of the name was, according to Karlgren, Nos. 760 and 956 Buk dat. Ten miles east of Kābul we find the small village But[h]āl, at the place where the two routes to Kābul from the east meet. It is mentioned by Baber, *transl.* by John Leyden and William Erskine, II, p. 130, and the name is said to mean "idol dust," with reference to the legend that Mahmud of Ghazni here broke up the idols he brought from Hīn dustan. That sounds like a popular etymology, and if the place is old, But[h]āl might be a corruption of an old Bukdāt. But it is more likely that P'u ta was some part of Arachosia.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 168.





# KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134



HIRANANDA SASTRI

SCALE ACTUAL SIZE

SURVIA OF INDIA (MCH 1914)

The Kalawān inscription has, as we have seen, shown that the era used in the Kharōshthī inscriptions connected with these events must be the so-called Vikrama era. We can, accordingly, state that Kuṣṭha Kadphises' attack on An-shi and conquest of Kao-fu cannot be placed before some time after A. D. 46, because then Gondophernes, who was not the last Parthian king, was still ruling<sup>1</sup>. Less than twenty years later, in the year 122, i. e. A. D. 65, we find a *maharaja Gushana*, a title which recalls the Hou Han-shu statement about Kuṣṭha Kadphises styling himself Kushāna King, mentioned in the Panjtār inscription. If this ruler was, as some scholars think, Wima Kadphises, we should have to draw the inference that his father, who was more than eighty years old at his death, was no more alive, and that he had, consequently, achieved his chief result, the victory over the Parthians, when he was a septuagenarian. That is, so far as I can see, an impossibility, and the chronology which the new inscription allows us to draw up seems to clear up the disputed question about the identity of the Kushāna ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and silver-scroll records. He can only be identified with Kuṣṭha Kadphises. And if he was still alive in A. D. 79, Kanishka, the successor, or one of the successors, of his son Wima Kadphises, cannot have founded the historical Śaka era.

The Kalawān inscription is also of importance for the chronology of Gandhāra art. The sculptures found in the chapel, which cannot be older than A. D. 77, are stated to be of good style, and it is not *a priori* likely that they are older than the chapel itself. We can, accordingly, in this case approximately date some specimens of good Gandhāra art. If the Loryān Tangai, Hashtnagar and Skārah Dherī image inscriptions of the years 318, 384 and 399, are referred to the old Śaka era and roughly correspond to A. D. 168, 234 and 249 A. D., respectively, we should be able to survey the development of Gandhāra sculpture for more than 150 years. The Mamāna Dherī pedestal of the Kanishka year 89 would then be only slightly older than the Hashtnagar image, because it seems impossible, in view of the chronological result indicated above, to assume an earlier epoch of the Kanishka era than towards A. D. 130.

#### TEXT.

(L 1) Samvatsaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravanasa masasa divase treviśe 20 1 1 1 mēna kshunena Chamdrabhi uasia (1 2) Dharmmasa grahavatīsa dhita Bhadravalasa bhaya Chhadaśīlāe śarīra praistaveti gahathu- (1 3) bamī sadha bhraduna Namdivadhanena grahavatīsa sadha putrehi Śamena Sāitena cha dhītuna cha (1 4) Dharmas sadha shnushaehi Rajae Idrae ya sadha Jīvanamdina Śamaputrena ayariena ya sa[r]vastī- (1 5) vaana parigrahe rathanikamo puyaita sarvas(v)atvana puyae nivanasa pratīae hotu

#### TRANSLATION

In the year 134 of Azes, on the twenty-third—23 day of the month Śrāvana, at this term the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) Chandrābhī, daughter of the householder (*grīhapati*) Dharma, wife of Bhadrapāla, establishes relics in Chhadaśīla, in the chapel-*stūpa*, together with her brother, the householder Nandivardhana, with her sons Śama and Sachitta and her daughter Dharmā, with her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indra, with Jīvanandin, the son of Śama, and the teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādas, having venerated the country-town, for the veneration of all beings, may it be for the obtainment of Nirvāṇa.

<sup>1</sup> That does not, however, preclude that Kābul might already have been associated with the Kushānas at an earlier stage, before the attack on the Parthians. Such a previous connection may be reflected in the Kuṣṭha Hermaeus coins and in the notice in the older Han *Annals* about Kao-fu being one of the five Ta-hsia principalities. But the Parthian conquest of Kābul made an end to that state of things.

## No 40 —KOLAGALLU INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA, SAKA 889

BY N LAKSMINARAYAN RAO, M A, OOTACAMUND

The stone which bears this inscription<sup>1</sup> was found at Kolagallu, which is a railway station on the Guntakal-Hubli section of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. A very brief note on its contents has appeared in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for the year 1913-14.<sup>2</sup> This is the earliest record of the Rāshtrakūta king Khottiga so far discovered and I edit it below from the estampages kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is written in ordinary Sanskrit and in Nāgarī characters closely resembling those of the Dēōlī<sup>3</sup> and the Karhād<sup>4</sup> plates of Krishna III. The average size of the letters varies from  $\frac{3}{4}$ " to 1". The ē sign is written in two ways—(1) by a slanting stroke at the top of the letter and (2) by a stroke beginning at the top of the letter and running down to its bottom on the left side. With the exception of lines 1 to 3, which give the date, the whole of the record is in verse. It may be remarked here that the syntax of verse 5 is faulty. The word *hēmayashtyāsano* stands by itself without any connection with the rest of the verse and the verse has no predicate. The form *rik-sāmair* (l. 29) is grammatically wrong. The rules of *sandhi* are not observed in *purushō lumārō* (l. 31) and *grāmē abhishīlita* (l. 33). Apparently this is due to the requirements of the metre. The scanning of the first *pāda* of verse 21 is not in conformity with the rules of prosody for it has one syllable in excess of the actual number required. The text of the inscription contains some technical expressions like *dandāsana* and *lōhāsani* (l. 35), the exact import of which is not quite clear. Neither *lōhāsana* nor *dandāsana* finds place in the verse which enumerates the five yōgic āsanas,<sup>5</sup> viz.,

पद्मासनं स्वस्तिकासनं भद्रं वज्रासनं तथा ।

वीरासनमिति प्रोक्तं क्रमादासनपञ्चकम् ॥

The word *Kapardin* which generally means Śiva is here possibly used for Kārttikēya. Verse 18 would show that this epithet was applied to the sage Gadādhara also. In respect of orthography,<sup>6</sup> the following points may be noted: (1) A superfluous *anusvāra* is sometimes used before double *n* or before *n* followed by a consonant (e.g., *tasmimn-ādhipatyam* in l. 20, *vidvāmn* in l. 38, *lamny-ēva* in l. 42, *anamnyāsrūtā* in l. 50 and *sāmānnyō* in l. 68), (2) the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *saravanē* (l. 23), (3) the letter *v* is used in place of *b* in *Ativala* (l. 72) and *vrahmachārībhih* (l. 79), (4) the consonant *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* as in *rik-sāmair* (l. 29) and *vice versa* as in *anamnyāsrūtā* (l. 50) and *dēvapriya* (l. 52), (5) the letter *sh* is used for the *ṣhvāmūliya* as well as for the *upadhmāniya* as is seen in *mallash=kurutē* (l. 63), *prītiśh-lapardīnah* (l. 77), *chalshush=Purushō* (l. 31) and *vāpyash=Pāriatī* (l. 55), (6) the corrupt or Prakrit form *samachhara* is used instead of *samatsara* in lines 1 and 2.

The record is dated Śaka 889 expired, the year Kshaya, Sunday, the Sixth (*tithi*) of the bright half of Phālguna, when king Krishna had died and Khottigadēva was ruling. This Khottiga is no other than the homonymous Rāshtrakūta king of Mālkhed, the half brother and successor of Krishna III.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of the images of Kārttikēya and other gods at the village of Kolagalla by the *Brahmachārīn* Gadādhara. Verses 2 to 8 glorify

<sup>1</sup> No. 236 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>2</sup> Part II, para. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See *Śabdakalpādruma* under *āsana*.

the god Kūrttikāḍya (Skanda) and his āsana made of gold. His prowess in destroying the demon Tūrakī and his brilliant form are then extolled (vv. 9 to 12). Verse 13 describes the ascetic Gadādhara as a *lōhāsani* belonging to the Sāṅḍilya-gōṭra and as a crest jewel of the Gauda country. The next verse tells us that he was born in the village Tādā and that he was the illuminator of the Varāṇḍrī country. Verse 15 is devoted to the praise of his learning and devotion. We learn from verse 16 that he set up the images of the Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahēśvara, Pīrati and Vinūyaka and that he constructed a tank, a monastery and some wells. According to the following verse, the acts of charity established his fame in heaven. Verse 19 states that he was conducting the administration of the realm of the god Kūrttikāḍya. Verse 22 gives the ancestry of the poet Madhusūdana who composed this *prāśasti*. In the last verse Gadādhara beseeches future *Brahmachārins* to have the same love as himself for the god Kapardin.

The importance of this epigraph chiefly lies in its date which corresponds regularly to A D 967 February 17, Sunday, the *tithi* commencing at 66 of the day. The earliest correct date hitherto found for Khottiga is Saka 890, Viṣṇuṣṭhā Śuddha 1, Thursday<sup>1</sup> (A D 968 April 30, Thursday). Our record is thus earlier than this by one year. It is also important in another way for, as Khottiga was the successor of Kṛṣṇa III, it helps us to ascertain Kṛṣṇa's last date.

But before proceeding to determine the date of Kṛṣṇa's death, I think it is necessary to discuss the date of his accession which has not yet been properly fixed. The Karhād grant<sup>2</sup> of A D 959 describes at length the conquests of Kṛṣṇa III which were achieved by him after he was crowned king, but the D'ōḷi plates<sup>3</sup> whose date is approximately 30th April A D 940 make no mention of any of them. On the other hand the account given in them ends with his coronation. It is very likely, therefore, that Kṛṣṇa came to the throne shortly before the date of the D'ōḷi plates. And the earliest known regular date of this monarch is Śaka 861, Vikṛin, Uttarāyanasamīrnti, Vāṣṭhī, Monday<sup>4</sup> (A D 949 December 23 Monday). But the Itāmudra inscription of his father Baddega Amōḡhavaraha III<sup>5</sup> also dated in Śaka 861, Vikṛin, Uttarāyanasamīramana. It has to be noted, however, that this latter date does not admit of verification as neither the week day nor the nakṣatra is cited. Now, only one of the following two inferences can be drawn from these dates viz., (1) that Amōḡhavaraha III and his son Kṛṣṇa III were ruling jointly or (2) that the date which does not admit of being tested is not correct. That Kṛṣṇa III became king only after his father's death is stated in unequivocal terms in the D'ōḷi and the Karhād plates. And Kṛṣṇa's record of 23rd December 949 gives him such titles as *Mahārājādharāja* which are indicative of paramount authority. It follows, therefore, that Baddega must have died before this date, which, as stated above, is the earliest available for Kṛṣṇa III. Hence the first alternative viz., that Kṛṣṇa and his father were joint rulers has to be rejected and the date of the Itāmudra inscription has to be regarded as incorrect. But as has been shown by Hultbom<sup>6</sup> long ago there are several instances where Uttarāyana samīramana is wrongly quoted while other details are given correctly. We may not be wrong, therefore, if we leave out of account the Uttarāyana samīramana of the Itāmudra inscription and take as correct the only other detail contained in it, viz., the cyclic year Vikṛin. Then, Baddega would still be on the throne in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carr.*, Vol. XI, Cd 50. An inscription of this king, found at Hunavalli (*Ep. Carr.*, Vol. VIII, Sb 531) is dated Saka 890, Prabhāsa, Chaitra, śuddha purnama, Adityavāra, Śukrānti. But the details of the date given here do not work out correctly.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 261 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 420.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carr.*, Vol. VIII, Sb 476.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XI, Cd 77.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV p. 293, see also the dates of the Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 114 of 1913, 115 of 1913, 116 of 1913, 475 of 1914, 478 of 1914 and 291 of 1918 calculated by the late Dewan Bahadur Svaminannu Pillai in his *Indian Epigraphies*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 35 ff.

year Vikāra which began on 23rd February A.D. 939. In all probability, therefore, Krishna succeeded his father after this date. Thus the initial year of the reign of Krishna III would fall between 23rd February and 23rd December A.D. 939.

Now let us ascertain the last date of Krishna. Our inscription tells us that Khottiga was holding the reins of government on 17th February A.D. 967, after Krishna's death. Consequently, the latter ruler must have died before this date. And the latest date that we now have for Krishna is 6th March A.D. 965.<sup>1</sup> Several inscriptions in the Tamil country are dated in the 28th year of his reign and thus prove that his rule lasted for not less than 28 years.<sup>2</sup> Since, as shown above, he ascended the throne after 23rd February A.D. 939 he must have occupied the throne till some time after 23rd February A.D. 966, when his 28th year began. The wording of the present record, *॥ ४ ॥ परलोक गते तस्मिन्नाम्ना क्षणान्तरे निघौ राज्ये खोद्विगदवस्थ* (ll. 4-5) would indicate that Krishna's death had occurred not long before the date cited in it (i.e., A.D. 967 February 17). This surmise is further strengthened by the fact that another record of Khottiga which is later by 4 years does not contain any reference to Krishna's death, because it was by that time an event which had taken place long ago.<sup>3</sup> The passage in it which introduces the king runs as *पात्यति सति प्राप्ते खोद्विगे राज्ञि मेदिनी*. We may, therefore, conclude that Krishna III ruled from A.D. 939 to 966-67. From what has been said above, it also becomes clear that the last year of Krishna's reign was the 28th year.<sup>4</sup>

Gadādhara who installed the images mentioned above appears to have been an ascetic of great repute as can be seen from the high praise bestowed upon him in the record. As stated above, the realm of god Kārttikēya was under his administrative charge. In another inscription of Kolagallu of A.D. 964, this tract of territory is called Kārttikēya-tapōvana and we are told that he had full control over it and that he was ruling it from Kolgallu.<sup>5</sup> We learn from an inscription at Kudatini<sup>6</sup> that this person set up in that village an image of Skanda. It thus appears that he was an ardent devotee of this god. We do not know when this celebrity came from Varēndrī to the Kanarese country but this much is clear that he rose to this eminence on account of his learning and other qualities. It is possible, however, that Krishna III met and brought him to the south during the second northern expedition which, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> took place in A.D. 963-64.

All that we know about Madhusūdana, the author of this inscription, is that he was the son of Atibala and grandson of Rishi, that he was a *dvija* of the Karmāra kula and that his ancestors emigrated from Tarkāra. As the preserved portion of the last verse of the Kudatini epigraph, referred to above, is an exact copy of the 22nd verse of our record, the former also appears to have been composed by this same Madhusūdana. I am not able to identify him with any of the poets of this name who flourished in this period.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Varēndrī "is identified with that part of Bengal which is now called Rājashāhi"<sup>8</sup>. As to Tarkāra, there seem to be a number of places of this name<sup>9</sup> but the Tarkāra of the present inscription is, I think, the famous

<sup>1</sup> Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 113 of 1929-30.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 364 of 1902, 125 of 1906 and 159 of 1921.

<sup>3</sup> Same collection No. 44 of 1904.

<sup>4</sup> The date of the Kūr record which has been wrongly read as the [3]0th year (Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 232 of 1902) was after re-examination found to be the 20th year.

<sup>5</sup> Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914, Pt. II, para. 36, No. 234 of 1913.

<sup>6</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 44 of 1904.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, p. 289.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. I, page 305 f. n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LX, pp. 16-17.

Takāri, 16 miles north-west of Gayā Tadā, where Gadādhara was born, has perhaps to be identified with the modern village Tara lying at a distance of about 12 miles south-east of Dinajpur in Bengal Kolagala is, doubtless, Kolagallu where the inscription was discovered

TEXT <sup>1</sup>

[Metres vv 1 to 15, 16 to 21 and 23, *Anushtubh*, 15 and 22, *Sārdūlavikīṛitam* ]

## First Face

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री ॥<sup>\*</sup> शकानृपकालातीतसंवत्स(त्स)<sup>2</sup>[रा]-
- 2 छ(ष्ट)शताशीतिनवाधिकाक्षयसंवत्स(त्स)रे फाल्गु-
- 3 शुद्धषष्ठ्यार्कादिने प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥ प-
- 4 रलोका गते तस्मिन्नान्ना कृष्णानृपे नि[धौ] ॥<sup>\*</sup>
- 5 राज्ये खोद्विगदेवस्य धर्मसेतुः कलौ यु-
- 6 गे ॥<sup>1\*</sup> त्रैलोक्यव्यक्तरूपाय विख्याताय
- 7 [यश]स्त्रिने ॥<sup>\*</sup> स्वामिकार्तिकदेवाय सर्वज्ञा-
- 8 य नमोन्नमः(नमः) ॥<sup>2\*</sup> ज्ञानशक्तिधरं देवं श्रीम-
- 9 द्रुद्रात्मज शुभं ॥<sup>\*</sup> सर्वलोकहितं शांत
- 10 नमामि परमेश्वरं ॥<sup>3\*</sup> सुरसेनाधिपत्ये-
- 11 ष्ट(स्या)स्य सत्त्व महात्मनः ॥<sup>\*</sup> शृण्वन्तु विपु-
- 12 लां कीर्तिं सर्वपापविनाशनी ॥<sup>4\*</sup> हेमय-
- 13 ष्ठ्या(ष्व्या)सनोथ<sup>5</sup> त्रिगुणाः<sup>6</sup> शौर्यं कापर्दिनः ।
- 14 [द्वि]जश्रेष्ठगदापाणिः शाश्वतं धर्मकी-
- 15 र्त्तनं ॥<sup>7\*</sup> उत्पादित प्रयत्नेन रत्नानिको-
- 16 र्विशोभितं ॥<sup>\*</sup> तेजसा शुभ्रमत्यतमिन्द्राद्यै-
- 17 र्वदित सुरैः ॥<sup>8\*</sup> दिव्यरूपासनं रम्यं
- 18 पूर्णैन्दुरिव निर्मलं ॥<sup>\*</sup> पापघ्नं वेधसा हृ-
- 19 ष्ट कामरूपि सुखावहं ॥<sup>9\*</sup> स्थित्वा दंडा-
- 20 सने तस्मिं(स्मि)न्नाधिपत्यं दिवौकासां ॥<sup>\*</sup>
- 21 कृतं द्वादशनेत्रेण सोयं देवेश्व-
- 22 रांगभूः ॥<sup>10\*</sup> हेमस्य नलिनीगर्भे धाम्नु-
- 23 खो द्वादशेक्ष्णः ॥<sup>\*</sup> जातस्स(श्श)रवणे ना

<sup>1</sup> From inked estampages.

<sup>2</sup> The letter छ is engraved below the line

<sup>3</sup> Possibly this has to be corrected into हेमयष्टासनस्य

<sup>4</sup> Read त्रैगुणान्

- 24 लो विस्वात्मा परमेश्वरः ॥[८\*] रुद्रव(न्न)-  
 25 ह्माव्यवध्यो यस्तारकसोसुवाधिपः [1\*]  
 26 प्रीडया निहतोनेन द्वादगार्क[क्ष]-  
 27 गान सः ॥[१०\*] भुवि द्यौर्विक(द्यव्येक) एवायं [देव ?]  
 28 स्तेजोमय. क्षती । द्विजामस्यक्षठ[त्ये]-

*Second Face*

- 29 व रि(ऋ)वसामेर्वेदपार-  
 30 गाः ॥[११\*] विस्वतचक्षु-  
 31 प्युरूपो कुमारो<sup>1</sup> वि-  
 32 श्वतोमुखः<sup>2</sup> [1\*] त्रीम-  
 33 त्कोलगलग्रामे अ-  
 34 भिपिता' शुभे दि[नि] ॥[१२\*]  
 35 लोहसंनो च शाश्वि-  
 36 ल्यस्मृतपस्वी गदाध-  
 37 रः [1\*] विद्वज्जनात्रयो  
 38 विद्वा(द्वा)ग्गौडचूडाम-  
 39 गिर्गुणी ॥[१३\*] स्वर्गीवाम-  
 40 निमित्तार्थं तडाया[मो]-  
 41 त्त(न्न)वेन तु [1\*] स्थापितो  
 42 दिव्यमन्त्रेण वरेन्दु-  
 43 द्योतकारिणा ॥[१४\*] ल-  
 44 क्ष्मीर्यस्य परेभ्य एव भ-  
 45 वने क(क)न्येव दातुं स्थि-  
 46 ता विद्या यस्य समस्त-  
 47 जन्तुहितक्षद्दीपप्र-  
 48 भेवामला [1\*] भक्तिर्यस्य  
 49 पतिव्रतेव वनिता स्व-  
 50 स्मादन(न)न्याश्रु(श्रि)ता त-  
 51 स्तै स्वस्ति गदाधरा[य]

<sup>1</sup> Peod पुरुष कुमारो

<sup>2</sup> This reminds one of the Vedic hymn वि॒श्वतो॑ मुखो वि॒श्वतो॑ वा॒रुत॑ वि॒श्वतो॑ स्यात् । रु॒धा॒रु॒ध्यां धन॑ति  
 स॒पत॑तै॒द्यावा॒ भूमीं॑ ज॒नयन्॑ दे॒व एक॑ ॥





# THIRD FACI

54  
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58  
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62  
64  
66  
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72  
74

# FOURTH FACI

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80

52 [व]सुधादेवपु(प्रि)याया-

53 [नि]श ॥[१५\*]

*Third Face.*

54 [इ]होपरं(रि) तथैवाको विधा विष्णुर्म[हे]-

55 श्वरस्तडागमठिकावाप्यप्यार्वती

56 च विनायकः ॥[१६\*] [सु]ष्टे स्थापिता[:\*] कीर्ति-

57 विदिता स्वर्गवासिनां [१\*] यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा

58 देवानां क्षता अमिच्छ धीमता ॥[१७\*] सुरे-

59 न्द्रमुवने कीर्तिं गायत्यश्वरसस्त-

60 दा [१\*] जयत्यसौ कपदी च मृगांकाव-

61 दनो मुनिः ॥ [१८\*] राज्यं श्रीस्त्रामिन[:\*] स्था-

62 ने विद्वद्भिप्रोपकारकां [१\*] दुर्भिक्षमस्त-

63 प्कुरुते यथा वैरोचनो बलिः ॥[१९\*] स्वा-

64 भिमहारकस्यायं वरयामश्चिर-

65 तान. [१\*] अ[तो] न दत्ता वसुधा पृथ-

66 कृत्वा विमेषतः ॥[२०\*] गृहीत्वा परिमि-

67 ता(प्रमिता) दत्ता भूमिर्या सतिलोदका [१\*] विप्रे-

68 भ्यस्ता न हर्तव्या सामां(मा)न्यो धर्मसा-

69 गर. ॥[२१\*] श्रीकर्मारकुलाद्वयद्विज-

70 वरयामस्तु(यान्नातु) तर्कारितो निष्क्रम्य क्र-

71 मनिर्भलस्तमभवत्स्मिन्निष्ठि[प्यं]-

72 डितस्तत्पुत्रप्रथितः क्षितावतिव(व)-

73 लस्तस्मादभूदय(द्य)स्तुतस्तेन श्रीम-

74 धुस्तदनाख्यकविना शस्ता प्रश-

75 स्तिः क्षता ॥[२२\*]

*Fourth Face.*

76 गदाधरेण सहितं

77 भया प्रीतिष्कपदि-

78 नः [१\*] तथान्यैरपि क-

79 तैव्या भविष्यन्न(न्न)द्व-

80 चारिभिः ॥[२३\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 3) Hail! Prosperity! On Sunday the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of the (*month*) of Phālguna in the (*cyclic*) year Kṣhaya, when eight hundred years increased by eighty nine had elapsed since the time of the Śaka King, the installation (*ceremony*) was performed

(Verse 1) During the reign of Khottagadēva—the king named Kṛṣṇa of excellent qualities having gone to heaven—(*this*) bridge of religious merit (*was erected*) in the Kali age

(V 2) Adoration to the omniscient god Kārttikādēva who has a form which is manifest in the three worlds, who has obtained great fame and is glorious

(V 3) I bow to that Supreme Lord who bears the (*weapon called*) Jñānaśakti, who is the son of the celebrated Rudra, is the auspicious and the peaceful One and the benefactor of the whole universe

(V 4) The chief of the commanders of the army of the god—let people hear the valour of the high-souled One and his wide fame which is capable of destroying all sins

(V 5) (*Let people hear*) the three *gunas* and the prowess of (*that god*), who possesses a *yashtyāṣana* made of gold, i.e., Kapardin, (otherwise of the ascetic with the matted hair) who holds in his hands the best of birds and the *gadā* and the meritorious act (*of the best of Brāhmins Gadādhara*) which is eternal<sup>1</sup>

(Vs 6 and 7) His seat of heavenly form created with special effort, decked with many gems, extremely pure in its lustre, worshipped by Indra and other gods, which is capable of destroying sins, which was created by (*god*) Brahmā and which can assume the desired form is comfortable

(V 8) Seated in that *śaṇḍāṣana* was wielded the generalship of the (*army of*) the gods by the twelve eyed (*god*) Such is the issue of the lord of gods (i.e., Śiva)

(V 9) This six faced, twelve eyed boy, the soul of the universe, the supreme lord was born in the womb of the lotus of gold in the *śarāṇa* grass

(V 10) That Tūrala, the lord of demons, who could not be slain by Rudra, Brahmā and other (*gods*) was destroyed in sport by this (*god*) who has the twelve suns as his eyes

(V 11) He is the only (*god*) on earth and in heaven who is eternal, who is full of brilliance and who has accomplished his purpose Thus do the twice born who are well-versed in the Vēdas praise him well by Rites and Sūmans

(V 12) This Kumāra, the eye and the face of the universe (i.e., who has eyes and faces pervading the whole universe), the *Puruṣa* was anointed at the illustrious village Koligala on the auspicious day

(V 13) The learned and virtuous Gadādhara, the crest-jewel of the Gauda country, who is a *lōhāsanī* (*ascetic*), who is a Śūndilya and who has practised great austerities is the refuge of learned men

(V 14) By him who was born in the village of Tādū and was the illuminator of (*the country of*) Varāndrī was (*the god Kumāra*) consecrated with divine hymn with a view to attain an abode in heaven

(V 15) Prosperity be ever to that Gadādhara, who is dear to Brāhmins, whose wealth resides in his house only to be bestowed on others like an unmarried girl, whose learning is pure and beneficial to all beings like the glow of a lamp and whose devotion (*to god*) resorted to none but himself like a chaste wife

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be a *śloka* here upon the words Kapardin, *deva śrī-ṣiṣa* and *gada pāṇi* describing the greatness both of god Kārttikēya and of the ascetic Gadādhara

(V 16 and 17) And besides (*the god named above*) the Sun, Brahmā, Vishnu, Mahēśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka (*all these gods*) were installed on beautiful pedestals and a tank, a monastery and wells *were constructed* Since the consecration of the gods was performed in this village by this learned man, his fame became well known to the dwellers in heaven

(V 18) This sage who has the face of the moon is victorious and has matted hair (Kapardin) the heavenly nymphs ever sing his praises in the abode of Indra

(V 19) This Durbhikshamalla (*i e*, the destroyer of famine) conducts in the realm of the illustrious Svāmin (Skanda) the administration, which is beneficial to the learned and the Brāhmins, like Bali, the son of Virōchana

(V 20) This excellent and ancient village is the property of the worshipful Svāmin It is especially on this account that no land (*here*) is parcelled out and given

(V 21) The land which is taken possession of, measured and granted with sesame and water to Brāhmins should not be snatched away (*this is*) the common (*rule of the*) ocean of Dharma

(V 22) A family immigrated from Tarkārī, the village of the excellent twice born Karmāra community and became pure in successive generations In it (*was born*) the scholar Rishi, his son was Atibala renowned in the world, by the poet Madhusūdana the son born to him, (*i e*, Atibala) was this excellent *prastā* composed

(V 23) Just as love was entertained by Gadādhara<sup>1</sup> towards (*god*) Kapardin, so also should it be done by all the future *Brahmachārins*

## NO 41 —THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS

BY A RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, B A., AND N LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M A

### A

#### CHIMAKURTI PLATE OF VEMA

This plate was secured on a loan from the Karnam of Chīmakurti in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the year 1920<sup>2</sup> It is a single copper plate with no rim, oblong in shape and a little broken at the bottom It is 10½" in length and 6½" in breadth There is a very small hole at the top of the plate to allow a string to pass through Only one side of the plate bears the writing At the top of the plate are engraved the figure of a *linga* and a bull facing it The weight of the plate is 37 tolas

The inscription on the plate is written in Telugu characters and language except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit The alphabet and orthography of the document bear close resemblance to those of the Tottaramūdi plates of Kātaya-Vēma<sup>3</sup> and the Phirangipuram inscription of Kōmatī-Vēma<sup>4</sup> though these two are later in point of time It is therefore likely that the present document is a later copy of the original, though it is nowhere stated so There seems to be no objection, however, to take the historical facts contained

<sup>1</sup> The word *śīṣa* seems to be superfluous

<sup>2</sup> No 5 of App A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp 318 ff

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, Vol XI, pp 313 ff.

in it as correct, for the *birudas* of king Vēna found here, which give all the historical information, are almost similar to those found in his Amarāvati inscription<sup>1</sup>

The inscription records the grant of the village *Rāmatīrtham* situated in the *Śrīśaīla-bhūmi* and the *Ammanambīḍlu-sīma* as a *sarī-ūgrahūra* to *Chittamūri Timmana-Bhatta* who was the son of *Kānṭṭvara-Bhattāraka* and who belonged to the *Kaundinya-gōtra*, *Yajus śikhā* and *Āpastamba sūtra*. Besides this the donee was granted a fourth portion of the produce of the wet lands, betel leaf gardens and sugar cane fields, of each of the five villages *Chimakurti*, *Bhīmōśvaram*, *Pulikoṇḍa*, *Maṣavaram* and *Kumārapurī* and a sixteenth portion of the produce of the remaining three fourths. A fifth part of the money income (*suram ādāya*) (of these villages) and the water of the *Peḍḍa cheruvu* (big tank) were to be given to him. Over and above these the donee was to receive one-tenth of the produce of the other villages (in the division ?) and land at the rate of 200 *lunta* measured by a pole of 16 *bāru* in big villages and 100 *lunta* in small villages. It is interesting to note that the present Kānam of the village *Chimakurti* who is now in possession of this copper-plate claims to be a lineal descendant of the donee and is still enjoying some of the gifts registered in the plate.

The date of the document is *Śāhivāhana Śala* year 1257, *Yuva Kārttika* 4n 12, Thursday, *Manvādi*. This is the earliest record of the king being earlier by 10 years than the Madras Museum plates<sup>2</sup> of the same king. If the cycle year *Dhātū* is substituted for *Yuva* the details of the date would correspond to A.D. 1336 October 31, Thursday.

The importance of the document lies chiefly in the fact that some of the king's *birudas* mentioned in it would, if they are properly interpreted, yield new information about the history of the Reddī chiefs. For instance, *Chanchumala-chūrakāra*, or *Chemumala-chūrakāra* as given in the Amarāvati inscription, means "one who reduced the hill fort of Chemu or Gingi." How Vēna could reduce this fort will be shown below. Another *biruda* *Rāchūridurgavibhāla* means "the destroyer of the fort of Rāchūru" i.e., Raichur in the Nizam's Dominions. A third title in the list *Kalin-garāya māna mardana* means "one who destroyed the pride of the King of Kalunga."<sup>3</sup> The title *Manṇiyarāya mṛiga vātālāra* means "one who hunted like deer the chiefs of Maunīya hilly country." The term *Manne* is generally applied in later Telugu literature to the hilly tracts near the eastern ghats in the Godavari, Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts. Similarly the titles *Voddiyarāya nīrdhūma dhūma* and *Janturnāṭarāya halla-kallōla* signify victories over the kings of the Voddīya (Odihra) country, the modern Orissa, and the Janturnāḍu which is perhaps the modern name of Dantapura-nāḍu. Dantapura was an early capital of the Gangas of Kalunga, from which, for instance, the Narasāpatam plates of Vajrahasta II were issued. The title *Pān-dyarāya-gaja-simha* means "one who was a lion to the elephant in the form of the Pāndya King" suggesting thereby that the king probably routed the Pāndyas. The title *Appaya-Gōpaya-diśāpatta* seems to signify some victory won by the king or his immediate ancestors over the chiefs called respectively Appaya and Gōpaya. The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of the Chōla king Rājārāja III dated in his 15th year<sup>4</sup> records the victories of two Hoysala generals *Jaganobbaganda* Appana-Dandanīyaka and Samudra-Gōpaya-Dannāyaka over the Pallava chief Kōpperuñjunga who overcame the Chōla sovereign Rājārāja III and had for a time kept him prisoner at Ścndamaṅgalam. The chiefs that are referred to

<sup>1</sup> S I I Vol VI, No 243

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol VIII, pp 9 ff

<sup>3</sup> Some of these titles are explained in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1900, page

<sup>4</sup> Above Vol VII, pp 160 ff

in the title *Appaya-Gōpaya-dīśūpalla* of Vēma seem to be identical with the Hoysala generals of the Tiruvēndipuram inscription

The exploits referred to in the titles of Vēma must have been achieved by him or by his ancestors while they were the subordinates of the Kākatīyas. During the days of the decline of the Chōlas all the neighbouring powers attempted to capture as much of the territory as possible. The Pallava general Kōpperuñjunga who endeavoured to establish for a time an independent kingdom extended his conquests over the territories of the Chōlas of Nellore and other chieftains as far north as Drākshārāma where an inscription of his is found. The Chōlas of the Nellore District who had the titles Madhurāntaka-Potappi Chōla and Gaṇlagōpāla extended their kingdom to the south and, for a time, occupied Kāñehipuram and Tondaimandalam. Against these Sundara-Pāndya led an expedition from the South and celebrated the anointment of heroes at Vikramasimhapuram (Nellore). The Kākatīya sovereign Ganapati led an expedition first in aid of one of the Telugu Chōla chiefs of Nellore and later on to Conjeevaram, where his inscriptions are found. After Ganapati his daughter Rudrāmbā and later her grandson Pratāparudra continued the campaign on Conjeevaram. The triumph claimed in these *virudas* over the Pāndya king and the Hoysala generals Appaya and Gōpaya should also have been won during this period of constant warfare. Similarly, the victories over Kalingarāya, Oddiyarāya, the Janturnātarāva as well as the reduction of the fort of Rāchūru should have been achieved in the wars of the Kākatīyas against the surrounding countries.

The inscription also says that Vēma founded many *agrahāras* on the banks of the rivers Brahmakundī (the Gundlakammā), the Krishnavēni, *i e.*, Krishnā, the Gōdāvarī and the Mahānadi, and laid out gardens in the vicinity of various towns. We are further informed that he gave food in charity houses (*satthras*) in many holy places and built steps to the famous shrines of Śrīparvata and Ahōbala. Vēma is called in this inscription the lord of the Eastern Sea, the establisher of the sole sovereign (*ēka-rāya-sihāpān-āchārya*) and the only ornament to the throne (*ēka-simhāsan-ālamkāra*).

## B

### PACHCHANI-TANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VĒMA

Next in chronological order comes the **Pachchani-Tāndiparru** grant of **Anna-Vēma**. It is registered as copper-plate No. 6 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20. The set of plates on which the grant is engraved was borrowed from M. R. Ry. Devī Hanumacharlu of Koditādiru, in the Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District in the year 1919.

This grant is written on five oblong copper-plates which have slightly raised rims but no ring or seal attached to them, though holes for passing a ring are to be seen in them. The plates measure 9½" in length and a little over 4" in breadth and weigh 88 *tolas*. The inscription is written in **Telugu** script and **Sanskrit** language. The portion giving the boundaries of the village (ll 47-72) is, however, in the Telugu language. Plates *nb*, *mb*, *vb*, and *vb* are marked with the numerical symbols 2, 3, 4 and 5. As to the **palaeography** of this grant only one feature may be noticed specially. The letters of this grant as well as of the following one (C) appear more archaic than those of A, although the latter professes to be much earlier than either B or C.

The donor of the grant is **Anna-Vēma** who is here called the son of **Prōlaya-Vēma**, *i e.*, Vēma of the previous grant. The record opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Vishnu. The second verse is devoted to the praise of the Sun and Moon. The next verse says that a caste was born from the lotus feet of Vishnu which evidently means the Śūdra caste.

*padbhyām Sūdrō bhijāyata* In it was born Prōlaya-Vīma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīśaila and made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmādri (v 4) He performed various meritorious deeds and defeated several hostile Kings (vv. 5 to 8) To him were born two valorous sons namely Anna-Vōta and Anna-Vīma (v 9) Anna-Vōta, the elder, is said to have exhibited great prowess on the battlefield and to have ruled the Āndhra country extending from the eastern portion of Śrīnaga (i.e., Śrīśaila) to the eastern ocean (vv 10 and 11) The Telugu work *Liṣṇu-purāṇam* tells us that this Annavōta defeated a chief called Rāvutu Kōśa near the river Krishnavōnī before the very eyes of god Amarāśvara The work also says that king Pōta had some literary works written by poets of the Vennalaganṭi family and got them dedicated to him Sūraṇa, the author of this Telugu work belonged to this family Anna-Vōta's younger brother Anna Vīma who was a great warrior ruled over his father's kingdom after the death of his elder brother (vv 12 to 15) The genealogy of the donee is then given In the *gōtra* of Hārita there was a pious Brāhman named Nṛsiṃha who was a lion to the elephants, i.e., the disputants (v 16) His son was Bhīmōśvara-Sōmayājīn who had performed many Vedic sacrifices (v 17) His son was Pōtibhatta, to him was born Gundavārya whose son was Peddi-Vidvān, the crest jewel among astronomers (v 18) To this Peddi-Vidvān king Anna-Vīma granted, on the date specified, the village Pachcham Tāmdipattu (v 19) Then follows a description of the boundaries of the village (ll 17 to 73) After three imprecatory verses, the concluding verse of the grant tells us that this edict was composed by Bāla Sarasvatī, the court poet of Anna-Vīma The inscription ends with the king's signature **Pallava-Trinōtra**

The details of the date recorded in the inscription are the Śaka year counted by *rasa* (6), *ratna* (9) and *Bhūḥlāra* (12), i.e., 1296, Nabhasva (Bhādrapada), full moon, Tuesday, lunar eclipse According to Swaminathan Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the English equivalent of this date is A D 1374 August 22, Tuesday, when there was a lunar eclipse

The grant under publication does not say anything new about the donor king Anna-Vīma. The donee Peddi-Vidvān seems to have been a great scholar in astronomy He seems to have been patronised by the kings of the Reddi family even after Anna-Vīma for we learn from two copper-plate grants<sup>1</sup> of Pedda-Kōmatī-Vīma that this Peddi was the recipient of the village Kalavāmūla in Śaka 1329 and of Nandamūra in Śaka 1333 In both these records he is described as having mastered the quintessence of Siddhāntas like those of Brahmag and Sūrya One of them says that he had knowledge of the present, past and future on account of his learning in Jyautisha śāstra

Nothing is known from other sources about Bālasarasvatī who composed the record and who calls himself a poet of the court of Anna-Vīma It may be noted, however, that he was the author of another inscription of the same king at Śrīśailam<sup>2</sup> Another poet in this king's court, i.e., Triśeṣanūchārjya is already known to us He composed the Vānapallī<sup>3</sup> copper-plate inscription of this king

## C

## PINAPADU GRANT OF KOMATI-VEMA

This is the last of a set of copper-plates whose other plates are lost It measures 12½" in length and 5½" in breadth, and weighs 47 *tolas* In the middle of its proper right margin there is a hole for passing a ring through It bears writing only on one side Though it is a little damaged the writing is in good state of preservation It was secured in the year 1920 from Mr

<sup>1</sup> A R on South Indian Epigraphy 1919 20, Nos 13 and 14

<sup>2</sup> See A R on South Indian Epigraphy for 1915, Part II, para, 59

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol III, pp 60 ff.

Ponukapāṭi Ramayya who discovered it buried underground at Pinapāḍu near Tenāli and has been registered as No 8 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for that year

The portion of the inscription preserved on this plate is in Telugu characters and contains a description in Telugu of the gift village Pinapāḍu and five verses in Sanskrit. The first verse says "The donor is king Kōmatī-Vēma, the recipient of the grant is the preceptor Śankara, the village granted is Pinapāḍu, the composer is the poet Śrīnātha-Bhattāraka, the time of the grant is the occasion of the holy Śivarātri and the witness the great Śrīgiri. Why should not poets extol the gifts under these circumstances?" The other four verses are imprecations. The inscription ends with the king's signature "Śrī-Vīranārāyanasya"

From the above verse it is apparent that king Kōmatī-Vēma, the donee Śankara and the poet Śrīnātha were at Śrīsaila on the Śivarātri day. According to the *Śivarātri-māhātmya* of this poet, which is dedicated to a scholar named Śāntayya, a disciple of Śānta-Bhikṣhāvṛtti, Śrīnātha once visited the sacred shrine of Śrīsaila during the Śivarātri festival and paid his respects to Śānta-Bhikṣhāvṛtti. While the poet was seated in the *mulha-mandapa* of the temple Śānta-Bhikṣhāvṛtti, the head of the Virāṣaiva *maṭha* on the hill asked him to write a Śaiva poem and dedicate it to one of his disciples. This Śānta-Bhikṣhāvṛtti appears to have been a patron of Telugu literature. The Telugu poet Gaurana dedicated his *Navanātha-charita* to this pontiff. His successors seem to have been treated with great respect even by the Vijayanagara kings. Siddha-Bhikṣhāvṛtti, who was the donee of the Śrīsailam grant of the Vijayanagara emperor Virūpākṣha, was one of the gurus of the Virāṣaiva *maṭha* on Śrīparvata.

The descendants of the donee of the grant under publication, viz., Śankara, are found even today in the village Pinapāḍu. Though they are Brāhmanas they officiate as *Achāryas* to several Śaivas who are not Brāhmanas.

## A

## TEXT

- 1 Śrī Tripurāntakēśvara [||\*]
- 2 Svastī Śrī [||\*] Vijay-ābhyudaya-Śālivāhana-śaka-varṣhambulu 1257 agun-  
ēti Yuva-
- 3 nāma samvatsara Kārttika-śuddha 12 Guru-vāsara manvādi mahāpunya-  
kālamunam-
- 4 du Yaju[ś\*]-śākh-ādhyāyan-Āpastamba-sūtra-Kaundinya-gōtr-ōdbhavalunnu ( l u n n u )  
śrīmad-yaja-
- 5 n-ādi-shatkarma-niratal-agu Kāmēśvara-bhattarakuni-vāri pautri(tru)lunnu(lunnu)  
Kondu-bhattarakuni-
- 6 vāri-putri(ru)lunn-agu Chittamūri Timmana(Timmana)-bhattu-śastrulavāriki svastī [||\*]  
sakala-guna-gan-ālam-
- 7 kāra Chamchumala-chūrakāra Viśva-viśvambhar-ābharana-vahana-dakṣha-dakṣhaṇa  
(kṣhaṇa)-bhujā-damda
- 8 Jaganobba-gamda ānya(anya)-mamdhikara-gamda rāya-chēkōlu-gamda rāya-  
mīsara-gamda
- 9 arthi-pratyarthi-Hēmādrī-dāna-nirata prajā-paripālana-chatura harana-bharana rūpa-
- 10 Nārāyana Vīra-Nārāyana bhujā-bala-Bhīma kōdamda-Rāma aparimīta-bhū-dāna-  
Paraśu-
- 11 rāma anēka-nagar-ōpākamtha-pratiśthāpita-bahu-vidh-ārāma samgaḍi-rakṣa-pā-  
laka jaga-ra-





41	achyutaṁ	padam    ēk-a[va]
42	vīpra-dattā	

## B

## TEXT

*First Plate, Second Side*

- 1 श्रीनाथ(य)स्य वराहदिव्यवपुषो व पातु दक्षा चिरं स्यूतोन्नीत-  
 2 महीतलोपरितटीनिर्यातशृङ्गाक्षुरा । यामात्मीयजलो-  
 3 दिता शशिकलाभाशङ्क्य जात [क्ष]ण सौहार्दिन विजृम्भमाणतलि-  
 4 लारमो महाभोनिधि<sup>1</sup> ॥[1\*]॥ तमो हरेता तव पुष्पवत्तौ राका-  
 5 सु पूर्वापरशैलवा(भा)जौ । रयांगलीलामिवदर्शयत्तौ पुरा पुरारे<sup>2</sup>  
 6 पृथिवी(ध्वी)रथस्य ॥[2\*]॥ पादारविदादरविंदनामेर्गंगेव पुण्या घ-  
 7 नजीवनश्रीः । जातामिजोता शतया(घा) विभिन्ना जातिचतुर्वीं जगतां  
 8 हिताय ॥[3\*]॥ तस्याममूषीलथवेमनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविधा-  
 9 नशाली ॥ (1) हेमाद्रिकाव्योदितदानदत्तो निस्सीममूदाननिरुद्धकीर्तिः<sup>5</sup> । वेम-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 10 न्नितीशो वृषभमेकापाद खजप्रचार कलिकालदोषात् । दत्ता-  
 11 ग्रहारहिजवेदशक्त्या पदक्रमैरस्वलित चकार<sup>6</sup> ॥[4\*]॥ धर्मात्मजो दा-  
 12 शरवि(यि) पृथुश्लेष्मदीर्यमाणानि युगात्तरेषु । वितर्कये वेम-  
 13 नरेश्वरस्य पुण्यानि नामानि पुरातनानि<sup>7</sup> ॥[5\*]॥ यत्कीर्तिलोलमनसा-  
 14 मुरगागनानामालोकितुं च सुखरागमनंगमूल<sup>8</sup> ।  
 15 श्रोतुं च गीतरचनां युगपन्नदत्तो नागाधिपो न सहते नयन-  
 16 श्रुति<sup>9</sup> ॥[6\*]॥ संग्रामपार्थस्य शरैर्विभिन्ना यस्यारिचूडामण्यो  
 17 विचेतुः । आक्रामतस्त्रयति राजवशान् प्रतापवक्त्रेव विस्फुलि-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 18 गाः ॥[7\*]॥ तस्माच्च वेमनृपतेरुदयादिवाद्रेर्जातौ प्रतापवरकात्तिनिधौ कु  
 19 मारौ । सूर्यं दुग्ध्यमहसावनवोतभूपः<sup>10</sup> श्रीयन्नवेम-

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Sārdūlavikṛīḍitam*<sup>2</sup> The *visarga* is written in the next line<sup>3</sup> Metre *Upēndravajrā*.<sup>4</sup> Metre *Indravajrā*<sup>5</sup> Metre *Indravajrā*<sup>6</sup> Metre *Indravajrā*<sup>7</sup> Metre *Upajāt*<sup>8</sup> The *anusvāra* is written in the next line<sup>9</sup> Metre *Vasantatilālā*<sup>10</sup> Metre *Upēndravajrā*

- 20 नृपतिर्जगरजपालः ॥<sup>1</sup>[8\*॥] वीर-श्रीयनवोतभृतनपतेर्गावो(भी)रभेरी-  
 21 रवैः । गवूणां हृदयेषु मगरमुखे भिन्नेषु पूर्व र-  
 22 सं । यक्षोर निरकासयज्ञयरभो वैगोत्वुतोप्या-  
 23 गतो [1\*] युतांप्रातनभंयु निर्गमयति प्रत्यग्रमत्वृर्जित'  
 24 ॥<sup>2</sup>[9\*॥] गगाम यः श्रीनगपूर्ववा(भा)गादापूर्वरत्नाकरमधुटे-  
 25 श । श्रामेखल मेखलभूधरस्य जिताहित-श्रीयनवोतभूप. ॥<sup>3</sup>[10\*॥]

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 26 तस्यानुजस्तामरमायताच[<sup>4</sup>]श्रीयन्नयेस' चित्तिपालरत्न ।  
 27 मूराग्रगण्य क्षुरिकामन्त्रायो विवा(भा)ति वीराक्षरकलिलोल ॥<sup>5</sup>[11\*॥] श्रीय-  
 28 न्वेसमनृपते.(ति) क्षुगि(रि)कासन्त्रायो वीराविचक्षि विलेखनकलिलदक्ष. । सो-  
 29 य करम्भुभगवूलिकया विचित्र कात्ताकपोलमकरीकरणे म-  
 30 कप. ॥<sup>6</sup>[12\*॥] श्रीयन्नवेसमनृपतेर्जयिना करेण प्रत्यर्त्यना युधि  
 31 बलादवरोपितानि ॥ (1) आरौपयत्युपगमाच्चरणं तदीय कीटो-  
 32 रचामरमितातपवारणानि ॥<sup>7</sup>[13\*॥] मोयं त्रा(भा)तुरनन्तर निजमाही-  
 33 त्रा(भा)र वहन् पैटक राज्यश्रीरमणीस्वयवरपति[<sup>8</sup>] श्रीयन्नवे-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 34 मप्रभुः [1\*] ग्रामान् पूर्वन्तपालकोथ गुरेणा त्रा(भा)त्वा च विप्राप्यितान्  
 35 सर्वानप्यनुपालयन्नपि दिगन् जागर्ति लोकोत्तर ॥<sup>9</sup>[14\*॥] अय प्रतिगृहो-  
 36 त्वंगमावञ्जी ॥ आसीदयुजसमवान्वयमुवा गण्यो वरेण्यस्त-  
 37 ता विद्यातो हरितापयो मुनिवर कर्ता भृतेर्व्वदवित् । त-  
 38 द्रोत्रे परवादिकुजरवटासिद्धो नृसिंहोभवद्यभ्यो-  
 39 दाहरण चरितमनघ वेदोक्तमत्कर्मणा ॥<sup>10</sup>[15\*॥] तस्यात्मजो या-  
 40 गविधानशाली वभूव भीमेश्वरसोमयाजी । यदीयहोमानल-  
 41 धूमरेखा दिग्गगनापम्भवकर्ण(र्ण)पूरा ॥<sup>11</sup>[16\*॥] पुत्रस्तदीय' किल पोति-  
 42 भदो गुणी ततो जायत गुडयार्थ । तनूमवस्तस्य च पेशिविद्वा[न्]

<sup>1</sup> Metre Varantatilaka

<sup>2</sup> The anusvara is written in the next line

<sup>3</sup> Metre 'Śardūlavikṛīḍitam

<sup>4</sup> Metre Upajati

<sup>5</sup> Metre Upajati

<sup>6</sup> Metre Varantatilaka

<sup>7</sup> Metre Varantatilaka

<sup>8</sup> Metre 'Śardūlavikṛīḍitam

<sup>9</sup> Metre Śardūlavikṛīḍitam

<sup>10</sup> Metre Upēndravajra

## 2b

2  
 4  
 6  
 8

2  
 4  
 6  
 8

22a

10  
 12  
 14  
 16

10  
 12  
 14  
 16

22b

18  
 20  
 22  
 24

26 శ్రీమద్భగవద్గీతా ప్రథమోధ్యాయః శ్రీకృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః 26  
 28 సుధామనః ప్రసన్నాత్మనః సుధామనః ప్రసన్నాత్మనః 28  
 30 శ్రీకృష్ణః 30  
 32 శ్రీకృష్ణః 32

34 శ్రీకృష్ణః 34  
 36 శ్రీకృష్ణః 36  
 38 శ్రీకృష్ణః 38  
 40 శ్రీకృష్ణః 40  
 42 శ్రీకృష్ణః 42

44 శ్రీకృష్ణః 44  
 46 శ్రీకృష్ణః 46  
 48 శ్రీకృష్ణః 48  
 50 శ్రీకృష్ణః 50

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 43 देवन्नचूडामणिरप वा(भा)ति ॥<sup>1</sup>[17॥\*] यावान्दे रसरजवा(भा)स्वरमिती भासे [नम]-  
 14 स्ते तियौ राकाया धरणीसुतस्य द्विसे पुण्ये श्रमाकथहे । प्रादा-  
 45 त्याततमाय पेद्विविदुपे श्रीयन्नवेमाधिपो ग्रामं पञ्चनिताडि  
 46 पट्टिमसमाष्टैर्धर्मभोगान्वित ॥<sup>2</sup>[18॥\*] अस्य ग्रामस्य मीमाचिज्ञानि ॥  
 47 जरि ईगान्य वड्डगिवाटनुडि प्रदक्षिणमुगानु अन्ततलू-  
 48 रि पोलमुमधुन नाग्नेयदक्षिणं सागि वल्लुमुपुटल मी-  
 49 द वडुमळिचि दक्षिणमे नन्नगुट मीचि चालुपुटल मी-  
 50 द नाग्नेयदक्षिणमे तुळुमिडि पोलसु मीचि पडुमळिचि  
 51 पेदुपुटनुडि दक्षिणमे अन्ततलूरि डोक दाटि जम्भिपुट

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 52 मीद नैरु(त्त)तिपक्षिममे जम्भिपुट मीद दक्षिणमे कोचपुट मीदं वडु-  
 53 मळी जम्भिपुट मीचि दक्षिणमे उप्पिपुटल मीद मूलवप्पुपुट मीचि  
 54 पडुमळी वीरवक उप्पिपुटल मीद नैरु(त्त)तिपक्षिममे दक्षिणमिचि पडुमळी सागि  
 55 चौकु मीचि पुटल मीदं वडुमळी दक्षिणमिचि तुळुमिडिभ्रोपळिती-  
 56 पोलमुमधु चौडु मीचि ग्रामदि चालुपुटल मीद नैरु(त्त)तिपक्षिममे श्रीगु  
 57 द इटिकावमु दक्षिणानगानु पडुमळी तीकपोलसु तूर्पुग-  
 58 द्दु उत्तर मुट्टिन मडुका जम्भिपुट मीचि दक्षिणमे गारवाट तूर्पु  
 59 गद मीचि पडुमळी कदेपिपोलसु मीचि आसदिनुत्तरमे अवुळीनल्लु-  
 60 लु[गु]ळ मीद वायव्योत्तरमे कदेपितेरुपुटल मीद उत्तरपु ज-  
 61 मिनदि ळाति मीद नवुळीपल्लेसु पडुमटंगानु कंमपुट मी-  
 62 द वडुमळिचि उत्तरमे पालकोटि मीद भ्रोतुकूरि आलपाटि स

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 63 दु पेद्वि[नटिकंभं] मीचि आलपाटि सधु(धु)नंदूय्ये पुट अवुळीशुट [मीद]  
 64 दक्षिणमिचि तूर्प्ये अवुळीगंटल मीद गोर्चपुटल मीचि उत(त्त)रमिचि  
 65 तूर्प्ये जम्भिपुटल मीद नवुळीदिपुट मीचि उत्तरमे मूलपुटनुडि तूर्प्ये जम्भि  
 66 मीद मूलपुटनुडि जटलम्भपाटि तूर्पुके उत्तर सागि जम्भि मीद मू-

<sup>1</sup> Motre Upādravā<sup>2</sup> Motre Śardulavīṣṭam.<sup>3</sup> The answerā is written in the next line

- 67 लपुट मोचि जसुन मीदगा दूर्ध्वं दक्षिणमिचि तूर्पुमागि नगज-  
 68 ट तिप्य पेदपुटयोहि जग्नि मोचि उत्तरमे गागपुटन मीदगा बुगुडु-  
 69 वुष्ट मोचि तूर्ध्वं श्रुत्तुगंटन मीदगा वेदपुटि आलपाटि मटु  
 70 चवुटगुट पडुमट नेडगलगोनपुष्ट मोचि जग्नि मीद दक्षिण मागि जग्नि-  
 71 पुष्ट मोचि तूर्ध्वं [घे]दपुटि आलपाटि मटु चोडु मोचि दक्षिणमिचि गोच-  
 72 कुट तूर्पुगपुटि चोगुपुटन मीद दूर्ध्वं मागि वेडगिगुट मो-  
 73 चेनु ॥ एतथा मन्त्रवर्त्तिजेत ॥ स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुण पुण्य परदत्तागुपा

*Fifth Plate Second Side*

- 74 लन परदत्तापरिण स्वदत्तं निष्कां भवेत् ॥१॥\*19॥] भदत्ता परदत्ता-  
 75 वा यो जेत धनृध(ध)ग । पटि वर्षमगुभाणि चिह्नाया<sup>2</sup>  
 76 जायते किमि<sup>3</sup> ॥[20॥\*] एतन्न भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामपि भूभुजा<sup>2</sup>  
 77 न शो(भो)म्या न कारयाग चिदत्ता वसुध(ध)ग ॥१॥\*21॥] अत्रवेमनरे-  
 78 दस्य चिह्नान् वानमरम्वती । प्रकरोदकरो वाया चिह्नान्[न]<sup>2</sup>  
 79 धर्मगामन<sup>2</sup> ॥[22॥\*] मन्त्रवर्त्तनी[<sup>2</sup>] शो शो  
 80 श्रीपादचिह्नान् ॥१॥

C

TEXT

- 1 दृ टाका वीयि मगुडि उत्तरपुमुखमे ऊडुगुलकर वटि वञ्चि वस्त्रवडिय  
 2 दापुन सुडुल सुताननुडि देगमुडोडकु वञ्चि कुनि पडमटिकि दिगि वडु-  
 3 छुटापुन मगुडि उत्तरोनकु वीयि देगमुकुष्ट तूर्पुन मगुडि तूर्पु-  
 4 मुखमे कुनि पञ्चारुलपक्षपु नेन तिरिगि दक्षिणानकु नडचि कुनि तम्भडि-  
 5 गुष्ट दक्षि-  
 6 णान वीरमि उत्तरामिमुखमे वीयि कुनि तूर्पुमुखमे नडचि गरुड येकि तूर्पु  
 7 नडचि कुनि दक्षिणमुखमे कुनि तूर्पुमुखमे ईदुपडुव नडुमुवदि नडचि ग-  
 8 वुन मगुडि दक्षिणमुखमे वञ्चि यवाभानान गूडेनु ॥ टाता कोमटियेम-  
 9 नाम नृपति पात गुरु शंकर ब्यान चित्पिनपाडुरत तु कवि शोनाय-  
 10 भटारका ।  
 11 कालवेचिह्नवरातिपुत्रसमय साची मङ्गान् श्रीगिरि, ज्ञेय कि न तु वर्यते सुक्-  
 12 विभिः सुखतु तच्छासन ॥१॥\*1॥] सर्वमान्यशतधर्मसासन पातयंत सुवि भाजिपादि-  
 13 वाः । अत्रहारपरिचयणादृते नास्ति नास्ति हि यमो भवोद्यता ॥१॥\*2॥] स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुणं

<sup>1</sup> Metro Anushubh

<sup>2</sup> Metro: Śārdulakīrīḍitam

<sup>3</sup> The aruṣira is written in the next line.

<sup>4</sup> Metro: Rāthavāḍhāt

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS  
B PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA

vb

52 52  
54 54  
56 56  
58 58  
60 60  
62 62

va

64 64  
66 66  
68 68  
70 70  
72 72

vb

74 74  
76 76  
78 78  
80 80





- 12 पुंखे परदत्तानुपालन । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्कलं भवेत् ॥<sup>1</sup>[3॥\*] एकैव मे  
 13 गिनी लोके सर्वेषामिव भूभुजा न भोज्या न कार्याद्या विप्रदत्ता वसुधरा ॥<sup>1</sup>[4॥\*] स्व-  
 14 दत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरित वसुंधरा । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टाया<sup>2</sup>-  
 15 जायते क्रिमिः ॥<sup>1</sup>[5॥\*] एतच्चर्मातुशासन ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीवीरनारायणस्य ॥<sup>2</sup>\*

No 42—THE FOURTH SLAB OF THE KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHARANA KUMBHAKARNA OF MEWAR, VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1517

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

This inscription found in a Vishnu temple, originally called Kumbhasvāmī temple but now known as that of Māmādēva at Kumbhalgarh in Mewār territory, is engraved on one of the five big slabs likewise inscribed and placed by the Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarna in the said temple. Of these, the first, third, fourth and a small piece of the second slab have been discovered up to now and are now preserved in the Udaipur Museum. All are in a mutilated condition except the fourth, the text of which I edit from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer, who has given a brief notice of it in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year 1925-26.

Each one of the slabs contains the same date, which reads as below —

“संवत् १५१७ वर्षे शके १३८२ प्रवर्त्तमाने मार्गशीर्षे वदि ५ सोमे प्रशस्तिः”

i.e., Monday, the 5th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha of the Samvat year 1517 and Śaka year 1382, which corresponds to 3rd November 1460 A.D.

The present slab contains ninety-one (180-270) verses written in fifty-one lines with a portion of a prose line at the end.

The character is Nāgarī of the 17th century A.D., common in Rājputāna during that period. The letters are on the average about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an inch and the space covered by the writing is about 3' 9" x 3' 1'.

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is excellent with the exception of a few wrong grammatical formations, e.g., *vīvasat* (l. 9), *udavivahad* (l. 43).

As regards *orthography*, the following points may be noted—*v* is usually distinguished from *b* except in a few places, e.g., in *vibhāda* (l. 2), *-vabhūva* (l. 10), *-privat* (l. 11), *Vah-* (l. 16), *vrahmanīm* (l. 18), *parābadhi* (l. 33) and *bikhyātaḥ* (l. 38), etc., consonants are doubled with a superscript *r* as in *-rddutam* (l. 1), *-varnnaham* (l. 2), *-rddamda* (l. 8), *arnnōdhē-* (l. 22), *durggam* (l. 49), etc., *sa* is used for *śa* in *sita* (l. 16). *Anusvāra* is used for nasals, as in *bhujamgō-* (l. 2), *chāncha-* (l. 3), etc., and at the end of stichs and hemistichs, as in, *-rddvam* (l. 1), *-nābham* (l. 3), *-tṛiśhādām* (l. 10), etc. *Visarga* is omitted in *sutavarais=tdr*, *śāstra-pūtar* (l. 1), while it is redundant in *dhāmah* (l. 42).

The inscription formed a *prāsa* of the Guhila rulers of Mewār and the present slab continues their account from Lakshmasimha down to the Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarna. The ninety verses found on the present slab are distributed as follows—vv. 180-181 are devoted to Lakshmasimha, vv. 182-184 to Anisimha, vv. 185-190 to Hammira, vv. 191-203 to Kshētrasimha, vv. 204-215

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

<sup>2</sup> The *anusvāra* is written in the next line

to Lakshasēna, vv 216-232 to Mōkala and vv 233-270 to the *Mahārānā* Kumbhakarna. After this is found the date, which is partly effaced on this slab. The contents of these verses may be thus summarised. Verse 180 continues the account of **Lakshmasimha** from the previous slab and states that he died (*in battle*) with his seven sons. He is also said to have won a victory over the Mālwa king **Gōgadēva** (v 181). The next three verses are devoted to a description of the valour and benevolence of **Arisimha** who was born in Lakshmasimha's family and contains nothing of historical importance. Vv 185-187 describe in general terms the qualities of **Hammira**. This king, who belonged to Raghu's race and was known as *Vishamadhātī Pañchānana*, conquered the fort of **Chēlavāta** (v 188). He was a pious, charitable and brave king and died leaving his son **Kshētrasimha** as heir (vv 189-190). The latter destroyed an army of the Muhammadans near Chitrakūta (Chitor) and imprisoned the brave king **Ranamalla** of Gūṛjaramandala, who had humbled the pride of the Śaka (i.e., Muhammadan) king (vv 191-193). He took **Dēlavāta** and **Śōdhyāpura** and his enemy fled towards the sea at his approach (vv 194-195). The next verse says that the valiant Ranamalla who had suppressed **Dafara Khāna**, the lord of Pattana, and had killed many Muhammadans, could not even get a bed to sleep in the prison-house of Kshētrasimha. He drank up the ocean in the form of **Amisāha** (v 197), conquered the rulers of **Hādāvati**, brought their country under his sway and laid waste **Mandalakara** (v 198). The next verse says that the kings **Sādala** and others took fright at his approach and fled from their country. He struck terror in the mind of the Muhammadan ruler of Mālava and humbled his pride and also imprisoned the ruler of Gujārāt (vv 199-201). The next verse repeats how he captured Amisāha. He was succeeded by his son the *Mahārānā* **Lakshasēna** (v 204). This ruler liberated *tristhalī* (viz. Gayā, Prayāga and Kāśī) from the Śakas (i.e., Muhammadans) and in addition to various other gifts distributed his weight in gold and built temples at Gayā (vv 205-211). He conquered the hill **Vardhana**, burnt down his enemies and subjugated the **Mēdas** (Mers) (v 212). The next two verses inform us that he was a devotee of Śiva and made numerous land-grants. Verse 216 begins with the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Mahārānā Mōkala**. He is said to have made Brāhmins to give up husbandry and devote themselves to the study of the Vēdas (v 217). He also distributed his weight in gold and liberated Gayā (vv 218-219). He conquered the whole of **Sapādalaksha** and made **Jālandhara** tremble with fear, while having taken **Śākambharī**, he made Delhi a doubtful possession to its sovereign. He also defeated **Pirōja** and **Mahammada** (v 221). He was devoted to the god **Samādhiśvara** (Śiva) whose temple at Chitor he repaired and added a gateway to it. He built a reservoir of water with a bridge and two *tīrthas* (bathing ghats) called **Rinamōchana** and **Pāpamōchana**, respectively (v 223). He set up a lion cast of all metals as a vehicle of Dēvī and presented a gold Garuda to Vishnu (vv 224-225). The next seven verses only give a poetic description of the power and majesty of this ruler. With verse 233 begins a description of the reign of his son the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Rāyarāyā Rānērāyā Mahārānā Kumbhakarnadēva**. In verse 235 his mother's name is given as **Saubhāgyadēvī**. He was devoted to the god Śkalinga, restored his ruined temple, adding a gold *danda* and *lalasa* to it, built a high *tōrana* and set up a beautiful flag having the emblem of the sun (vv 239-241). He was *nīhsanika* (fearless) in composing poems and *nīrbhaya* (undaunted) in battles, hence he was known as *nīhsanika-nīrbhaya* (v 242). He was a jewel of the family of the kings **Guhadatta**, **Khumāna**, **Śālivāhana**, **Ajaya** and others and adorned the throne of Kshētra, Laksha and Mōkala (v 245). He conquered **Yōginīpura**, subdued the ruler of **Śōdhyā** and destroyed his enemies at **Mandōvara** (vv 247-249). He also captured **Ranavira** after ravaging **Hammirapura**, destroyed **Dhānyanagara**, conquered **Yāgapura** and the mount **Vardhamāna** and humbled the pride of the **Mēdas** (vv 250-254). According to the next two verses he seems to have resisted the ruler of Mālava. He also built tanks at **Jayavardhana**. He took **Janakāchala**,

distressed **Champavatī**, burnt the city of **Vṛndāvatī** and caused trembling to the hill fort of **Gargarāta** through valour (vv 257-259) He burnt **Mallāranyapura**, upheld (?) **Simhapurī** by scattering the enemies, desolated **Ratnapura** and imprisoned many kings (v 260) He conquered **Ranastambha** in **Sapādalaksha**, devastated **Āmrādātri**, got the best of his quarrel with **Kōtarā** and laid waste **Bambāvadō** (vv 261-262) He took the fort of **Mandalakara**, won with ease **Hādāvatī**, fortified by numerous forts and made its rulers his feudatories and raised pillars of victory Besides he conquered **Gōpura**, **Shatpura**, **Vṛndāvatī** and **Mandaladurga**, desolated **Viśālanagara** and attacked **Giripura** whose ruler **Garpāla** fled in terror (vv 263-267) He defeated **Mahammada** at **Śāramgapura** and brought as captives numerous women of the lord of **Pārasikas** (vv 268-269) The last verse states that he drank up the ocean in the form of the army of the **Mālava** king Then follows the date which is, as already mentioned, partly damaged in this inscription

As regards the personages mentioned in this inscription, **Lakshmasimha** (v 180) was the ruler of an estate called **Sisōdā** belonging to the **Rānā** (junior branch) of the **Guhila** family of **Mewār** He was killed along with his seven sons<sup>1</sup> while fighting against 'Alāu-d-dīn **Khālji** of **Delhi** in the siege of **Chitor** in A D 1303, during the reign of **Rāwal Ratnasimha** of **Mewār** His victory over the **Mālava** king **Gōgadēva**<sup>2</sup> mentioned in v 181 is also corroborated by the **Rānapura**<sup>3</sup> inscription The battle which he seems to have fought with the **Mālava** king appears to have taken place during the reign of **Ratnasimha**'s father **Samarasimha**

**Arisimha** was killed in the battle of **Chitor** as said above Only the youngest son of **Lakshmasimha**, namely **Ajayasimha** survived to become the ruler of **Sisōdā**

**Hammīra** (v 185) was the son<sup>4</sup> of **Arisimha** and succeeded to the throne of **Sisōdā** after his uncle **Ajayasimha** He was very brave and gradually made himself master of the throne of **Chitor**<sup>5</sup>

**Kshētrasimha** (v 191) was the eldest son of **Hammīra** The Muhammadan army which he destroyed near **Chitor** (v 192) was that of **Amī Shāh**, as appears from verses 197, 200 and 202

The brave **Ranamalla**, who had humbled the Muhammadan king and killed many Muhammadans (vv 193 and 196), was the ruler of **Idar** and was the son of **Jaitkaran**, who was defeated by the **Mahārānā Hammīra**<sup>6</sup> **Dafar Khān**, the ruler of **Pattan** (v 196), was probably **Zafar Khān (II)**, the governor of **Gujarāt** He was a descendant of a converted **Rājput** and fought twice with **Rāo Ranamalla** of **Idar**<sup>7</sup> He afterwards assumed the name of **Muzaffar Shāh**, after making himself independent of the king of **Delhi**<sup>8</sup>

**Amī Sāha** (vv 197 and 202) was evidently the **Sultān Dilāvar Khān Ghurī** of **Mālwa**,<sup>9</sup> whose defeat by **Kshētrasimha** is mentioned in verses 197, 201 and 202<sup>10</sup> The ruler **Sādal** and others referred to in v 199 cannot be identified with certainty **Sādal**, however, appears to be the ruler **Sātal** of **Tōdā** in **Jaipur** state

<sup>1</sup> As appears from v 180 of this record

<sup>2</sup> He is called **Kōkā** and was defeated by 'Alāud dīn's chieftain in A D 1304 (Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol I, p 361)

<sup>3</sup> *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, p 114 Also *Ann Rep Arch Sur of India*, 1907 08, p 216

<sup>4</sup> [The present inscription does not mention this relationship It is found only in bardic poems See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III, p 526—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol 55, p 11

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p 12

<sup>7</sup> *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, pt 1, pp 232 33

<sup>8</sup> *Duff's Chronology*, p 234

<sup>9</sup> *Memoirs of Jehangir* by Alexander Rodgers, Vol I, p 407, *Elliot's History of India*, Vol IV, p 552

<sup>10</sup> See also *Bhav Ins*, p 119, verse 29, and *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924 25, p 3

*Mahārānā Lakshasūnā* (v. 201) was the son of *Kshītravimukha*. He was extremely charitable and liberated Gāyā from the taxes of the Muhammadans by paying them off in gold, as is also known from another inscription.<sup>1</sup>

*Mōkalā* (v. 216) was a son and successor of the *Mahārānā Lakshasūnā*. He carried his victorious arms far and wide as appears from v. v. 221, 231, etc.

*Pirōja* or *Fīroz* (v. 221) was the ruler of Nāgnar and was the son of *Shams Khān*, brother of the sultān *Muzaffar Shāh* (originally *Zafar Khān* referred to in v. v. 196 of this inscription) of Gujarāt. His defeat by *Mōkalā* is also mentioned in other inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

*Mahammad* (v. 221) cannot be identified definitely. Perhaps he stands for *Alimad* (*Almad Shāh*) of Gujarāt, who was the grandson of *Muzaffar Shāh*, I, and was contemporary with the *Mahārānā Mōkalā*.<sup>3</sup>

*Kumbhakarana* (v. 233) popularly known as *Kurabhā* was the eldest son of *Mōkalā* and succeeded his father to the throne of Chitor in V. S. 1466 (A. D. 1403).

*Guhadatta*, *Śūlivāhana*, *Khumūga* and others referred to in v. 245 were the early predecessors of *Kumbhakarana*. *Guhadatta* was the founder of the *Gulāda* dynasty of Meṣār *Ajaya* or *Ajaya* which evidently belonged to the Śiṣṭī branch and was the brother of *Arinaka* referred to in v. 182.

The lord of the *Pārvata* referred to in v. 253 was *Sultān Mahmūd Khāṣi I* of Malwa, who was defeated by the *Mahārānā Kurabhā* at *Sarapur*—a fact also mentioned in the *Pānapur* inscription. *Mahārānā Kurabhā* led to independent series of conquests as a result that he completely broke the power of the *Mahārāṣṭra*, as is clear from v. 270 of this record.

*Gavapāla* (*Gabhā* or *Gūjāla*) of v. 267 was the ruler of *Dungarpur* State.

As to the places mentioned in the inscription *Chūlānāṣṭa* (v. 188) is now called *Chitrā* in *Meṣār*. *Dēlavāṭa* (v. 194) from Sans. *Dēvala* *ṣṭāla* is the modern town of *Dhār* about 15 miles from *Udaipur*. *Hīḍānāṣṭi* (v. 195) is the territory now called *Hīḍānā*, which at one time comprised the whole of the present *Kotāh* and *Bāndi* States. It is under the *Hīḍānā* branch of the *Chauhāns* descended from the *Chauhāns* of *Nāḍol* in *Mīrṣār*.<sup>4</sup> *Mandalakara* (v. 199) now called *Mandalgarh*, is a fort in the *Udaipur* State. The conquest of this place by *Kshītravimukha* is also mentioned in the *Spuzi Rishi* inscription.<sup>5</sup> *Vardhana* (v. 212) or *Vardhamāna* is now called *Bidnor*, a town in *Meṣār*.

*Jālandhara* (v. 221) really a district or town in the *Punjab* is probably meant here for *Jālor* (*Jālvāpur*) in *Mīrṣār*. *Sapṭalalita* (v. 221) was the name of the territory that was under the *Chauhāns*. It roughly included parts of the modern *Jodhpur*, *Jaipur*, *Kotāh*, *Bāndi* and *Kishangarh* states and the eastern part of *Meṣār* including *Mandalgarh*. *Śākambharī* (v. 221) once the capital of the early *Chauhāns* is now called *Simhar*.

The temple of *Samādhiśvara* (v. 222) is now called *Advajī* or *Mōkalī's* temple. It was originally built by the *Paramāra* king *Bhōja* of *Mālwa* when he resided at *Chitor* and was called *Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa*<sup>6</sup> after his surname '*Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa*'. It was also known as *Bhōjastūmūlajagatī*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Blair Ins.*, p. 110, verse 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Blair Ins.*, p. 120, *Stala* 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Tod's supposition that he was the grandson of Fīroz Tughlāq of Delhi is wrong* (*Tod's History*, Vol. I, p. 371).

<sup>4</sup> [Probably the reference here is to *Muhammad Tughlūq*. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 627 ff.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> See *Briggs' Ferozshāh*, Vol. IV, pp. 208-24.

<sup>6</sup> *J. A. S. B. (New Series)*, Vol. XXII, p. 160.

<sup>7</sup> *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Yōgmīpura (v 247) is the town of Jāvar in Mewār Māndōvara (v 249) is the ruined town of Mandōr in Jodhpur State Yāgapura (v 253) is the town of Jahāzpur in Udaipur State Vrindāvatī (v 264) is now the town of Būndī in Rājputāna Gargarāta (v 259) is the town of Gāgraun in Kōṭāh State Simhapurī (v 260) is the town Sihor in Central India. Ranastambha (v 261) is the fortress of Ranthambhor in Jaipur State Āmrādātri (v 262) is Āmbēr the old capital of the Jaipur State Bamhavadō or Bōmbāōdā (v 262) lies in the eastern part of Mewār Shatpura (v 264) is the town of Khatakār in Būndī State Viśālanagara (v 265) is called Visalanagar in Gujarāt Garipura (v 266) is the town of Dungarpur in Rājputāna Sārangapura (v 268) is an ancient town in Central India Kōtarā is modern Kotrā, now a military station in Mewār I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription

### TEXT

[Metres vv 180, 186, 192, 193, 197, 201, 205, 209, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 229, 233, 241, 260, 263, 264 and 270, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 181 and 230, *Śikhariṇī*, vv 182, 191, 204, 214 and 234, *Upēndravajrā*, vv 183 and 244 *Āryā*, v 184, *Harinī*, vv 185, 190, 194, 198, 203, 207, 220, 222, 235, 240, 248, 250, 267, 269, *Upajāti*, v 187, *Vamśastha*, vv 188 and 243 *Māhriṇī*, vv 189, 206 and 213, *Indravajrā*, vv 195, 239, 245, 246, 254, 259 and 266, *Vasantatilakā*, vv 196, 199, 200, 228, 231, 237, 238 and 252, *Sragdharā*, vv 202 and 255, *Bhujangaprayāta*, v 208, *Vantāyīya*, vv 211 and 215, *Ruchirā*, vv 223, 224, 225, 247, 262, *Rathōddhatā*, vv 226 and 227, *Drutavilambita*, vv 210, 236 and 257, *Prithvī*, vv 242, 249, 253, 261 and 265, *Amushlubh*, vv 256 and 258, *Vijyāgiri*, vv 212, 232, 251 and 268, *Sālinī*]

- 1 अर्चिर्भिः किमु ससभिः पश्चितः सप्तार्चिरचागतः किंवा सप्तभिरेव सप्तभिः  
[हायात्स]सप्तभिर्द्विव ॥(1) इत्यं सप्तभिः पश्चितः सुतवरैस्तेः[\*] शस्त्रपूतैः[\*]  
सह प्राप्ते बुद्धिः मूलपर्वतपतेः श्रीलक्ष्मसिंहे नृपे ॥ १८०[॥\*] असिंध्यस्थारातेर्भ-  
मरतिलक्ष(कं) श्रीधकमले स राज्ञे [गो]गादेवो-
- 2 पि हि सप्तभिर्मूर्तिलवभुवः ॥(1) विजिग्ये येनाजी निजमुजमुजंगोर्जगरलप्रसारात्  
सिंहांतः सप्तमवदसौ लक्ष्मनृपतिः ॥ १८१[॥\*] इति महाराणाश्रीलक्ष(स्व)मसीवर्णनं  
॥ ॥ अथ अरिसिंहवर्णनं ॥ अभून्मृत्सिंहप्रतिमोरिसिंहस्तदन्वये  
भूयपरंपराव्ये ॥(1) वि(वि)मेद यो वैरिगजेद्रकुंभस्थली-
- 3 मन्तूनां नखरङ्गधातैः ॥ १८२[॥\*] पीतवैरिश्चिराद्विपुलांगादुद्धताद्युदसिक्खणमुजंगात् ।(1)  
अद्भुत सप्तमवत्कलाशामंडनं नवयशस्सुहिनाभं ॥ १८३[॥\*] शशिधवलया  
कीर्त्यतीव प्रतापद्विवाकरद्युतिमिलितसा मन्त्रे प्रत्याययन्निव भासते ॥(1)  
रजतनिचयं दास्ये चंचलमहारजत तथा
- 4 त्यजतु विपुलां चित्ते चिंतां वनीपकमंडली ॥ १८४ [॥\*] इति अरिसिंह-  
वर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराणाश्रीहमीश्वर्णनं ॥ हमीश्वीरो रणरंगधीरो  
वाक्पाशुरीतर्जितकोकिवीरः ॥(1) धराप्रवालंकारयैकाहीरस्ततदनी भूषितसिंधुतीरः  
॥ १८५[॥\*] मन्त्रे मूलरगौरगीः सप्तमवत्कल्पद्रुमः कल्प-

- 5 नातोतो रोहणपर्वतोपि रुधिया नो मानस नोति ॥(1) चिताम्बापि जने  
ज(ज)ञञजउतां धत्तेधिका भृषवे दानप्रोदतचारुपाणिनामने वाष्णीदय  
के पुन. ॥ १८६[॥\*] यदपितेर्विजगस्तुरगमैरनर्व्यक्तमागदनाकांजले. ॥(1) अलक्षत  
कात्पतरौ कृताय्य सुराधिराज जसतीव
- 6 वैभवात् ॥ १८७[॥\*] काटकातुरगमैरपाविन्दुते म्व(त्य)क्तधैर्यं व्रजति च रघुभृषे  
कादिगीके पलाय्ये(य्य) ॥(1) गङ्गा विषमघाटीप्रोदपचाननोमावरिपुरम  
[मिदुर्ग] चेलवाट विजिग्ये ॥ १८८[॥\*] इन्द्रागारवने दाने वीरवीरवणे  
रणे ॥(1) काटाचिन्नेव विन्नात कारो जग्यीरभृपते ॥ १८९[॥\*] स जेचसिहे  
तन-
- 7 ये निधाय तेज. स्वकीय त्रिटिवं जगाम ॥(1) वदो यथाप्रोस्तमयं हि  
सावो मत्तानामन निसर्गमिज ॥ १९०[॥\*] उति मत्ताराणाञ्चीहमीरवर्गन ॥  
॥ अथ मत्ताराणाञ्चीनिचमि. वरुणि ॥ ततोस्मिभूमोगमभमिज स्वनादविचा-  
मितभत्तसि. ॥(1) सभावनामोदितभृत्वमिज गगाम
- 8 भूमि किल नेचमिज ॥ १९१[॥\*] येनानर्गलम.ाटीगणेदया श्रीचित्रकृटातिजे  
तत्तत्तैनिवावीरवीरनिनदप्रध्वस्तधैर्योदया ॥(1) मन्ये यावनवाहिनी निजपरि-  
त्राणस्य तितोरन भृनिगपमिपेण भीषवशा पातानभूल ययो ॥ १९२[॥\*]  
सयासाजिरमीगि गौर्यविलसदोद्गर्जलोप-
- 9 सञ्चापप्रोदतवाणहृष्टिगमितागतिप्रतापानन ॥(1) वीरवीरगमभृजितगन्धमापान-  
गर्वातका नृ(स्फु)र्जहृ(हु)र्जमउलेग्रममो कारागदवीरमत् ॥ १९३ व्यर्थो  
नु नून भक्तदुयमो यदित्य वचन्तात्फलं कारिणु ॥(1) शोव्या पुरीमातल-  
भूलधार स्व देववाट पुरमानिनाय ॥ १९४ ॥
- 10 वीरस्य यय्य समरेवि कार ह.पाणीमुक्तांशुकामरिमटानिलवत्तया ॥(1) दृष्टा  
सुजंगयुवतीमिव वेरिवर्गानामात्ममुद्रमपि गो. पटतामर्गयु. ॥ १९५[॥\*]  
सायन्मोयन्तहेमप्रभुरकारातिचिस्त्राजन्मयूयो य पा(खा)न पत्तनेगो दफर  
इति सभासाय कुटीव(व)भृव ॥ सोयं ममो रणादि
- 11 गङ्गाकुलवनितादत्तवैधव्यदीच कारागारे यदीये नृपतिगतयुते सस्तर नापि  
लेभे ॥ १९६[॥\*] गम्बच्चलवाजिवीचितरल सच्छरातिभ्याकुल सायत्कुमिसपच-  
खेलदचल सत्यपतिमीलज्जलं ॥(1) रथ्याग्राहचलाचल स्फुरदमीताहावुनावोज्वल  
यो श्रेषादपिव(व)त् प्रकाण्वमग-
- 12 अथ तं सभूहेखिल ॥ १९७[॥\*] हाडावटीदेगपतीन् स जित्वा तन्मडल  
चात्मवशीचकार ॥(1) तदच चिन' रघु यत्करातं तदेव तेषामिह यो  
वक्षज ॥ १९८[॥\*] यानोत्तुंगतुरंगचंचलसुराधातोच्छि(च्छि)तै रेणुभिः सेहे

यस्य न लुप्तश्चिपटलव्याजाव्रतापं रविः ॥(1) तच्चित्रं किमु सादलादि-  
कानृपा यथाकृता\*स्तत्रसु-

- 13 स्वत्वा स्नानि पुराणि कस्तु बलिनां सूक्ष्मो गुरुर्यो पुरः ॥ १८८ शस्त्राशस्त्रिह-  
ताजिलपटभटप्रातोच्छलच्छोणितच्छत्रप्रोक्तपांशुपुजविसरप्रादुर्भवत्कार्दमः ॥(1) तस्तः  
सामि हतो रणे शकपतिर्यस्मात्तथा मालवक्ष्मापोद्यापि यथा भयेन चकितः  
स्त्रेपि तं पश्यति ॥ २०० [॥\*] वारवारम्-
- 14 नेकवारणघटासघटवित्रासितानेकक्ष्मापतिवीरमालवशकाधीशैकगर्वांतकाः ॥(1) सत्रा-  
माजिरसंगतारिनगरीलुटाकबाहुर्दृष्टः ॥<sup>1</sup> कारागारनिवासिनो व्यचर(रच)यत् यो  
गू(गु)र्ज्जरान् भूमिपान् ॥ २०१ [॥\*] अमीसाहिराहि येनाहिनेच(व) स्फुरङ्गेका-  
एकांगवीरव्रतेन ॥(1) जगत्रा(त्रा)णकथस्य पा
- 15 लौ क्षपाणः प्रसिद्धोभवद्भूपतिः वे(खे)तराणः ॥ २०२ [॥\*] गुरोः प्रसादादधिगम्य  
विद्यामष्टांगयोगस्थिरचित्तवृत्तिः ॥(1) ब्रह्मैकातानः परमात्मभूयं जगाम ससार-  
निवृत्तवृ(वृ)द्धिः ॥ २०३ इति महाराणाश्रीक्षेत्रसिंहवर्णन ॥ ॥ अथ  
महाराणाश्रीलक्ष्मणवर्णन ॥ सहस्रनेत्रादिव वैजयन्तो म-
- 16 हासमुद्रादिव सी(शी)तरश्मिः ॥(1) सुनेः पुलस्त्यादिव वित्तनाथो बभूव  
तस्मादिह लक्ष्मणः ॥ २०४ यज्ञेशः किमय न सोन्यवशगः कि  
धर्मक्ष्मागुजः स्फोटः सोयमय व(व)लिस्त्रिपदिकामात्रप्रदः कि न सः ॥(1)  
इत्थं तुल्यसुवर्णदानसमये यः पारिशेष्यान्मितो विद्वद्भिः स्वमुजार्जिताधि-
- 17 कधनः श्रीलक्ष्मसिंहो नृपः ॥ २०५ [॥\*] जंबूद्वयः किं परिलोध्य राज्ञानीतः  
सुमेरुर्गु समाहतो वा ॥(1) इत्यूहिरे तुल्यसुवर्णराशिमुच्चैरवेक्ष्यास्य वनीप-  
कौधाः ॥ २०६ [॥] कीनाशपाशान् सकलानपास्यत् यस्त्रिस्थलीमोचनतः शक्यः  
॥(1) सु(तु)लादिदानातिमर(रो) व्यतारोत्तुल्यमूपो निहतप्रतीपः ॥ २०७ [॥\*]
- 18 रविरिव नलिनीं निशातुषारात् विधुरिव यामवतीं महाधकारा[त्] ॥(1)  
पवन इव धनान्नवीर्मासं यवनकाराच्च गयासमोचयद्यः ॥ २०८ [॥\*] संलोपादिव  
विप्रवृत्तिमचलां दास्यादिव ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणीं गां पकादिव मोचयन् खलु गया  
वं(व)धान्महीवल्लभः ॥(1) आगोपालकामूमिपालमसक्तक्षत्रोत्तिलान् याचकान् द-
- 19 त्वा सुक्तिमहाश्रुत पितृगणानानदयश्चापरं ॥ २०९ [॥\*] न कांचनतुलामसौ  
व(व)हुविधाय मंदादरो न कांचन तुला परैः सममवामुमैच्छत् क्वचित् ॥(1)  
गयामपि विमोच्य तां तुलगयानहेमादिमिश्रकारं धृतिवीश्वरः किमु गया  
स्वकीर्तिं पुनः ॥ २१० [॥\*] अमोचयद्यवनकाराजयामयं तुला व्यधादमि-

<sup>1</sup> Dardas unnecessary

<sup>2</sup> च is written on the margin



- 20 तपराक्रमोमिताः ॥(1) अपूजयत्तनवामरैर्महीसुरानकारयत्सुनिनयान्मत्तोन्नतान् ॥  
 २११ [॥\*] मेदानाराक्रममादुमसत्तमेरीधीरध्वानविध्वस्तधैर्यान् ॥(1) कारकार योयही-  
 दुश्रतेजा दग्धारातिर्वर्धनारथ गिरीदं ॥ २१२ [॥\*] धैर्य्य(क्ष)वामचनरेखरभ्य  
 वृत्ति[ः\*]प्रवृत्ति(त्ति.) मभुजाजितैव ॥(1) ये भुजते चान्यवलीप-
- 21 पत्र आस शुभालो ऽव भूमिपाला ॥ २१३ [॥\*] यदप्यितरर्थिगणो मरुभिर्ग्रामि-  
 नतैरभजन्तृपत्व[म्\*] ॥(1) तदपि तं ग्रामनपधर्गैरनारतं पुस्तकयानिवासीत् ॥  
 २१४ [॥\*] विमोचितान् वरुविधधोरसमृतेर्यिलोकितु जननिषयानिवागमत् ॥(1)  
 गिवातिका गिवचरित्त(त) गिवाचवक्रमांशुजा<sup>१</sup>र्चनपरिहीण-
- 22 काल्य(ल्ल)प ॥ २१५ [॥\*] इति मत्ताराणाश्रीलक्ष्मणेनवर्णन ॥ ॥ अथ  
 मत्ताराजाधिराजमत्ताराणाश्रीनृणां कामोकलेद्वयवर्णनं ॥ अर्णोधिरेव पारिजातक-  
 तरथ्युतेदं(ड)मृद्वत्सर्वसुपर्येणामधिपतेरामोज्जयन्ती यया १(1) ईगम्येव  
 पडाननो रघुपतेर्यक्षत् कुगो भूपतेरभ्यासीदतुलप्रतापतपन
- 23 श्रीमोकलेद्रोगज ॥ २१६ [॥\*] यो विप्राम(न)मितान् हनि, कालयत, कार्ग्येन  
 हत्तेरल वेद सांगमपाठयत् कलिगलत्रस्ते धरित्रीतले ॥(1) दैत्यान्मीन  
 प्रवापरः श्रुतवतामानदकाट, कलाकौम्यप्रततीनवीनजलदो भूमंडलासडल ॥  
 २१७ [॥\*] दद्वैतं रचयतमर्जुततुलादिभ्यः सदा सपतद्यागाव्या-
- 24 इतितपितो व्यचरयत्<sup>२</sup> मन्थे तुलोपायन ॥(1) तत्पूज्ये कनकाचल करमहारज्जु  
 च चेलोपमो धुर्याचद्रमर्भो हिमाद्रिमकरोद्भु सुरग्रामणी ॥ २१८ [॥\*] एतन्मुक्त-  
 गयविमुक्तपितृभिः प्रोमध्यमाना १ठादृष्टा सद्यमिनी निखेत्यनुगयादित्य तु  
 भूमि यम ॥(1) कि मामर्थ्यमपोहित स्रग् कलेर्याता, क
- 25 कामादयो युक्तं याति न कोधिमारविरतो वक्षोधिका कालता ॥ २१९ [॥\*]  
 नल, किमैलः किमु भन्मयो वा किमाग्विनेयद्वितयादिहक' ॥(1) कलका-  
 मुक्तः किमु यामिनीगस्वित्यजनो यत्र वितर्कमेति ॥ २२० [॥\*] आलोद्याग  
 सपादलक्षमखिलं जालधरान् कपयन् दिल्ली शंकितनाथकां व्यचर(रच)यन्नादाय  
 शकामरी ॥(1)
- 26 पीरोज समह<sup>३</sup>महंमद धरयतैरापात्य यः(\*) प्रोक्षसन्(त्)कुतत्रातनिपातदीर्घ-  
 हृदयास्तस्यावधीदतिन ॥ २२१ [॥\*] नृप' समाधीश्वरसिद्धतेजाः समाधिमाजा  
 परमं रक्ष्यं ॥(1) आराध्य तस्यालयमुद्धार श्रीचित्रकूटे मणितोरणा १  
 २२२ [॥\*] तीर्थमत्र ऋणभोचन महत्पापभोचनमपि क्षितीश्वरः ॥(1) चार-

<sup>१</sup> Road गुजायापरिहीण-

<sup>२</sup> Road व्यचरयन्

<sup>३</sup> These two syllables are redundant

- 27 कुडमपि सेतुमडनं मडन निजगतामपि व्यधात् ॥ २२३ [॥\*] यः सुधांशुमुकुट-  
प्रियागणे वाहन नृगपतिं मनोरमं ॥(१) निर्मित सकलधातुभक्तिभिः  
पीठरक्षणविधाविव व्यधात् ॥ २२४ [॥\*] पक्षिराजमपि चक्रपाण्ये हेमनिर्मित-  
मसौ दधौ नृप ॥(१) येन नीलजलदण्डविर्विमुञ्चललायुत इवाधिकं  
वभौ ॥ २
- 28 २५ [॥\*] जगति विश्रुतिमाप स मोकल. प्रतिभट्छितिपैरसमोकलः<sup>१</sup> ॥(१) रविसुरा-  
धिपशेषसमोकलः<sup>२</sup> लः प्रतिनिधिर्भुवनेपि स मोकलः ॥ २२६ [॥\*] स नृवरो नृवरो-  
चितवेपथुः<sup>३</sup> [॥\*] नमृत्पवनोदितवैभव. ॥(१) अवनतोवनतोपि महत्तरः(रः)  
सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः<sup>३</sup> ॥ २२७ [॥\*] दंडः छत्रेषु भीतोवहितविहति-
- 29 तो वधन सारणीषु प्रायः सारीषु हिंसा रतिततिषु कटाक्षांगुलीतर्जनाद्य ॥(१)  
भेद कोशेषुजाना हतिरपिमनसश्चास्त्रेक्षे नित्य यस्मिन् शासत्यनर्वमवदिह  
वसुधाराजिराजन्वतीत्यं ॥ २२८ [॥\*] व्यस्तैराजनन दिन(नं) दिनमधिप्रतैर्दधीच्यादि-  
मिर्दैनैरमिरलक्षतामुक्तिकाव्यापारपारगमैः ॥(१)
- 30 मत्वेतीव निराकृतोद्य वसुधानाथोरुदानक्रमः श्रीमानत्र समस्तदाननिलयं  
ब्र(त्र)ह्माडदान(नं) व्यधात् ॥ २२९ [॥\*] असुष्मादुद्धूतः सततमनुभूतार्थनिगमः  
क्षमः प्रौढक्षोणीपरिषददृढोन्मादहतिषु ॥(१) चरित्रेण स्त्रीयां(या)न्वयमति-  
पवित्रेण कलयन् कालौ धर्म्या(र्मा)धारो गुरुगरिमभूर्मोकलविभुः ॥ २३० [॥\*] अं-
- 31 गाः संप्राप्तभंगाः स्मृतवन्नविटपा. कामरूपा विरूपा वगा गगैकसगा गतवि-  
रुदमदा जातसादो निषादाः ॥ चीना सग्रामदीनाः खललदसिधनुषी  
भीतिशुष्कास्तुरका.(तुरष्काः) भूमीपृष्ठे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति महिमनि क्षमापतेर्भी-  
कलस्य ॥ २३१ [॥\*] तापं तापं बाहुशौर्याग्निनासौ क्षेपं क्षेपं वैरिस्तो-  
दकोधे ॥(१) नायं नाय दा-
- 32 व्यमेव क्षपाणी भेद भेद मानुषिवं विवेश ॥ २३२ [॥\*] इति महाराजाधिराज-  
महाराणाश्रीमृगक्रमोकलेद्रवर्णन ॥ ॥ अथ महाराजाधिराजरायराया-  
राणेरायमहाराणाश्रीकुम्भकर्णवर्णनं ॥ भूलं धर्मतरोः फलं श्रुतवतां  
पुण्यस्य गेहं श्रियामाधारः सुगुणोत्कारस्य जनिभू. सत्यस्य धामौजसः ॥(१)  
धैर्यस्या-

<sup>1</sup> "प्रतिभट्छितिपैरसमोकल" or प्रतिभट्छितिपै असम अकल, that is, नास्ति कला खल्लो यस्य  
अखल्ल इत्यर्थः ।

<sup>2</sup> "रविसुराधिपशेषसमोकल" or रविसुराधिपशेषसम अकल, २९, अ विष्णु तस्य कला यस्मिन् इति  
विष्णो रंशावतार इत्यर्थः ।

<sup>3</sup> "सकलमोकलमोकलमोकल" मोक मुक्ति प्राप्ति आददाति, मय्य उद्य मयौ तयो कृपा  
अशी यस्मिन् स चासौ मोकलयेति । (स विष्णु had उ शिव)

- 33 पि पराव(च)धिः प्रतिनिधिः कापदुसम्यागिलां योस्तत्तनय प्रगास्ति जगती(तीं)  
 श्रीकुम्भकर्णी नृपः ॥ २३३ ॥\*] समस्तदिक्षेऽनलव्यमर्गं स्फुरप्रतापाविरता-  
 र्त्तवर्णः ॥(1) स्वदानभूः॥ जितभोजकार्ग्यन्तो मग्नि रचति कुम्भकर्णी ॥  
 २३४ ॥\*] उपाय्य जग्निधये राजास्य कनीयमो मातरमेतर्गर्गः ॥(1) श्रीकुम्भ-  
 कार्ग्यम-
- 34 क्षमि माय्या सोमाव्यदेव्या तनयगिरिगङ्गा ॥ २३५ ॥\*] अत जितिभुजा  
 मग्निर्निजकुनय चृजामणि प्रमिदगुणमभमो जगति कुम्भनामा नृपः ॥(1)  
 प्रवीरमदमेजनः प्रमुदित प्रजारजनादजायत निजायतेघणजितेदिरामदिरः ॥  
 २३६ ॥\*] वेदानुल्ल पलाङ्ग्यमपि भुजयोन्मा विमर्त्ति पिपेति रुद्रान् वद्धा
- 35 वल्लिह्मिन्मसितवचसमुपाय इत्या ॥(1) रजोर-पारिभूर्भमनृपगमन सुनामो  
 न्नेच्छयातो जीयात् श्रीकुम्भकर्णी दग्निधरतिष्ठत् श्रीपति कोपि नय ॥  
 २३७ ॥\*] लज्जोगोन्देवत्वात् विभुवनरमणीनितममोक्तत्वाद्वायु गवाममृत्वादपुर-  
 मजतया कुम्भकर्णी रर्गदि ॥(1) जाम् जामोन्नु मोगीवुकुत इत्य पर
- 36 गीजन जेतुकामः नयानेन साक्षात्किथत इति नय गीजनोभीजनोपि ॥  
 २३८ ॥\*] सिपिभाजते संयन्मृजयकधीर श्रीमेदपाटनसुषोषगेकधीर ॥(1)  
 यस्येलिगिनजमेवना इत्युदारा कीर्त्तिप्रगस्तिरचना सुभीकरोति ॥ २३९ ॥\*]  
 एकनिगनिलय च साजित प्रोक्तोत्तमसम्पिचक्र ॥(1) भानुविच-
- 37 मिलितो-नपताका सुंदर पुनरकारय नृ(यनृ)प ॥ २४० ॥\*] मा भृत्तुभ्यदतुच्छ-  
 दुग्धजलधिस्रच्छोच्छलादीनिरुत अ(क्ष.)गत्कृतपृथ्वीपुरुषयगन्तकुचदि\*] वृत्ति-  
 मत् ॥(1) इत्य चारु विचार्य कुम्भनृपतिस्तानिकनिगे व्यधात् रेस्यान् सडपरिमदड-  
 कलगान्तेलोपयोगीमातियान् ॥ २४१ ॥\*] निगके काव्यमदमे रगारमे च निर्मे-
- 38 यः ॥(1) वि(वि)ख्यात कुम्भकर्णीयसिति निगकनिर्मेय ॥ २४२ ॥\*] प्रजति  
 विजययात्रा यत्र विचस्तगर्वा जयपुरप(र)श्वातोत्प्रातधूलीनिनीन ॥(1)  
 गगनतलमगेयं वीच(ष्ट)मजातमोरो नयति रविरयाग्यान् सारवि साहसि-  
 यथात् ॥ २४३ श्रीचित्रकूटविभुरयमुग्रततरवारिग्यातिताराति ॥(1) गिरिजा-  
 चरणसरोरुहरी-
- 39 लंघः कुम्भनृपतिर्जयति ॥ २४४ ॥\*] विख्यात[कीर्त्तिगु\*]हदत्तसुमाण्यालिवाहाजय-  
 प्रभृतिमपतिवयरत्न ॥(1) श्रीचेन्नलचनृपमोकलममिपालसिरासनं सफलवत्यव

- कुम्भकर्णः ॥२४५॥\*] या नारदीयनगरावनिनायकस्य नार्या निरंतरमचोकरद्वं-  
दास्यं ॥(1) ता कुम्भकर्णनृपतेरिह काः सहित वाणावलीमसम-
- 40 सगरसचरिण्योः ॥ २४६ ॥\*] योगिनीपुरमजयमप्यसौ योगिनीचरणविकारो नृपः ॥(1)  
कुतलाकलितवैरिसुदरीविस्त्रभैरमितविक्रमोऽग्रहीत् ॥२४७॥\*] अरिदमः स्नाहिसरो-  
जलग्न विशोष्य शोष्याधिपतिप्रतीपं ॥(1) अरंतुद कांटकमिषतेजा मंताच्चि-  
पद्भूमितलेसश्रिच्या ॥ २४८ ॥\*] येन वैरिकुलं हत्वा
- 41 मंडोवरपुरगृहे ॥(1) अनायि शान्ति(ति)<sup>1</sup> रोषा[ग्नि]र्नागरीनयनांबुभिः ॥ २४९ ॥\*]  
विगृह्य हस्मीरपुरं शरीत्कारैर्निगृह्य तस्मिन् रणवीरविक्रमं ॥(1) पर्यग्रहीदं-  
बु(बु)जमंशुलोचना महीमहेद्रो नरपालकान्यकाः ॥ २५० ॥\*] नानादिभ्यो(ग्भ्यो)  
राजकान्याः समेत्य क्षीणीपाल कुम्भकर्ण<sup>2</sup> अयंते ॥(1) सत्य रत्नं जायते  
सागरादौ
- 42 युतां विष्णोर्वक्ष एवास्य धामः(म) ॥ २५१ ॥\*] आत्ताः काश्चिद्धेन प्रतिनृपति-  
भटान् दडयित्वा च काश्चित् काश्चिद्राजन्यवर्षेर्द्धनगजतुरगैः सार्धमानीय  
दत्ताः ॥(1) अन्याः प्रोषाविधाटीवलकृतहरणाः प्रत्यह राजकान्या नव्या  
नव्या महीमृत्तुविधिं परिणयत्येष कामो नवीनः ॥ २५२ ॥\*] स ध १  
धान्यनग-
- 43 रमाभूलादुदभूलयत् ॥(1) पुरारिविक्रमो यागपुर पुरमिवाजयत् ॥ २५३ ॥\*]  
ज्वालावलीवलयिता व्यतनोद्यवाली मन्त्रीरवीरमुदवीवहदे<sup>3</sup>ष नीरं ॥(1) यो  
वर्धमानगिरिमातु(श्च) विजित्य तस्मिन्नेदानम(म)दमदवधविधीनधाक्षीन्(त्) ॥  
२५४ ॥\*] जवाली दवालीशिखावच्छिखालीसमालीढमालीकारालीप्रताली ॥(1) ग-
- 44 भीराधकारं क्षणाद्यस्य सख्येक्षिप्रत्नेप्यमन्यैर्नयद्भूपदीपैः ॥ २५५ ॥\*] जनकाचलमुच्च-  
शेष(स्व)रं बलवन्मालवनाथमस्तुके ॥(1) प्रवरं गिरिदुर्गमुद्धतस्वरण वामसिव  
न्यधादयं ॥ २५६ ॥\*] महीचजनकाचले निखिलमालवक्ष्मापतेर्गले पदमिव  
न्यधादमितविक्रमो भूपतिः ॥(1) सरांसि जयवर्धनेकृत पुरेपि यो
- 45 वर्धने महामहिमशेखरे विपुलवप्रमुग्रद्युतिः ॥ २५७ ॥\*] जनकाचलमग्रहीदलं  
महतीं चंपवतीमतीतपत् ॥(1) गिरिसुदरखोलखडनावनिवज्रायुध एष भूपतिः  
॥ २५८ ॥\*] प्रत्यर्थिपार्थिवपराजयजन्महेतुहंदावतीपुरमदीदहदेधवीरः ॥(1) तद्ग-  
र्गराटगिरिदुर्गमपि क्षणेन संक्षोभमाप यदपारपराक्रमे-

<sup>1</sup> This however spoils the metre.<sup>2</sup> Wrongly used for *udavāhayat* ?

- 46 ग ॥ २५८ [॥\*] मन्नागपुत्र द(व)रैयमनलज्जानावलीढ व्यधादीरः मिहपुरीम-  
वीमरद<sup>१</sup>सिप्रध्वस्तैरिव्रजे. ॥(१) यत्न रत्नपुरप्रभंजनविधावाधाय धीमानतो नायं  
नायमनेकराजनिकरान् कोरागृह्येयवसत् ॥ २६० [॥\*] पदातीना पादलजं  
सपादलजनीहित ॥(१) छात्वा मन्नागपुत्री रणभूमिं तवाजयत् ॥
- 47 २६१ [॥\*] आस्तदाद्रिदलनन दोरुण, कीटजाकलहकनिर्जमरी ॥(१) कुंभकर्णनृपति-  
वै(व)वापदोष्णनोत्त(त)भुजो विराजते ॥ २६२ [॥\*] नम्रानेकनृपालमौलिनिकर-  
प्रत्युसरीराक्षरत्रेणीरगिमिलन्रयद्युतिमर शत्रून् रणप्रागग<sup>२</sup> ।(१) दीर्घादीनितवाहुड-  
विलमकोटजडोत्त[म<sup>३</sup>]छाणारतान्
- 48 वि[रच]य्य मञ्जकर दुर्ग जल्लिनाजयत् ॥ २६३ [॥\*] जित्वा देगमनेकदुर्गविषम  
जाजवटी जैलवा तत्रायात् कारदन्विधाय च जयस्तमानुदस्तमयत् ॥(१)  
दुर्ग गोपुरमत्र पटपुरमपि प्रोढा च हृदायती श्रीमन्मञ्जदुर्गमुच्चविलमच्छाला  
विगाला पुरी ॥ २६४ [॥\*] उत्पलातमूल मल्लिने प्रभजन इव द्रुम ॥(१)
- 49 विगालनगर राजा समूलमुदञ्जयत् ॥ २६५ [॥\*] तत्रागरीनयत्र(न)नीरतरगिणी-  
नामगीकृत किमु समुत्तरण तुरगे ॥(१) श्रीकुंभकर्णनृपति, प्रवितीर्णभक्त्य-  
रालोडवहिरिपुर यदमीभिरुथ ॥ २६६ [॥\*] यदीयगर्जद्वज्रतूर्यवोपसिंहस्वनाक-  
र्णननष्टगौर्यः ॥(१) विजय दुर्ग महमा पलायाचकार
- 50 गैपालनृगोलवाल. ॥ २६७ [॥\*] त्यक्त्वा दीना दीनदीनाधिनाथा दीना ववा येन  
सारगपुर्या ॥(१) योषाः प्रोढाः पारसीनाधिपाना ताः मय्यातुं नेव गच्छति  
कोपि ॥ २६८ [॥\*] महीमदी युतातरो न चैव, स्वस्वामिवातेन धनार्जनत्वे ॥(१)  
उतीव सारगपुरं विलोच्य महंमद त्याजितवान्महंमद ॥ २६९ [॥\*] गजान्मे[घ]-
- 51 तिसिगिलाकुलतर रंगतुरगोर्मिमन्मातंगोपतनक्रचक्रममित प्राकारवेलाचल ॥(१)  
एतद्दृग्धपुराग्निवाडवमसौ यन्मालवासोनिधि क्षीणीयः पिवति स्म खड्गशुक्र-  
स्तस्मादगस्त्य, स्फुटं ॥ २७० ॥ सवत् [१५१७ वर्षे शा . .]

<sup>१</sup> Correctly vyabharat

<sup>२</sup> Read gṛhīṭ rāsayaṭ

## No 43 —GOKAK PLATES OF DEJJA-MAHARAJA

BY N LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M A , OOTACAMUND

These copper-plates were found in the year 1926 in the house of Mr Govinda Rao Mutalik Desai of Gōkāk in the Belgaum District of the Bombay Presidency and are now in the possession of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar. The inscription which they bear has been edited in the *Karnatak Historical Review*<sup>1</sup> but owing to certain inaccuracies which have crept in the reading of the text as given in the *Review*, in the interpretation of certain passages and in the drawing of inferences in certain cases, I consider it necessary to re-edit the document and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The plates are three in number each measuring about 6½" in length and 2½" in breadth. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner face only, the second plate has both the faces engraved. They are all strung together by a circular ring measuring 2½" in diameter and having an oval seal attached to it. Together with the ring and the seal they weigh 42¾ tolas and are very well preserved.

The seal bears in relief the figure of some horned animal which looks like an antelope whose head is bent forward and one of the horns is turned towards the back. The animal is in a moving pose with its right forefoot raised. The donor of the grant which these plates record was a Sēndraka and the crest of the Sēndrakas was probably an elephant<sup>2</sup>. It is, therefore, difficult to account for the horned animal engraved on the seal unless it is supposed that though the crest was an elephant, the device on the banner of the family was some horned animal like the one represented on the seal. It is not a Rāshtrakūta symbol either, though the document was issued in the reign of a king of that dynasty, for the emblem of that family was either *Garuda* or lion<sup>3</sup>. Cannot this horned animal be taken as a cognisance of a Tirthamkara in view of the fact that the document is a Jaina record<sup>4</sup>? Śāntinātha, we know, has an antelope for his *lāñchchhana*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the invocatory and the imprecatory verses the whole record is in prose. It is written in a Southern script which was in use in the Dekkan during the sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era. The record is neatly written and resembles the Bādāmi cave inscription of Kirttivarman I which is dated in the Śaka year 500,<sup>5</sup> the Mahākūta pillar inscription of Mangalēśa<sup>6</sup> (602 A. D.), the Kopparam plates<sup>7</sup> and the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II<sup>8</sup>. The inscription gives us two forms of long *ā*. In one the top is closed and in the other it is left open (compare *āchchhūtā* in line 20 and *Āryyanandyāchāryya* in l. 10). Initial *u* is found in *unta(ḷta)ñ=cha* (l. 16) and *ē* in *Endāvrit* (l. 13). Among the consonants the letter *ḷ* is always closed when it is not a conjunct *aḷshara* but when it is in combination with some other letters it is open, *r* is always open. The letters *t* and *n* are not looped, the former, however, has a loop when combined with *n* (e.g., in *paryyantam*, l. 13). The letter *ḷh* is found in *Jambūḷhaṇḍa* (l. 9) and *ḷ* in *Jalāra* (l. 9). Final *t* is found in line 20 and final *m* in lines 2 and 18. As regards orthography it may be noted that consonants are sometimes doubled when preceded by *r* (see *Varddhāmāna* in lines 1 and 3) but sometimes not (e.g., see *chatur-vimśati* in line 3). The omission of *s* in *bhūmi tasya* in l. 17 is probably

<sup>1</sup> Vol I, No 11, pp 43 ff<sup>2</sup> *Bom Gaz*, Vol I, part II, p 292. The figure of an elephant is found engraved on the inscription of the Sēndraka chief Pegilli (*Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 143).<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p 386<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol X, plate facing p 58<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, Vol XIX, plate facing p 18<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol XVIII, plate facing p 259,<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol VI, plate facing p 6



[illegible]

22-a

6  
8  
10

6  
8  
10

22-b

2  
 4  
 12  
 14





Dējja-Mahārāja who was the overlord of Indrananda is also a hitherto unknown king of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. So far, the earliest inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭas found in the Dekkan was the Sāmangad grant of Dantidurga dated Śaka 675<sup>1</sup>. But its genuineness has been questioned by some scholars<sup>2</sup>. Next come the Poona plates of Krishnarāja of Śaka 680<sup>3</sup>. The present grant is, thus, the earliest Rāshtrakūṭa inscription in the Dekkan<sup>4</sup>. We do not know, however, whether Dējja-Mahārāja belonged to the Mālkhēd branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas<sup>5</sup>. Another interesting question that arises is whether Dējja was an independent ruler. He could not have been so after the Chālukyas became masters of the Dekkan in the beginning of the 7th century. But since he is called a *Mahārāja*, the document might have been issued when he was as a ruling king before the rise of the Chālukyas or when they were just beginning to establish their power. If this conjecture should prove correct we shall have to accept as accurate the account of the Kauthēm plates<sup>6</sup> and other inscriptions<sup>7</sup> of the 10th and 11th centuries that there existed a family of Rāshtrakūṭas in the Dekkan whom the Chālukyas defeated before coming to power, though the truth of this statement has been doubted by some scholars<sup>8</sup>.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the record I am unable to identify Kashmāndivishaya, Jalāra-grāma and Pūrvvina-grāma which are not known from other inscriptions. Jambūkhanda after which the Jama gana took its name is identical with Jamkhandi<sup>9</sup>, not far away from Gōkāk.

#### TEXT

##### First Plate Second Side

- 1 ॐ Svasti || Varddhatām Varddhamān-ēndōr=Varddhamāna-gan-ōdadhēh śāsanam nāśita-
- 2 rīpōr=bhāsuram mōha-śāsanam || [ 1' ]|| Ih=āsyām=avasarpinyān=Tīrttha-
- 3 karānām chaturvimsatitamasya sanmatēh śrī-Varddhamānasya varddhamā-
- 4 nāyām tīrttha-santatāv=Āguptāyikānām rājñām=ashtāsu varsha-satē-
- 5 shu pamcha-chatvārimśad-agrēshu gatēshu Rāshtrakūt-ānvaya-jāta-śrī-Dē-

##### Second Plate First Side

- 6 jja-mahārājasy=ābhīmatah śrī-Sēndrak-āmala-kul-ānbar-ōdita-dī-
- 7 pra-divākarō Vijayānanda-Maddhyama<sup>10</sup>rāj-ātmaajah śrīmān=Indranand-ādhi-
- 8 rājah sva-vamśyānām=ātmanas=cha dharmma-vriddhayē Kashmāndi-vishayē

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XI, p 111

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol XIV, p 121 f n 5 and Vol XVIII, p 238

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Bharata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Mandala*, Vol VIII, p 166

<sup>4</sup> It is not certain whether Avidhēya of the Pāndarangapalli grant (*Mys Arch Rep*, 1929, pp 197 ff) was a Rāshtrakūṭa king. The Tiwarkhēd plates of Nannarāja (above, Vol XI, p 276) and the Undakavātikā grant of Abhimanyu (above, Vol VIII, p 163), the one discovered in Central Provinces and the other recording a grant in Central India, belong to about the same period as our grant.

<sup>5</sup> The name Dējja has been wrongly read as Ojja (Gojja) and Gojja identified with Gōvinda IV in the *Karnata Historical Review*. The letter Dē is clear and palaeography militates against placing the record in the reign of Gōvinda IV, i.e., 10th century A.D.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 21

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II (above, Vol XII, pp 303 ff) and the Nūlgunda plates of Vikramāditya VI (*ibid*, pp 142 ff)

<sup>8</sup> See *Bom Gaz*, Vol I, pt II, pp 342 and 343

<sup>9</sup> See *Karnata Historical Review*, Vol I, pt II, p 43

<sup>10</sup> The letter ma is inserted below the line

- 9 parvata-pratyāsanna-Jalāra grāmā Jambūkhanda-ganasthāya jñāna-  
10 darsana-tapas-sampannāya Āryyanandyāchāryyāya Bhagavad-Arha-

*Second Plate Second Side*

- 11 t-pratim-ānavarata-pūj-ārtham śikshaka-glāna-vriddhānām cha tapasvinām vai-  
12 yāprity-ārtham grāmasy=ōttarataḥ Pūrvvīna-grāma-virēya-simākam da<sup>1</sup>  
13 kshinā Muñja-jalamārgga-paryyantam aparatō(a)ḥ Ēndāvīrut-sa-  
14 hita valmikam tasmād=uttarataḥ pushkara(n)ī tataś=cha yāvat=pūrvva-virēya-  
15 kam rāja-mānāna panchāsana-nivartana-pramāna kshētran=da-

*Third Plate First Side*

- 16 ttavān=ūtat=yō haratī sa pancha-mahāpūṭaka samyuktō bhavati || Un(k)tañ=  
cha  
17 Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmī  
18 [ta](s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam || [2 ||\*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā  
yō harēta vasundharām  
19 shashtim varsha-sahasrāni vishthāyām jūyatī krimiḥ [[3 ||\*] Shashtim  
varsha-sahasrāni  
20 svargē nandatī bhūmidah āchēhlūtā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ūva narakē  
vasūt ☉ 4 ||\*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Hail! May the bright and delusion-destroying charter of Varddhamāna, who is the moon to the ocean of the Varddhamāna-gana and who has driven away his foes, prosper!

(Lines 2-16) When forty-five after eight hundred of the years of the Āguptāyika kings in (i.e., belonging to) this ever flowing and prosperous spiritual lineage of the wise Varddhamāna, the Twenty-Fourth of the Tirthankaras, had elapsed, the illustrious *adhīrāja* Indrananda, the son of Vijayānanda-Maddhyamarāja, the bright sun who had risen in the firmament of the illustrious and pure Sēndraka family and who was the favourite of the illustrious Dējja-Mahārāja, born of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty, gave, in order to increase the merit of his ancestors as well as of himself, land measuring fifty *nivartanas* by the royal measure in the village of Jalāra situated near the mountain in the division of Kāshmāndī to Āryyanandyāchāryya, who belonged to the Jambūkhanda-gana and was well versed in sacred knowledge, systems of philosophy and penance, for offering worship incessantly to the idol of the divine Arhat, for the (maintenance of) teachers, the sick and the old and for the service of ascetics

(The boundaries of the land are) —to the north of the village the boundary is the *virēya* of the Pūrvvīna village, to the south, up to the Muñja canal, to the west, the ant-hill including Ēndāvīrut, to its north, the tank and from there up to the eastern *virēyaka*

(L. 16) He who takes this away incurs the five great sins Further it is said —

(Vv 2-4) (The usual imprecatory verses)

<sup>1</sup> The letter *da* seems to have been corrected from *de*

## No 44 —SIX INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM

BY RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, C I E , M A

The Central Museum at Lahore possesses a large number of stone inscriptions the bulk of which were collected in the early nineties of the last century by Major H A Deane, C S I , then Deputy Commissioner of Peshāwar, on the northern borders of the Peshāwar District and in the independent territory beyond it. The majority of these are in an unknown script which have so far remained undeciphered. A few of the others are short Sanskrit epigraphs in Śāradā characters which were also found in the same region and the remainder in the Nāgarī characters. Some of the inscriptions in the unknown script were first dealt with by M Senart in a paper read by him before the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists in 1894. The whole collection was subsequently exhaustively treated by Dr (now Sir) Aurel Stein with illustrative plates in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, 1898, pages 1 to 19. M Senart recognized three distinct types of writing among these documents and these he connected with well defined territorial divisions. The first type which is designated as the *Spankharra* variety has characters consisting of irregular, serawly lines resembling Sgraffiti or monograms. The second group, associated with *Boner* and the adjoining areas, is characterized by complicated and elaborate signs and these documents are engraved in regular lines on larger stones than those of the first type and have a decidedly monumental look. The third class of documents, known as the *Mahaban* collection, are also engraved on small stones and show a bewildering variety of signs. Sir Aurel was able to distinguish among these inscriptions a fourth variety of writing to which he gave the name of *Nunzar* group. These inscriptions are engraved on longish slabs of slate stone, and unlike the inscriptions of the first three groups, these documents are in most cases surrounded by straight engraved lines. The characters in this variety are formed of curves, angles and other simple strokes differing from the linear arrangement exhibited by the signs in the other three groups.

Nothing definite is known of the origin and date of these puzzling epigraphs. M Senart and Prof Buhler had noticed a curious similarity between them and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the bank of the Orkhon, which are assigned to about the first half of the 8th century A D, i e , about the period of Ou-Kong's sojourn in Peshāwar. As far as I can make out no further progress has been made with the examination of these records and the mystery is not likely to be solved until, as hinted by Stein, a bilingual inscription is brought to light.

Six of the Śāradā epigraphs in the Lahore Museum will be found included in a comprehensive list of all the known Śāradā inscriptions appended to Dr Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*<sup>1</sup>. Among the remaining inscriptions the earliest one is written in characters of the 5th or 6th century A D. Others are in Nāgarī characters. All the inscriptions with the exception of those in the unknown alphabet are incomplete, the extant portions being defaced and in several cases completely obliterated. It is probably for this reason that they have hitherto remained unedited<sup>2</sup>. In view, however, of the comparatively small number of inscriptions from the Punjab and the North-West Frontier which have survived in good condition and been published, I edit them in this article.

## I Sirsa Inscription of circa 6th century A D

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular block of red sandstone similar to that of which the Mathurā sculptures are generally made. The stone was discovered by Sir A Cunningham and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore. The stone measures 2' 3" in width by 5½" in height.

<sup>1</sup> Part I, Appendix I, p 259<sup>2</sup> These have been noticed by me in *P R A S, N C*, 1918-19 pp 18-20 and Appendix C

and is 8" thick. The inscribed surface is disfigured by two round holes cut near the right end and there is moreover a large piece broken off below these holes. For the rest, the stone is complete. It is, however, obvious that the inscription was engraved on a series of stones fitted together into a wall and that this stone is only one of them. Portions of three lines of the inscription have survived and these contain portions of verses 13, 14, 16 and 17. The first line contains the last seven *aksharas* of the third foot and the whole of the last or fourth foot of verse 13, thus showing that more than 12½ feet are missing at the commencement of the inscription.

The characters belong to the northern variety of script of about the 5th or 6th century A. D. The inscription is composed in elegant metrical Sanskrit but unfortunately, its value is much marred by its fragmentary nature and neither the name of the ruler of the time nor the purpose of the document can be ascertained.

#### TEXT.

- 1 . . . . ये[नाव]पि-तता पु-यागधनसादरा च चरन्त्यो राज्य-  
(ज)ति सर्वादा [1<sup>a</sup>] १७<sup>१</sup> [1<sup>a</sup>] दायाग्रायनिवि<sup>१</sup> . . . .
- 2 . [परा] काटा [गत.] सपदा यम्याचान्तिधुतागने शमभ-  
वयायेण दग्धा द्वि[<sup>a</sup>] . . . .
- 3 . [भगवा च धीर] विभुवनमकथत्वेन्द्रमुष्येय्योभिः  
[1<sup>a</sup>] १८<sup>२</sup> [1<sup>a</sup>] यासांचान्तिमणेय<sup>१</sup> . . . .

#### TRANSLATION

(Verse 13) . . . . who had due veneration of the worthy of respect is constantly resplendent

(Verse 14) . . . . who had attained the highest limit of prosperity and in the fire of whose anger (his) enemies were frequently consumed like molten lead

(Verse 16) . . . . who had covered the three worlds with his fame & hate like the Moon

#### II Sirsa Stone Inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva

According to No. 23 of the list of inscriptions in volume I in the Indian Museum this inscription was found in a mound near the town of Sirsa in the Hissar District of the Punjab and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore, by the then Deputy Commissioner. The stone is broken irregularly on all sides. The maximum dimensions of the extant portion are—width 2' 7", height 1' 7" and thickness 1' 1". The loss which each line has suffered will be apparent from the subjoined text. Suffice it to say that more than 10 verses are lost at the commencement of the inscription while the last meter which has survived in part in line 16 is numbered 32. The existing portion of the inscription is in good Sanskrit poetry and few mistakes occur. The characters belong to the 9th century A. D. and the Bhōjadēva whose name is found in the third line I take to be identical with the Bhōja of Kanauj, inscriptions of whose time are found at Deogarh, Gwahar and Prohar.<sup>2</sup> No connected translation of the document is possible and I can only record here such fragmentary information as can be gathered from the portions of the stanzas that have survived.

<sup>1</sup> Metre—*Sardūlaritṛidita*

<sup>2</sup> Metre—*Malini*

<sup>3</sup> Kielhorn, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 516, etc., Bhandarkar's *Li.*, Nos. 33, 36, 37, 1112

Verse 11, which is the first existing stanza eulogizes the continence of some one. The next -verse indicates that the king at the time was the illustrious Bhōjadēva.

The next verse (V 13) tells us that there was a leader of the Pāsupata sect named Ratnarāsi, who was intensely devoted (V 15), had conquered Kāma, was spotless like a multitude of the rays of the Moon, purified by the current of the celestial river (the Ganges) and [resplendent] like Śiva himself. Of verse 16 only the last foot has survived and appears to indicate that this saint did something like the husband of the daughter of the mountain Himālaya, i.e., Śiva. The next verse (V 17) relates something of the summit of the snowy mountain (Himālaya) and of the mountain Malaya. Verse 18 continues the praise of the saint mentioned above or of one of his successors, who is extolled as the Moon of the earth, who had come down to show the way leading to Śankara, which is free from the dangers of mundane existence and which has destroyed the cause of birth and death. His disciple was another whose name is missing (V 19), whose mind had been purified by his having acquired the knowledge of all that is worth knowing. This saint had a disciple (V. 20), whose name is also missing. The next two verses (Vv 21 and 22) state that considering the worldly happiness to be of no use, youth to be worthless and life itself to be unstable like the ripple of the sea, he did something the nature of which cannot be ascertained. His commands were carried out (V 23) with devotion by the multitude of kings with folded hands. (His disciple) was Nilakantha (V 24), who was the lord of the rulers of the earth, an orator among speakers, who, though one, assumed various aspects of Śiva. He made (Vv 25 and 26) a magnificent temple (*bhavana*) of Yōgiśvara or Śiva with burnt bricks and thick slabs of stone. This temple (V 29) was as high as the sky and attained the height of the summit of the Kailāsa mountain. Verses 30 and 31 appear to state that this temple was adorned with (images) of Krishna, the enemy of Mura, united with Lakshmī and with the images of other gods, demons, *gandharvas*, *yakshas*, *kinnaras*, *siddhas* and thus emulated, as it were, the universal form of the lord of Lakshmī.

## TEXT

1

2

3

4

5

6

तुङ्ग . चक्षुस्त्रिज . .  
 . . भुवनं येन । परमहेत्या । चेतसापि न प्रत्यक्षे । सर्वं परम-  
 हेत्या ॥११॥<sup>1</sup> श्रीभोजदेवे गुण . . ॥१२॥<sup>2</sup>  
 . . यः सिताशुशुभः कलङ्कमुक्तः परमागमागौ । बभूव नान्ता  
 भुवि रत्नराशिस्त[पो]भयः पाशुपताश्रयौ च ॥<sup>3</sup> . . . .  
 . . [अ]थैकनिष्ठो जितमन्मथस्तथा शशाङ्कलोखाकरजालनिर्मल ।  
 सुखवन्तीवहनातिशोभितस्त्वयं पिनाकीव विराजमानः ॥१५॥<sup>4</sup>  
 हिमशैलमुतापतिवचसः ॥१६॥<sup>5</sup> हिमवच्छिखरे मलये च  
 [गि]रौ कनकामविमलशिलानिचये । सरसोष्मरसां ॥१७॥<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Anushtubh*

<sup>2</sup> Metre *Indravamsa* [The metre of this verse has been taken as *Indravamsa* but the reading is *Bhōjadēva* which would show that possibly the metre was *Vasantatilaka* —Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Metre *Upēndravajrā*

<sup>4</sup> Metre *Vamsastha*

<sup>5</sup> Metre *Totaka*

- 7 . . . . . सारमेयाभिधेयं । भवभवपरिमुक्तं सा(शा)तसंभारहेतु-  
 ऋधयितुमिह भार्गं शाकरं सोवनीन्दु. ॥१८॥<sup>१</sup> शिष्यस्तस्य स(श)मान्वित  
 . . . . .
- 8 . . . . . परिचयो निर्दग्धसर्वाशुभो ज्ञातज्ञेयतयातिनिर्मलमना योगै-  
 कनिष्ठानिव ॥१९॥<sup>२</sup> तस्यापि शिष्यस्त वभूव शा[न्तो] . . . [॥२०॥<sup>३</sup>
- 9 . . . . . विमललोल । संभारमोष्यं भक्तं विदित्वा । ज्ञात्वा  
 तथा यौवनमप्य[सार] । पयोधि[वीची]चपलं च जीवं ॥२१॥<sup>४</sup> येना . . .
- 10 . . . . . ज्ञे ॥२२॥ आज्ञाभकार्योद्भुवि यस्य भक्त्या । कृताञ्जलि-  
 र्भूषणसंभ्रमः । शशाङ्कनिष्ठाकलितो[रुम ?] . . . . [॥२३॥<sup>५</sup>
- 11 . . . . . श्रीनीलकण्ठस्तथा । गान्धर्वद्विर्बुजा समभव-  
 धागीश्वरो वादिनामित्येकोपि चकार रूपमनिगं शमोर्नक नि[जं\*] . .  
 . . ॥ [२४॥<sup>६</sup>
- 12 . . . . . शान्तये योगीश्वरस्य भवनं भक्तो महीय. ॥२५॥<sup>७</sup>  
 पण्डितकारचितमेतदुदग्रमाभीक्ष्ण्यं यत्नशिलामयमेव यत्तु (?) [१\*]  
 [सीचीकारचरम] . . . [॥२६॥<sup>८</sup>
- 13 . . . . . तिततभृमिविगेपस्यं । स्तुको वने(?) गगनतुङ्गतया  
 निनान्तं कैलासगैलशिखरश्च(त्रि)यसादधानं ॥२७॥<sup>९</sup> लक्ष्मीयुत(त)भुरिपो  
 . . . . . [॥२८॥<sup>१०</sup>
- 14 . . . . . देवदैत्यगन्धर्व्यचगणकिन्नरसिद्धरूपं । लक्ष्मीपतेरिववपु[ष्कृ]-  
 तविवरूपं सा . . . . .
- 15 . . . . . [॥२९॥<sup>११</sup> . . . . . भवनं रमणीयताया  
 निग्नेपमित्यविभव . . . . .
- 16 . . . . . रागिरेव ॥३०॥<sup>१२</sup>
- 17 . . . . .
- 18 . . . . .

<sup>१</sup> Metro Malinī<sup>२</sup> Metro Śardūlataśrīṇḍita<sup>३</sup> Metro Indratayrā<sup>४</sup> Metro Uṇṇajala<sup>५</sup> Metro Vasanatāḥḥa

# SIX INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM (I)

No 1



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No 2.



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## III Bhatinda Stone Inscription of about the 10th Century A D

The stone on which this inscription is engraved was found lying at the tomb of Hari Ratan Baba at Bhatinda and was removed and presented by Sardar Atar Singh, Chief of Bhadaur to the Lahore Museum (No 8 of the list of inscriptions) It is a fragmentary slab of dark grey colour and was surrounded with an engraved rim ornamented with a pattern of flower petals The existing portion measures 1' 5½" in width by 1' 6½" in height The stone is complete on three sides but a portion is broken off on the left side carrying away about 8 to 10 syllables of each line A small triangular portion is also broken off at the lower left corner A considerable portion of the writing is also badly defaced in the middle of the slab and in some other parts the letters are quite illegible The characters are Nāgarī of about the end of the 10th century A D and the whole of the extant portion is in Sanskrit verse The first stanza contains an invocation of Krishna (Hari), who with his four hands armed with a mace, the spotless *pāñchajanya* conch, (etc) with ease supports the whole of the three worlds and who is ever lasting The second verse praises *Rājā Śatrughna-dēva* who equalled Lakshmana and Bharata, whose feet were bowed to by the whole world and the dust of whose feet The third verse informs us that at Tribhāndanapura there was (some one) resplendent with gems of virtues, whose glory was spotless like jewels, who was the ornament of a noble Kshatriya family and who had acquired fame throughout the world by his brilliant (His son) (V 4) was named because he was the destroyer of the impurity of the Kali age, who was purified by his devotion to ascetics and who by the constant flow of his liberality resembled the current of the Ganges The next verse (V 5) contained the name of his wife which appears to have been Indulēkhā In the remaining portion of the inscription only stray words or syllables can be made out in each line Line 14 appears to contain the word *mahākavi* and in line 16 there is a portion of a foot of a verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre which means 'devotion to Hari or Vishnu dispels'

I am unable to identify the *Rājā Śatrughnadēva* who was ruling over the region, where the inscription had been found, at the time this epigraph was engraved 'Tribhāndanapura' mentioned in verse 3 is undoubtedly the original ancient name of Bhatinda where the inscription was discovered The ruler *Śatrughnadēva* in whose time the inscription was recorded is, as far as I can make out, not known from another inscription He must have belonged to a local family of Bhatinda Raverty, quoted by Smith in his *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p 382, was wrong in making Bhatinda the capital of Jayapāla of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty

## TEXT

- 1 . . . — — — — गदामलपाञ्चजन्यलीलाष्टताखिलजगत्तितयैश्वर्यमिः ।  
दोर्मिः हरिः हरः
- 2 — — — — सयं सुचरितानि सनातनोयम् ॥<sup>1</sup> [१॥\*]  
जयति जगत्तचरणचरणजः श-
- 3 . . . :[ ] लक्ष्मणभरतप्रतिभो राजा भुवनेदेवोयम् ॥<sup>2</sup> [२॥\*] आसीत्त्रि-  
भाण्ड[नपुरे]गुण-
- 4 [रत्नशाली\*] — — — — रिवरत्नमयामलश्रीः [1\*] [सुच]त्रियान्वयविभूषण-  
मुष्ण(ज्ज)लेन खयातिहृतः क्षिति-
- 5 [तल\*] — — — — ॥<sup>1</sup> [३॥\*] [तस्यात्म\*]जः कलिमलक्षयकारिनामा  
[श्रीदाम] इत्यभवद्यतिभक्तिपूतः<sup>3</sup> [1\*] तापच्छि-

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Vasantatilaka*<sup>2</sup> Metre *Āryā*<sup>3</sup> One syllable seems to be missing in this *pāda*

- 6 — — — — — गंगाप्रवाह इव सन्ततदान[तीयः] ॥<sup>1</sup>  
 ख्यातश्चि[यो] जगति [चारु]कनाम आसी  
 7 . . . [कल्पक]निज . स्त्री . न्दुलिखा — — स्य सा सुचरितम्  
 8 . गहन हराज . सौजन्ययुत  
 9 . आनवा . . . . .  
 10 . . . . .  
 11 . . . . .  
 12 . . . . . सतत . . . . .  
 13 . . . . . तन्व । गोविन्द . . . . . परम  
 14 . [सहाकावि] . [चन्द्रमणि] . . . . . देव .  
 महाराज .  
 15 . . . सामन्तमित्रप्रति  
 16 . . . : ॥ भक्तिर्हरति यत्र दि-  
 17 . . . सम्पद . स्विस्त्व  
 18 . . . पुत्र . समुद्र  
 19 . . . . .

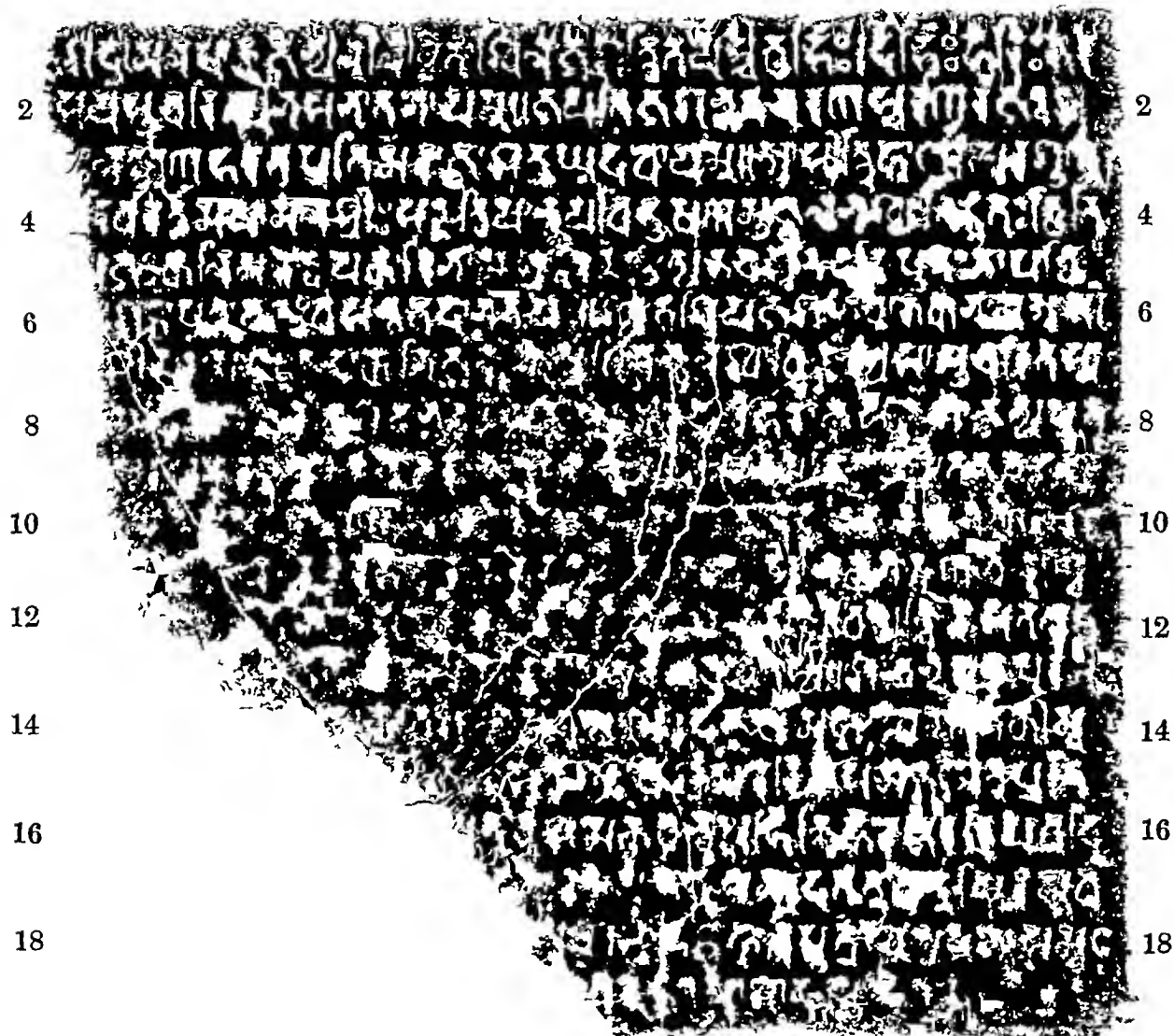
The remaining inscriptions dealt with in this article are all inscribed in the Śāradā script. The origin, history and development of this script will be found discussed in great detail in Dr Vogel's monumental work *Antiquities of Chamba State*. Dr Vogel disagreed with Buhler and Hoernle's view that Śāradā was a direct descendant of the western variety of the Gupta script, on the ground that an intermediate variety assignable to about the beginning of the 8th century A D had intervened between the Gupta and the Nāgarī scripts. Śāradā proper continued in use in the Chamba valley and the other hill tracts adjoining the Punjab up to about A D 1300. The later variety of Śāradā, which in the Chamba valley is known by the name of Dēvāśeṣha continued to be used in that area till about A D 1700 and a cognate form of it continues to be used to this day, in certain hill States of the Punjab and particularly in Kashmir where Nāgarī did not come into use until the second quarter of the 19th century A D. The later variety differs from Śāradā proper in the absence of nail heads or wedges at the tops of the letters, which are such a prominent feature of the earlier variety. The inscriptions treated of here are all engraved in the earlier variety.

#### IV. Dewal Stone Inscription of the Shahi King Bhīmadēva

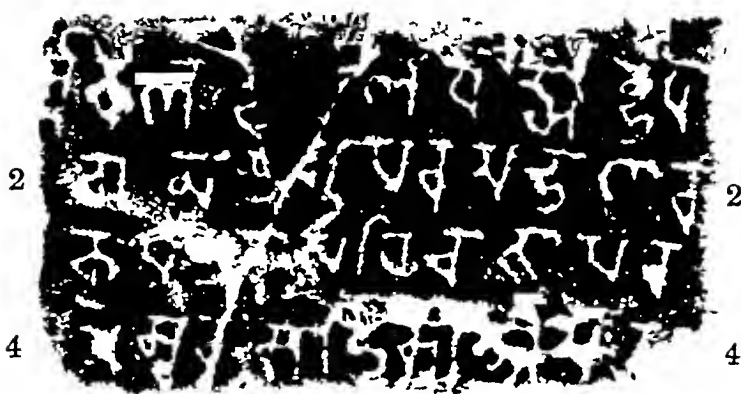
This inscription is engraved on a small rectangular slab of stone which is badly broken and cracked in two pieces on the front or inscribed face. It was found by Major Deane at Dewal, Garun territory. The stone is complete on three sides, but broken at the top and consists of four lines in Śāradā characters and in the Sanskrit language. The extant portion of the inscription is well preserved except for the loss of one letter in the middle of the first line.

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Vasantatīlaka*

No 3



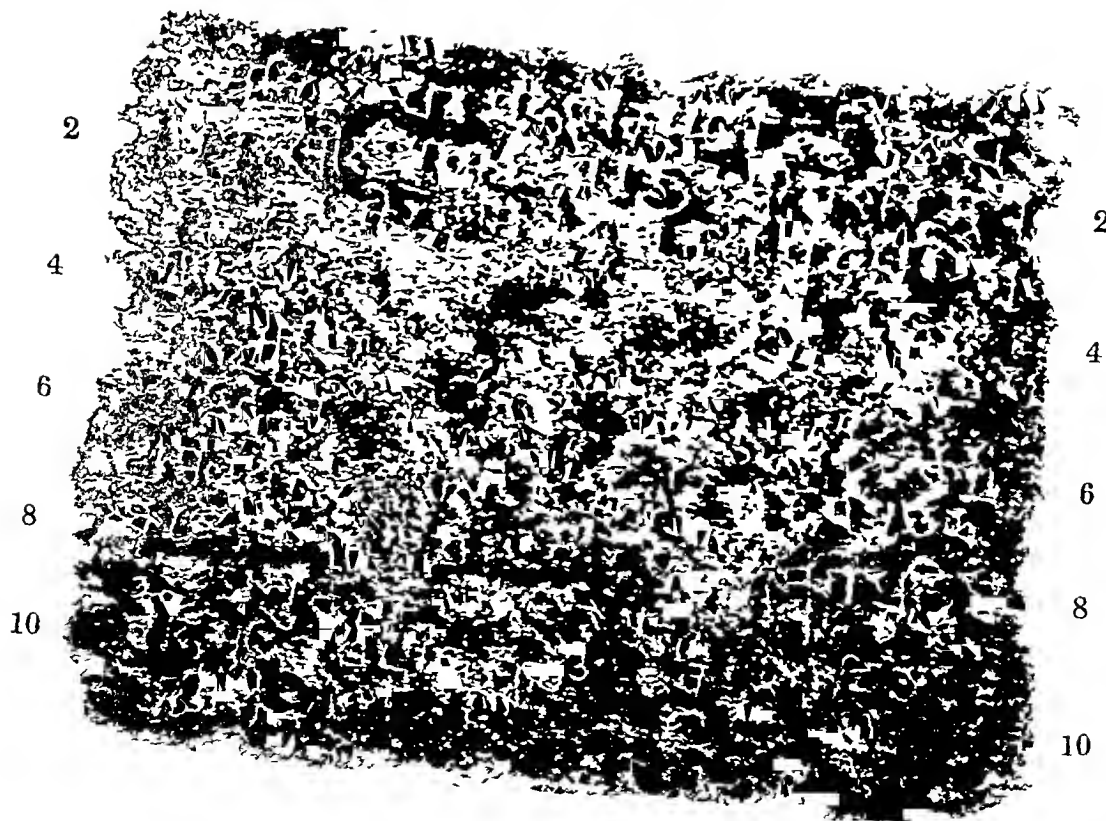
No. 4



No 5



No 6



## TEXT.

- 1 श्रीकल[क] लवर्मानव-
- 2 गदाहस्त परममन्तर-
- 3 कमहाराजाधिराजपर-
- 4 भस्वरसाहि श्रीभीमदेव] [॥<sup>१</sup>]

## TRANSLATION

“ The supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings and supreme lord the Shāhi, the illustrious Bhīmadēva, who holds the mace in his hand and is sprung from the illustrious Kala[kama]-lavarman ”

The king Bhīmadēva mentioned in this inscription is no doubt the same as the fourth king of the dynasty of the Shāhi kings of Kabul and the Punjab who reigned, according to C V Vaidya (*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol I, page 201) from A D. 940 to 960<sup>1</sup>. This Bhīmadēva was the grandfather of Diddā, the wife and successor of Kshēmagupta, king of Kashmir, and the daughter of the Lōhara king named Simha Rāja, king of one of the feudatory States of Kashmir till A D 958.

Alberuni describes the Shāhi kings of Kabul and the Punjab as Brāhmanas. Sir A Cunningham held that though the four kings, whose names end in देव, i e, Vēnakadēva, Kallar or Spalapatidēva, Sāmāntadēva, and Bhīmadēva must indeed have been Brāhmanas, the last four kings, Jayapāla, Ānandapāla, Trilōchanapāla and Bhīmapāla were Rājapūt Kshatriyas. This view appears to me to be only partially correct. Kshēmagupta to whom the grand daughter of Bhīmadēva was married is believed to have been a Kshatriya and as there could be no matrimonial connection between a Brāhmana and a Kshatriya, it is obvious that Bhīmadēva must also have been a Kshatriya. The present inscription provides epigraphical proof of this identification, inasmuch as the name of the father of Bhīmadēva ends in *varman*, a definitely Kshatriya title.

## V Ranigat Inscription

The fragmentary white marble slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered by Major Deane in November, 1894 at a place called Ranigat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No 25 A). The inscription consists of four lines in which portions of four Sanskrit verses have survived. The first verse which is in the *Vasantatilāla* metre has lost the last seven syllables of the second foot, the whole of the third foot and the first two syllables of the last foot, i e, 23 *aksharas* in all. The loss between lines 2 and 3 amounts to as many as 65 syllables, consisting of the last five *aksharas* of the first foot and the whole of the next three feet of a verse in the *Sārdūlavikīṛita* metre and the first three syllables of the next verse which was in the *Vasantatilāla* metre. The loss between lines 3 and 4 again amounts to only 30 syllables, showing that the lines were of very unequal lengths.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For two very rare coins of Bhīmadēva, see Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, plate VII, 17 and 18.

<sup>2</sup> [It is quite possible that a whole verse has been lost in addition between lines 1 and 2 and another between lines 3 and 4.—Ed.]

The first verse embodies an invocation of a deity, the pair of whose feet was variegated by the lustre of the brilliant jewels in the crowns of the multitude of gods The next verse of which only the last 12 syllables remain, constitutes a eulogy of a king whose name is broken off, but whose prowess was well known like that of Arjuna [The son<sup>1</sup> of this ruler] was devoted to, and diligent in the carrying out of the commands of, his lord The rest of the verse is broken off Of the next verse less than the first half exists and it refers to some one, the hair of whose head, which resembled the sacred cord of *muñja* grass was besmeared with the mass of the pollen of the lotus flowers in the shape of the feet of Śiva The last existing verse, of which less than one half is preserved, tells us that the worldly ties of some one had been burnt in the fire of [true] knowledge

This inscription at present adds little to our knowledge of the history of the territory in which it has been found Perhaps it may be found useful at a later stage in filling gaps in future discoveries of such inscriptions

## TEXT.

- 1 [स्वस्ति] ॥  
 गीर्वाणद्वन्द्वसुकुटस्फुटवकान्ति-  
 किर्मीरिताघृ(घ्नि)युग[ल] ७ ७ — ७ — — [1\*]  
 — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — —
- 2 — र्जुनोर्जुन इव प्रयितप्रताप[1\*] ॥<sup>2</sup>  
 भक्तो [भर्तृ]मनोबुद्धिचतुरो<sup>1</sup> तस्या ७ — — ७ —  
 — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — [1\*]  
 — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — [1\*]<sup>3</sup>
- 3 — — ७ रप्रभृतिधूर्जटिपादपद्म-  
 रेणूत्कारश्चुरितसूर्ध्वजमुजमा[ल] [1\*]  
 — — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — —  
 — — — ७ ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — [1\*]<sup>2</sup>
- 4 — — शीवगमहुताशदध्वन्वः  
 ख्यातो य, प्रभय इवेश — ७ — — [1\*]  
 — — — ७ ७ ७ ७ — ७ — ७ — —  
 — — — ७ ७ ७ ७ — ७ — ७ — — [1\*]<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The reading seems to be *bhālā* [bhartr] *manō nuvriti chaturā* The feminine gender as well as the word *bhartr* shows that the reference is to his wife —Ed]

<sup>2</sup> Metre *Vasantatilaka*

<sup>3</sup> Metre *Śardūlavikrīḍita*

<sup>4</sup> Metre *Praharehni*

## VI Barī Kot Inscription of the Reign of Jayapālādēva

The original of this inscription is a rectangular slab, 10½" wide by 9" high of dark grey slate stone, which was found on a hill to the north of Barī Kot in Upper Swat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No 119). The whole of the inscription is very badly obliterated and the only portions that can be read with certainty are the first two lines of the document. Elsewhere only stray words or syllables can be made out. The inscription begins with *Om śaśti* 100, followed by the words meaning "in the reign of the supreme sovereign, the superior king of great kings and the supreme lord, the illustrious Jayapālādēva". We then gather that in the illustrious Vajirasthāna (Waziristan) three individuals, whose names are completely rubbed off, founded something, the nature of which cannot be determined. This inscription is the first epigraphical document which mentions the name of the Shāhi king Jayapālādēva, who was the successor of Bhīmadēva and contemporary of Amīr Sabuktigin and Mahmūd of Ghaznī. The existing portion contains no date.

## TEXT

- 1    ॐ स्वस्ति १०० परमेश्वरकामहाराजाधिराजपर-
- 2    मेश्वरश्रीजयपालदेवराज्ये श्रीवजीरस्थाने
- 3    भट्टपुत्र श्रीपोष्य (?) मित्रदेवकुलप्रभमप्रार्थिति . . . . .
- 4    . . . . .
- 5    . . एमिस्त्रिमि[:] . . . . .
- 6    . . . . . कर्म
- 7    . . . . . प्रभव उद्
- 8    कर्म . . . . . प्रतिष्ठा
- 9    तस्य . . . . . प्रतिष्ठित . . . . . क — — रापितः
- 10   एमिस्त्रिमि[:] . . . . .
- 11   . . . . . ; ॥





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